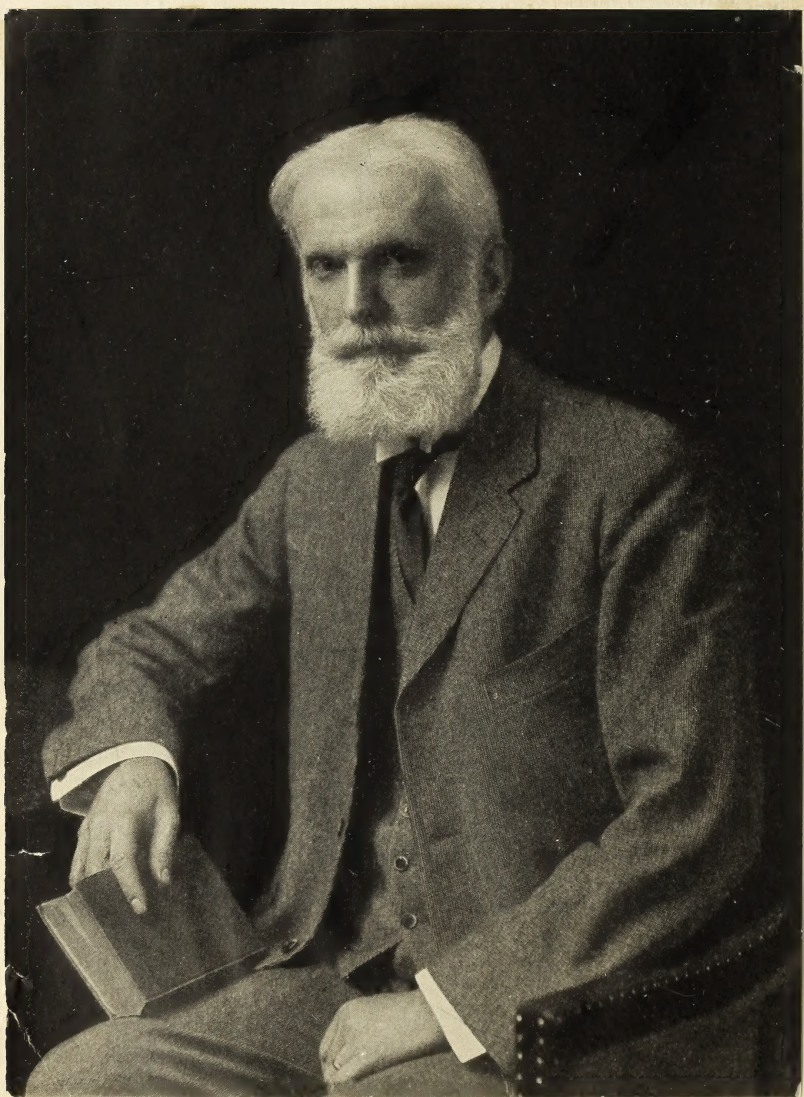


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# ANNIVERSARY PAPERS

BY COLLEAGUES AND PUPILS OF  
GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE

PRESENTED ON THE COMPLETION OF HIS  
TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR OF TEACHING  
IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
JUNE, MCMXIII

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## PREFACE

At the end of the present academic year Professor George Lyman Kittredge will have completed twenty-five years of teaching in Harvard University. A number of his colleagues in the Division of Modern Languages, desiring to celebrate this date in a term of service which has been of unusual significance for the advancement of American learning, planned the publication of the present congratulatory volume. The limits of time and space made it impossible to invite contributions from any large number of Professor Kittredge's pupils, or even from all those doctors of philosophy who had pursued their studies under his special direction. But some fifty of his colleagues and older pupils were asked to write for the volume, and forty-five of them were able to prepare papers in the short time allowed for publication. To their contributions has been added a Bibliography of Professor Kittredge's own writings, compiled by Professors Neilson and Hanford and Dr. Long, assisted by Mr. Albert Matthews and Dr. H. de W. Fuller. It is hoped that no important work has been omitted from this list, though many small or unsigned articles must have escaped the notice of the committee, who were precluded from consulting Professor Kittredge by their desire to keep the whole project from his knowledge. The general editorship of the volume has been in the hands of Professors Robinson, Sheldon, and Neilson.

To provide for the expenses of publication a subscription was raised among nearly three hundred of Professor Kittredge's friends, with the understanding that any surplus should be set apart as a book fund for the University Library, the income to be expended under his direction. But the publishing house of Messrs. Ginn and Company, wishing to have a share in the tribute, generously offered to bear the entire cost of publication; so that the whole sum subscribed, after the payment of a few incidental expenses, will become available for the Library. A special bookplate to be used for works purchased from the fund has been designed by Mr. Pierre La Rose.

It is now the privilege of the authors and editors of these papers to offer them to Professor Kittredge in the name of the many men who delight to honor him.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

June 9, 1913







# CONTENTS

	PAGE
HINDU LAW AND CUSTOM AS TO GIFTS . . . . .	I
CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN, PH.D., LL.D., Wales Professor of Sanskrit, Harvard University	
THE MOTHER-IN-LAW . . . . .	15
FRANCIS BARTON GUMMERE, PH.D., LITT.D., Professor of English, Haverford College	
CICLATOUN SCARLET . . . . .	25
GEORGE FOOT MOORE, D.D., LL.D., Frothingham Professor of the History of Religion, Harvard University	
SOME REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN OF ROMANCE VERSIFICATION . . .	37
EDWARD STEVENS SHELDON, A.B., Professor of Romance Philology, Harvard University	
THE SCULPTURES OF THE GOLDEN GATE AT FREIBERG . . . . .	47
KUNO FRANCKE, PH.D., LL.D., LITT.D., Professor of the History of German Culture, Harvard University	
✓ A FANTASY CONCERNING THE EPITAPH OF SHAKSPERE . . . . .	51
BARRETT WENDELL, A.B., Professor of English, Harvard University	
JOHNSON AND HIS FRIENDSHIPS . . . . .	55
CHARLES TOWNSEND COPELAND, A.B., Assistant Professor of English, Harvard University	
THE DATE OF HEGETOR . . . . .	63
ALBERT ANDREW HOWARD, PH.D., Pope Professor of Latin, Harvard University	
CHANTICLEER . . . . .	67
CHARLES HALL GRANDGENT, A.B., Professor of Romance Languages, Harvard University	
WHAT IS CHAUCER'S <i>HOUS OF FAME</i> ? . . . . .	73 ✓
JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY, PH.D., Professor of English, University of Chicago	
THE MODERNNESS OF DANTE . . . . .	83
JEFFERSON BUTLER FLETCHER, A.M., Professor of Comparative Literature, Columbia University	
THE TWO PROLOGUES TO THE <i>LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN</i> : A NEW TEST	95 ✓
JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES, PH.D., Professor of English, Washington University	
CAIPHAS AS A PALM-SUNDAY PROPHET . . . . .	105
CARLETON BROWN, PH.D., Professor of English, Bryn Mawr College	
MERLIN AND AMBROSIUS . . . . .	119
GUSTAVUS HOWARD MANNADIER, PH.D., Instructor in English, Harvard University	



	PAGE
THE EPICEDIA OF STATIUS . . . . .	127
CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE, PH.D., Professor of Latin, Harvard University	
THE SEA-BATTLE IN CHAUCER'S <i>LEGEND OF CLEOPATRA</i> . . . . .	139
WILLIAM HENRY SCHOFIELD, PH.D., Professor of Comparative Literature, Harvard University	
THE RENDERING OF THE HOMERIC HYMNS . . . . .	153
CHARLES BURTON GULICK, PH.D., Professor of Greek, Harvard University	
BURNS IN ENGLISH . . . . .	165
WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON, PH.D., Professor of English, Harvard University	
<i>ALISCANS, 5702: DES TORS D'ARCAISE</i> . . . . .	171
RAYMOND WEEKS, PH.D., Professor of Romance Languages, Columbia University	
THE OXFORD TEXT OF THE <i>NOIE</i> OF ANTONIO PUCCI . . . . .	175
KENNETH MCKENZIE, PH.D., Assistant Professor of Italian, Yale University	
HUMAN SACRIFICE AMONG THE IRISH CELTS . . . . .	185
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, PH.D., Professor of English, Harvard University	
THE LOGIC OF LITERARY CRITICISM . . . . .	199
WILLIAM TENNEY BREWSTER, A.M., Professor of English, Columbia University	
THE NARRATIVE ART OF THE OLD FRENCH FABLIAUX . . . . .	209
WALTER MORRIS HART, PH.D., Associate Professor of English, University of California	
GERMANISMS IN ENGLISH SPEECH: GOD'S ACRE . . . . .	217
JOHN ALBRECHT WALZ, PH.D., Professor of German, Harvard University	
THE TWELFTH-CENTURY TOURNEY . . . . .	227
KENNETH GRANT TREMAYNE WEBSTER, PH.D., Instructor in English, Harvard University	
NOTES ON CELTIC CAULDRONS OF PLENTY AND THE LAND-BENEATH-THE-WAVES . . . . .	235
ARTHUR CHARLES LEWIS BROWN, PH.D., Professor of English, Northwestern University	
THE DYING INDIAN . . . . .	251
FRANK EDGAR FARLEY, PH.D., Professor of English, Simmons College	
HAMLET AND IAGO . . . . .	261
ELMER EDGAR STOLL, PH.D.	
FROM OUTDOORS TO INDOORS ON THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE . . . . .	273
ASHLEY HORACE THORNDIKE, PH.D., L.H.D., Professor of English, Columbia University	
THE QUARTO ARRANGEMENT OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS . . . . .	279
RAYMOND MACDONALD ALDEN, PH.D., Professor of English, University of Illinois	




# CONTENTS

vii

	PAGE
POSSIBLE FOREIGN SOURCES OF THE SPANISH NOVEL OF ROGUERY . . . . .	289
JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD, PH.D., Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages, Harvard University	
THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN TOLSTOY'S ETHICAL SYSTEM . . . . .	295
GEORGE RAPALL NOYES, PH.D., Associate Professor of Slavic Languages, University of California	
MEDIÆVAL LIVES OF JUDAS ISCARIOT . . . . .	305
EDWARD KENNARD RAND, PH.D., Professor of Latin, Harvard University	
AN EPIC <i>TENZONE</i> AND A PARALLEL . . . . .	317
MURRAY ANTHONY POTTER, PH.D., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Harvard University	
SIDNEY'S <i>ARCADIA</i> AS AN EXAMPLE OF ELIZABETHAN ALLEGORY . . . . .	327
EDWIN ALMIRON GREENLAW, PH.D., Professor of English, Adelphi College	
ASTROLOGY AND MAGIC IN CHAUCER'S <i>FRANKLIN'S TALE</i> . . . . .	339
JOHN STRONG PERRY TATLOCK, PH.D., Professor of English, University of Michigan	
NICHOLAS BRETON, CHARACTER-WRITER AND QUADRUMANIAC. . . . .	351
CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH, PH.D., Assistant Professor of English, Harvard University	
THE BRECA EPISODE IN <i>BEOWULF</i> . . . . .	359
WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE, PH.D., Associate Professor of English, Columbia University	
FROM <i>TROILUS</i> TO <i>EUPHUES</i> . . . . .	367
PERCY WALDRON LONG, PH.D., Instructor in English, Harvard University	
THE CELTIC <i>FÉE</i> IN <i>LAUNFAL</i> . . . . .	377
TOM PEETE CROSS, PH.D., Professor of English, University of North Carolina	
VEGETIUS IN ENGLISH. . . . .	389
HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN, PH.D., Assistant Professor of English, Yale University	
THE PLAN OF THE <i>CANTERBURY TALES</i> . . . . .	405
KARL YOUNG, PH.D., Professor of English, University of Wisconsin	
MRS. BEHN'S <i>ORONOKO</i> . . . . .	419
ERNEST BERNBAUM, PH.D., Instructor in English, Harvard University	
THE POETIC DICTION OF THE ENGLISH CLASSICISTS . . . . .	435
RAYMOND DEXTER HAVENS, PH.D., Assistant Professor of English, University of Rochester	
THE DEBATE ELEMENT IN THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA . . . . .	445
JAMES HOLLY HANFORD, PH.D., Assistant Professor of English, Simmons College	
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF PROFESSOR KITTREDGE FROM 1885 TO 1913 . . . . .	457





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# ANNIVERSARY PAPERS

## HINDU LAW AND CUSTOM AS TO GIFTS

CHARLES R. LANMAN

Three kinds of children of Prajā-pati, Lord of Children, lived as Brahman-students with Prajā-pati their father : the gods, human beings, the demons.— Living with him as Brahman-students, the gods spake, "Teach us, Exalted One." — Unto them he spake this one syllable Da. "Have ye understood?" — "We have understood," thus they spake, "it was dāmyata, control yourselves, that thou saidest unto us." — "Yes," spake he, "ye have understood."

Then spake to him human beings, "Teach us, Exalted One." — Unto them he spake that selfsame syllable Da. "Have ye understood?" — "We have understood," thus they spake, "it was dattá, give, that thou saidest unto us." — "Yes," spake he, "ye have understood."

Then spake to him the demons, "Teach us, Exalted One." — Unto them he spake that selfsame syllable Da. "Have ye understood?" — "We have understood," thus they spake, "it was dáyadhvam, be compassionate, that thou saidest unto us." — "Yes," spake he, "ye have understood."

This it is which that voice of god repeats, the thunder, when it rolls "Da Da Da," that is dāmyata dattá dáyadhvam. Therefore these three must be learned, self-control, giving, compassion.

Such is the story, a bit of the oldest Indo-European narrative prose, by which the Great-Forest-Upanishad gives to some of the cardinal virtues the sanction of supernatural revelation. The sanction is as needless as it is quaint ; but the Brahmans are never weary of inculcating the duty of free-handedness, and deem it more blessed (at least for others) to give than to receive. The Upanishad is one of the ancient classics of the Hindu theosophy, the doctrine of the divine immanence ; but even the much older hymns of the Rig-Veda abound in laudation of giving, and *do ut des* is the key-note of many a pious chanson. A case there is indeed in which the worshiper, with cheerfully brazen suggestiveness, tells what would happen if he and the deity were to change places :

Were I, O Indra, e'en as thou,  
The lord of wealth, and lord alone,  
My servant should be rich in kine. — Rig-Veda, viii, 14, 1



Old as it all is, there is in it an amusing touch of modernity, and the thunder is still rolling.

A gift or donation is defined as the voluntary transfer of property without consideration. In order that the gift may be valid, there must be capacity (1) in the donor to give, and (2) in the donee to receive; (3) the gift must be the free act of the donor, that is, an act not prompted by fear or force or fraud or any undue influence; (4) there must be actual delivery by him with intent to transfer title; and (5) there must be acceptance on the part of the donee. These conditions of validity are manifestly essential ones, and as such they may be presumed to be general the world over. The violation of any one of them accordingly is and has been, always and everywhere, fertile of quarrel or litigation. The extent and many-sidedness of the subject of donation is surprising to any one not versed in legal studies. In a recent American cyclopedia,<sup>1</sup> the article on Gifts, itself the merest outline, but with a multitude of cited cases, extends over sixty pages; and of Hemādri's great Sanskrit work on law, the *Quadripartite Thought-jewel*,<sup>2</sup> one bulky volume of over a thousand pages is devoted to gifts.<sup>3</sup>

The Sanskrit word for law in an untechnical sense<sup>4</sup> is *dharma-s*, 'that which holds or is firm (Latin *firmu-s*) or established,' 'the established behavior (of the good),' that is, 'righteous action,' and so, as towards the gods, 'religion,' and, as towards your fellow-men, 'law.' Thus the beginnings of law, like those of medicine,<sup>5</sup> are intimately blended with religion. The oldest sources of Hindu law are called Dharma-sūtras,<sup>6</sup> or Dharma-Rules, and they are in prose with occasional quotation of an old versus memorialis. Such are the Dharma-sūtras of Apastamba, of about 250 B.C. The Dharma-çāstras, or Dharma-Treatises, are later metrical recasts of the older traditional material, and of these may be mentioned the Mānavan Treatise, best known as the Laws of Manu. The Rules and the early Treatises are preponderatingly injunctions and restrictions, largely of a quasi-religious kind, relating to the details of daily life. Law as a body of technical teaching is *vyavahāra*. This is not a conspicuous element of the earlier books, and only the later Treatises,

<sup>1</sup> *Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure*, edited by William Mack, Vol. XX, New York, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> *The Chatur-varga Chintā-maṇi*. Hemādri ('Herr Goldberg') was archivist of two powerful kings of the Yādava dynasty at Daulatabad, 1260-1309. See Th. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 768 b.

<sup>3</sup> As a bibliographical entering wedge, the student may use A. A. Macdonell's account of the Hindu law-books in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (London, 1900), p. 428. Most comprehensive is J. Jolly's *Recht und Sitte* (Strassburg, 1896). For donation, see § 31.

<sup>4</sup> Compare E. W. Hopkins, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XI, 247.

<sup>5</sup> Compare William H. Welch, in *The Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, p. 203; also the *Atharva-Veda*, passim.

<sup>6</sup> Translated by G. Bühler, in Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East* (SBE.), Vols. II (Apastamba and Gāutama) and XIV (Vasishtha and Bāudhāyana).

such as that of Nārada<sup>1</sup> (about 500 A.D.) or Brihaspati,<sup>1</sup> may properly be termed juristic. The Mahā-Bhārata, although nominally an epic, must have had the character of a law-book in part, as early as the fourth century of our era.

The conditions of validity are treated by Nārada<sup>2</sup> under the surprising title Resumption of Gift; that is, he discusses the conditions which justify retraction. The positive conditions, instead of being stated abstractly and directly, are left to be inferred from examples, concrete and in part negative. Upon the capacity of the donee to receive, little stress is here laid. Actual delivery and acceptance<sup>3</sup> are elsewhere duly emphasized. Nārada makes four classes of things: (1) the non-donable; (2) the donable; (3) gifts, that is, valid gifts; (4) non-gifts, that is, invalid gifts. His eight cases of the 'non-donable' (such as wife, pledge, deposit) may all be subsumed under one, the lack of unqualified ownership, that is, non-capacity in the donor to give. His 'donable' is what is left over after all the outgo for the family has been met. The Hindu paterfamilias accordingly holds his property subject to the rights of his dependents. The etymological import of the Sanskrit word for husband (bharta, Varro's fector) is 'maintainer'; and for wife (bhāryā, ferenda) it is 'the one to be maintained.' That is to say, the conception of the paterfamilias as the supporter is as old as the language itself, and the denial of his unqualified ownership of his lawful gettings, as implied by Nārada, is as ancient as it is inexorable. As to giving that on which the family has a prior claim, Brihaspati,<sup>4</sup> in Apocalyptic phrase, observes that the religious merit of the man who does it, although (like the little book out of the angel's hand) sweet as honey in the mouth, will change to poison in the end.

Nārada's class of 'valid gifts' (such as price of merchandise, a prostitute's fee, gifts made out of affection) ignores the absence or presence of consideration and thus confuses gift and purchase. This may be due in part to the habit of the Sanskrit language, which speaks of a thing sold as a thing 'given for a price.' To pay a debt is to 'give' it (back). Of his sixteen 'invalid gifts,' those made by a child or an idiot or by a man possessed or drunken or not his own master plainly violate the first condition, capacity in the donor to give. For others, his line between legality on the one hand, and rashness or folly or carelessness on the other, is vaguely drawn. Others, again, violate the condition that the act must be clear of force or fraud. Of these, a couple of the Scholiast's examples may be cited, if only to show their form. Thus for intimidation: A ruffian hails an honest man in the forest: You give me

<sup>1</sup> Translated by J. Jolly, SBE., Vol. XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> In *The Institutes of Nārada*, edited by J. Jolly (Calcutta, 1885), p. 137, SBE., XXXIII, 128.

<sup>3</sup> The acceptance should be made openly, especially in the case of immovable property. So Yājñavalkya, ii, 176. For a gift, the act of the acceptor is absolutely essential, dānasya prati-grahīṭṛvyāpārasāpekṣatāiva, Mitramiṣra's *Vīramitrodaya*, edited by G. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1879), p. 15, l. 11.

<sup>4</sup> SBE., XXXIII, 342.



a hundred drachmas, then you live, else you die. And for fraud: A man is desperately enamored of a public woman named Chūta-mañjarī (Mango-bud). She is sent thirty leagues away to the Thakkur. To the lover, hot with the fire of separation, comes somebody and says, "If I show you Chūta-mañjarī, will you give me a ring?" "Certainly I will, and here's your surety." At that, the other, trotting out a bud that he had taken from a mango tree and concealed about him, shows it to him and demands the ring.

Before quitting this topic, one point may be noted. The practical recognition of a legal distinction or principle for the abstract statement of which we might search Hindu law-books in vain is often clearly implied by the incidents of a story or the details of a rule. Thus as to the doctrine of nominal consideration. In the charmingly amusing story<sup>1</sup> of Yayāti's fall from heaven to earth (it must have lasted longer than the day-long tumble of Hephaistos towards Lemnos), he is hailed by Ashtaka, Pratardana, Vasunant, and others in turn. These most obligingly offer him their "worlds" in which to enjoy the privilege of an unlimited stop-over on his trip. "No king may with dignity accept a gift," he answers, and declines. "Then," says Vasumant, "if thou likest not to take them as a gift, buy them for a straw." Or again, as to the establishment of a good right of ownership. A fisherman<sup>2</sup> has caught seven redfish, strung them on a vine, buried them in the sand, and dropped down the Ganges to try his luck for more. An otter smells the fishy odor, scrapes away the sand, and finds the string of fish. As if to forestall an action of trover, he solemnly calls aloud three times, "Does any one own these?" and, finding all the world in default, he draws the fish to his lair. Or again, a certain Buddhist practice<sup>3</sup> requires that a monk shall wear robes made only out of refuse rags. He that keeps it in severest fashion may not accept cloth given by a pious layman to the Order, nor cloth that is actually put into his hand. If it is laid on the ground at his feet, that act constitutes an abandonment of ownership. The cloth becomes constructively a "refuse rag" and he may pick it up and use it.

Vasishṭha introduces his chapter on gifts<sup>4</sup> with an ancient and oft-recurring rule, "By giving, a man attains all desires." Comprehensive, but not specific! For us moderns, the things of daily use are so multitudinous that it is hard to conceive a life in which they should be few,—so few indeed that it was easy to single out some things as highly commendable gifts. The specification of umbrellas and sandals is not surprising, if we consider the intensity of the Indian sun, the violence of the rain, and the burning heat of the ground.

<sup>1</sup> *Mahā-Bhārata*, Book i, chapters 88-93, and especially i, 92, 17-18, and 93, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Jātaka*, text, III, 52; translation, H. C. Warren's *Buddhism*, p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> *Visuddhi-Magga*, Book ii, Rangoon edition of 1901, p. 49, end.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter 29. See SBE., XIV, 136.

And so with the gift of thirst-quenching water and of wells. The gift of food, as that on which the whole cycle of life depends, is praised,<sup>1</sup> like much else, with superlatives so reckless as not to be forcible. But when Vasishṭha quotes the old versus memorialis,

Three gifts, they say, all else transcend,  
Land, cattle, and the Sacred Word,

we feel that here is no exaggeration. To the Hindu, the teaching of the Vedas, the Brahman's noblest duty, is a "giving of the Sacred Word." Here let us pass it by and consider the gifts of cattle and of land.

And first, the gift of cattle. "Movable property, in Anglo-Saxon law, seems for all practical purposes to be synonymous with cattle."<sup>2</sup> The connection of pecunia and pecus proves the fact for much more ancient times in Europe; while for yet remoter periods it is attested in the history of India by the Veda itself. For one who is to make a gift of a cow the Mahā-Bhārata<sup>3</sup> prescribes, by the mouth of Bhīshma, what it calls a "primeval ritual." The donor is to appoint a day for the gift, to spend the preceding night out of doors with the cattle, to address the cow with two adulatory epithets, O perfect one (samaṅge), O abounding one (bahule), and to utter certain archaic formulas which play upon two Sanskrit words, each with the double meaning of cow and of earth, spoken of as nourishing mother and as foundation or giver of good. At sunrise he makes the actual gift, confirming his act by reciting the first two verses of a certain stanza (xiii, 76, 13); and by way of formal acceptance the donee then recites the last two verses of the same stanza, the two halves of which thus serve as a kind of verbal stock and counterfoil.

The Hindu itch for putting everything into schematic form is well illustrated by a previous chapter of the Mahā-Bhārata (xiii, 64), which concerns the rewards of gifts as depending upon the asterisms of the lunar zodiac. "They who give a milch cow with her calf under the asterism of the Stag's Head [in Orion], proceed from the world of men to the supremest heaven." The promises, as rehearsed by a celestial sage, run through all the twenty-eight asterisms in order, beginning with the Pleiades or Kṛittikās. But the possibilities of reward are so exhausted at the outset, that the sage is able to

<sup>1</sup> *Mahā-Bhārata*, Book xiii, chapter 63.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Frederick Pollock, *English Historical Review*, April, 1893, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahā-Bhārata*, Book xiii, chapter 76. Bhīshma, mortally wounded and lying on a bed of arrow-points, discourses to King Yudhishṭhira on the duties of kings, and on other topics of almost encyclopedic range. Considering the painful situation and that the very hour of his death lay wholly within his own choice (he chooses in fact the coming winter solstice), one would suppose that the old hero would cut it short; but in fact he runs on for some twenty thousand double verses, often with amazing dullness and repetitiousness. This is the discourse of which the chapters on gifts (xiii, 57-81) form a part.



offer few further inducements to liberality under the subsequent asterisms, except perhaps cattle or children in this world or an occasional heavenly nymph in the next.

The gift of land. Since everything comes out of the earth, argues Bhīṣma,<sup>1</sup> the gift of a piece of the earth is potentially all-inclusive and so really the best. Thus all the superlatives applied by the epic to the other gifts must be roundly discounted. Let us consider Hindu usage in the giving of realty. This brings us at once to the inscriptions. Of these, the best general account is John Faithfull Fleet's *Indian Epigraphy*.<sup>2</sup> Fleet observes that the vast majority of the epigraphic records of India are "title-deeds of real property and certificates of the right to duties, taxes, fees, perquisites, and other privileges." They are mostly royal charters, "donations and endowments made to gods, to priests on behalf of temples and charitable institutions, and to religious communities."<sup>3</sup> Brihaspati, of about 600 A.D., has a chapter on documents.<sup>4</sup> Within six months, he begins, doubts will arise as to a transaction, if it be unrecorded. It was with this in mind, he continues, that the Creator invented the letters of the alphabet. After defining the various kinds of documents, he prescribes in detail the features of a royal grant as follows :

Having given a tract of land or the like, the king should cause a formal grant to be executed on a plate of copper or on cloth. It should give the place, the names of the king's ancestors, and other particulars, and the names of the king's father and mother and of himself, and the declaration,

This grant has to-day been made by me to so-and-so, who is son of so-and-so and belongs to the Vedic school of so-and-so, to last as long as the sun and moon endure, and to descend by inheritance to the son and grandson and remoter issue, as a gift which is never to be taken away and is exempt from diminution and assures heaven for sixty thousand years to the giver and defender, and hell for just as long to the one who takes it away.

The Minister of Alliances and War should sign the grant, with the remark "I know this." It should be provided with the king's own seal, and give a precise statement of the year and month and so on, the value of the donation, and the magistrate's name.

That these rules represent actually prevailing legal custom and usage, even for the early centuries of our era, is absolutely certain. The copper-plate grants are drawn up in remarkably close conformity with these law-book precepts.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mahā-Bhārata*, xiii, 62, 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This forms chapter I of Vol. II of *The Indian Empire* (Oxford, 1908), a part of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Fleet's masterly treatise, within the brief compass of 88 pages, furnishes the most admirable introduction to the study of the inscriptions. It sets forth the various classes of them, the materials on which they are recorded, their topics, and their value as historical sources.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 60 and 57.

<sup>4</sup> SBE., XXXIII, 304. Hindu documents are described by Jolly, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLIV, 350-360; briefly also in his *Recht und Sitte*, § 35.

<sup>5</sup> It may fairly be questioned whether the rules simply formulated existing custom, or whether the usage grew out of the rules. I suspect that, as in the case of linguistic usage and

Instead of showing this conformity by reference to single items of several different inscriptions, it has seemed advisable to present, virtually in its entirety, a single characteristic example. As such may be taken a royal land-grant<sup>1</sup> of Dadda Praçānta-rāga IV, coming from Gujarat, and dated in the year 392, that is, probably, 392 of the Chedi era, or 641-642 A.D.

[1. **The invocation.**] Om, Weal !

[2. **The proem.**] From [the city of] **Nāndipura**, [the Illustrious Dadda,]

Who covereth the vault of heaven with the offshoots of his glory, [a glory] white as the lotus that is awakened by the rays of the moon as she issueth forth from a veil of dense watery clouds,

Whose bright pitiless [sword's] splendor is at hour of dawn loudly sung as it were by the wailings of the noble ladies of the hostile vassals who marched out to meet him in many a deadly fray and were slain,

Whose head is irradiated by a diadem glittering with the brilliant flashings of ten million diamonds polished by his obeisances at the lotus-feet of gods and Brahmans and [others] worthy of reverence, . . .

Who hath thrust the mass of dense darkness of the Iron Age into the cage made of the beams of his own spotless virtues, . . .

**The Illustrious Dadda**, being hale and sound, unto all and singular kings, vassals, landed provincial chiefs, headmen of the villages of Our kingdom, officials, and so forth, **sending greeting, maketh proclamation.**

[3. **The grant.**] Be it unto you known : **By Us**

**A field**, in the district of Sangama-kheṭaka, at the eastern boundary of Suvarṇārapalli village, of a size that requireth of rice wherewith to seed it down one basket (according to the standard of the province), of which [field] the bounds are : on the east, the march of the village of Kshīra-sara [Milk-lake] ; on the north, the march of the village of Kukkuṭa-vallikā [Cock's-creeper] ; on the west, a field granted to a Brahman, and a banian tree and a pool ; on the south, the road to the village of Suvarṇārapalli, and the Aṭavi-pāṭaka village line, — a field thus clearly bounded and butted, . . .

For so long a time as moon and sun and sea and land shall endure, to be enjoyed by sons and grandsons and [remoter] issue,

the rules of Hindu grammarians, the influence worked both ways. Usage determined what Pāṇini's rules should be, and Pāṇini's rules had a mighty normative influence on the Sanskrit language. To specify donor and donation and donee was an indispensable essential and so became a custom. This was formulated into rule, the nucleus of others, which in turn became a norm of legal usage.

<sup>1</sup> It has been edited and translated by the trusty hand of Bühler, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-hist. Cl., 1896, Vol. CXXXV, no. 8. His German version does not make the general structure of the document quite so clear as might be wished, and I have ventured to translate the Sanskrit text anew and into English, but with excision of several clauses, tedious or technical, and of two of the five stanzas. The version of the other three, although metrical, is very close.



Unto the Brahman Sūrya, from Dāçapura emigrant, in Kshīra-sara village resident, a member of the Bharadvāja clan and belonging to the Mādhyandina school of the White Yajur Veda,

For the purpose of meeting the costs of the five great sacrifices, . . . and other religious rites, for the increase of the glory and the religious merit of Our mother and father and of Ourselves,

To-day on the fifteenth of the bright [fortnight] of Vāiçākha, with an over-pouring of water hath been [over-poured, that is] granted.

[4. The sanction.] Wherefore, by all coming landed chiefs, whether of Our or of other lineage, — seeing that life is unstable as the billows of the storm-lashed ocean, that riches are transitory and pithless, and that virtue is for a long time steadfastly abiding, — who wish to attain the reward that all may share from the granting of land, and who wish to accumulate enduring fame brilliant as the rays of the moon, this Our grant is to be confirmed and defended.

Whoso, his mind covered with the veil of the darkness of ignorance, shall either take it away or suffer it to be taken, — he shall be [as if] guilty of the five deadly sins.

And thus it hath been declared by the Exalted Vyāsa, the author (vyāsa) of the Vedas :

For sixty thousand years in heaven  
Abideth he who land hath given ;  
And just as many must, in hell,  
Who takes or suffers taking, dwell.

On Vindhya's arid mountain-side  
In parchèd holes shall he abide,  
Shall be reborn as cobra black,  
Who lands once given taketh back. . . .

Lands given by others or by thee,  
Yudhishthira, guard zealously.  
Best lord of lands 'mong all that live,  
'T is better to defend than give.

[5. The date.] In the year three-hundred-two-and-ninety, on the fifteenth [lunar day] of the bright [fortnight] of Vāiçākha, by [the king's] own oral command, this was written by the Minister of Alliances and War, Reva, ye[ar] 300 90 2, Vāiçākha br[ight] 10 5.

[6. The teste.] Of him who delighteth in worshiping the feet of the God-of-day, the Illustrious Vitarāga's son, the sign-manual is here —

Illustrious Praçāntarāga's.

This document suggests a number of interesting considerations and parallels. First, as a whole. It is at once clear that the charter consists of six

distinct parts : (1) the invocation, (2) the proem or preamble, (3) the grant proper or the operative clause, (4) the sanction, (5) the date, and (6) the teste. These are precisely the constituent elements of an Anglo-Saxon land-boc<sup>1</sup> such as was in use in the wilds of distant unknown Britain at the very time that this charter was issued in India or not much later. This is a striking instance of the fact that (given similar needs) the natural working of the human mind may produce results which are astonishingly similar and which are nevertheless each wholly independent of the other. It is also a sharp warning to the theorists who in such cases rashly assume a borrowing in one direction or the other.

Then, as to the parts. **1. The invocation.** In many cases this is long and highly elaborate ; but in this charter it is brief — just the syllable Om and the word Well-being or su-asti. The mystic syllable, a true multum-in-parvo, typifies the Hindu Trinity, and is quite as replete with solemn significance as are the opening words of many an ancient will, In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

**2. The proem.** This begins with the name of the grantor's city in the ablative case, and the essential parts of the sentence (as indicated by the Clarendon type) are : From Nāndīpura the Illustrious Dadda, sending greeting, maketh proclamation. In the Sanskrit original, the 110 English words beginning with *Who covereth* and ending with *reverence* form only three words, each a compound of great length. They are notable rather as amusing examples of complexity than as serious occasions of perplexity, and they make the wildest "hyperpolysyllabic sesquipedalianism" of which we are capable seem like the diction of a book of nursery tales. The grant proper is in the first person (By Us) ; but as the proem is in the third, we may, for the sake of the king, assume that the responsibility for the flamboyant adulation of the proem is to be put upon the shoulders of Reva, his minister, who drew the charter, and who composed or copied this part of it. The irrelevance of most of the proem is fairly comparable with the irrelevance of the delightful verbiage at the beginning of many an old will.<sup>2</sup>

**3. The grant proper.** The opening clause, Be it unto you known, suggests the *Vobis illud notum sit*, the *Know ye that*, and the *Sciatis quod* that are so familiar. To understand its Sanskrit original, *astu vo veditam*, a smattering of Latin almost suffices, for *astu* is *esto*, and the enclitic *vo* serves for *vobis* as well as *vos*, and *viditam* is made from *vid*, 'to wit,' as is *habitu* from *hab-ere*. The second paragraph contains the premises (in the literal sense of premises) or describes the premises (in the transferred sense). To indicate the size of the field by the measure of seed-rice that it takes is round-about. The text of this paragraph ends with the rehearsal of valuable privileges

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Henry Cabot Lodge, in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta vetusta*, passim.



and exemptions too technical for this occasion.<sup>1</sup> Of the counter-clockwise order of the bounds we must not fail to speak. The Vedic literature lays great stress on the sunwise order (north, east, south, west) as the auspicious order of making any circuit, a bit of folk-lore that goes back to Indo-European times.<sup>2</sup> The Atharva-Veda observes it even in magic charms<sup>3</sup> for defense against dangers from the different quarters; and it is observed in many grants.<sup>4</sup> Now that airships are calling into existence a "law of the air," we may note that a Nepalese charter<sup>5</sup> of 725 A.D., on ceding a village, is at pains to include as thereto appurtenant "the land and the sky above and the nether regions below." The third paragraph means no more than "[to him and] his heirs forever." The moon and the sun appear, not only as parts of a conventional standing phrase, but also as emblems depicted upon the seal of the donor, with his totem, as an easily understood symbol of perpetuity.<sup>6</sup> Of the fourth paragraph the essential part is the nomination of the donee. This is made explicit by particularizing his former and present abode. Bharadvāja, of whose line he claims to be born, is one of the few great names of the Rig-Veda. Data as to schools of Vedic study, if, as here, the time and place are not doubtful, are of obvious value for literary history. The fifth paragraph recites the moving cause of the instrument. The purpose of the grant is religious. I have noted inscriptions whose provenience ranges from Nepal to the Gulf of Cambay and Central Java,<sup>7</sup> entreating future kings to defend the grant as being a bridge to heaven (dharma-setu) built by a former king for his own and others' welfare. For this they have good scripture-warrant in the Mahā-Bhārata, which assures us that a man who gives land purges from sin or rescues from hell ten generations on both sides. Dadda, thus offered an ell, takes only an inch, and that for his father and mother and himself. In just this sense the land-boc says *pro redemptione criminum meorum* and *pro remedio animae meae*.<sup>8</sup> In the sixth paragraph, the word *to-day* is important. Yet more so is the word *over-pouring*. To this we will later revert.

4. **The sanction**, consisting of three parts. These, as our friend behind the arras might have called them, are the moralizingly-mandatory, the minatory, and the metrically-promissory-minatory-hortatory. The stanzas, especially the first and the last, are quoted very often in the grants, as Brihaspati

<sup>1</sup> Wood, grass, water, pasturage, and the right to impose fines are sometimes specified; cf. *Indian Antiquary*, VI, 193.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Caland, *Een Indogermaansch Lustratie-gebruik*, Koninklijke Ak. van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam, 1898. Had the land-hemisphere (and so the course of human history) lain mostly south of the equator, the sunwise or lucky order of circuit would surely have been from right to left.

<sup>3</sup> For example, III, 26; IV, 40; V, 10.

<sup>4</sup> For many examples, see *Ind. Ant.*, VI, 194-213.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 175.

<sup>6</sup> A. C. Burnell gives admirable pictures of such seals in his *South-Indian Palaeography* (London, 1878), plate facing p. 106. As totems appear elephant, tiger, boar, and fish.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 176; *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVIII, no. 49, p. 269; Vol. XVII, no. 47, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> H. C. Lodge, *ibid.* p. 103.

prescribes, and with more or less variation, and are credited, now to Vyāsa and now to Manu.<sup>1</sup> Although they have not been traced in our texts of Manu or the Mahā-Bhārata, they read precisely like stanzas of that great poem. They are really old verses of Hindu oral tradition, commonplaces of which the royal donors sought to increase the authority by ascribing them to such great names as Vyāsa or Manu.

**5. The date.** That the day should be the day of full moon is doubtless no accident; we may suppose it was chosen advisedly by the king.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, for certain gifts Vasishṭha<sup>3</sup> commends especially the full moon of the lunar month Vāiṣākha or April-May. The numbers are first written out in words and then repeated in figures, again a touch of modernity such as surprises us when, for instance, we read the rule<sup>4</sup> that partial payments of a debt should be written on the back of the bill of debt, that is, indorsed on the note.

**6. The teste.** It should be noted that the royal signature is in the genitive case.<sup>5</sup>

The pouring of water as the accompaniment of a gift. The oldest formal prescription of this rite that I have noted is in Apastamba's Dharma-sūtras:<sup>6</sup> All gifts [are to be] preceded by [the pouring out of] water, sarvāṇy udaka-pūrvāṇi dānāni; and, as Mr. S. K. Belvalkar, a friend and pupil from India, informs me, the custom persists even to the present day in his native land. The usage is prescribed in many law-books.<sup>7</sup> Concrete examples of its observance in connection with gifts of land are common in the inscriptions, and are to be found often elsewhere in connection with all manner of other gifts, from an alms to a daughter. For the paltry gift of food, Parāçara directs<sup>7</sup> that the giver put water on the recipient's hand, then the food, and then again water. The Jātaka<sup>8</sup> tells how the Future Buddha gives a superb elephant to the Brahmins. He puts the noble creature's trunk in their hands, and then, pouring scented water from a golden ewer, he makes over the gift. To Manu's definition<sup>9</sup> of an adopted son as one "given by mother or father, with water," the scholiast Rāghavānanda<sup>10</sup> adds that they may have no choice as to the water. The story of Buddha's previous existence as Vessantara (his last but one) is famous and tells how, as an act of supreme abnegation, he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. W. Hopkins, in *Journal of the Am. Oriental Soc.*, XI, 243-245.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Institutes of Vishnu*, xc, 3-16, SBE., VII, 266-268.

<sup>3</sup> See Vasishṭha, xxviii, 18-19; SBE., XIV, 135; cf. VII, 267.

<sup>4</sup> Yājñavalkya, ii, 93.

<sup>5</sup> For many such signatures, see, for example, *Ind. Ant.*, VI, 192 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Bühler's 2d ed., ii, 4, 9<sup>8</sup>; translated by him, SBE., II, 121. He assigns them to the third century B.C., *ibid.* p. xliii.

<sup>7</sup> For example: Gāutama, v, 18-19, SBE., II, 201; Baudhāyana, ii, 17, 29-30, SBE., XIV, 277; Vishnu, lix, 15, SBE., VII, 192; Parāçara, i, 53, in *Bibliotheca Indica*.

<sup>8</sup> Pāli text, II, 371; translation, II, 253-254.

<sup>9</sup> Manu, ix, 168.

<sup>10</sup> In V. N. Mandlik's ed. of Manu with the six scholiasts, Bombay, 1886.



gave away to an ugly Brahman his little son and daughter.<sup>1</sup> Even this heart-breaking act is not without formal confirmation. He takes water in his gourd, and calling, "Come hither, Brahman," he pours it out and thus makes over the gift to himself so precious.

The manumission of a slave may be viewed as a gift, to wit, of freedom. Nārada<sup>2</sup> describes the ceremonial. The slave comes up, bearing on his shoulder a jar of water. This the master smashes in token that he has done with looking for that service; and then, sprinkling the slave on the head with water in which (most significantly) flowers and unground grain have been put, he cries aloud, "No slave [is he], no slave, no slave," and, facing him to the east, lets him go. Of this usage the essentials are the sprinkling and the thrice-uttered auspicious words. The ceremonial for restraining a runaway slave<sup>3</sup> seems to me to consist of essentially the same rites, but reversed (for the threefold declaration of freedom, a threefold declaration of bondage; for water with flowers and grain, urine sprinkled from a horn), and with the addition of a most inauspicious accessory, the anti-sunwise circumambulation. The master, watching his chance, makes three circuits from right to left around the slave while he is asleep, sprinkling each time and uttering charms that end as follows :

Servole, circumminctus es,  
quo circumminctus fugies?

The oft-noted parallel from Petronius,<sup>4</sup> *si circumminxero illum, nesciet qua fugiat*, is fairly startling — and may be purely accidental.

Giving is one of the commonest everyday acts, a deed whose normal course is to brighten life and pass into oblivion. But in the long history of "unhistorical" India, a few gifts have stood for centuries, celebrated in song and story, and known to untold millions of admiring souls devout. Thus the giving of Sītā to be the wife of Rāma, — of Sītā, to threescore generations the exemplar, almost or even quite divine, of every womanly virtue. King Janaka says<sup>5</sup> to Rāma, "Here is my daughter Sītā. Take her, with my blessing. Her hand grasp thou with thy hand." With these words he pours upon Rāma's hand water consecrated with holy spells and thus he "giveth this woman to be married to this man."

And again, the first great religious endowment in the annals of Buddhism, the famous gift of Bamboo-Grove, made in solemn phrase by King Bimbisāra to Buddha and the Order. It is narrated<sup>6</sup> in the Pīṭaka : "Then the king of

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, text, VI, 547; translation, VI, 283.

<sup>2</sup> Nārada, text, v, 42-43; translation, SBE., XXXIII, 138.

<sup>3</sup> Pāraskara's *Grihya-sūtras*, iii, 7; SBE., XXIX, 350; cf. XXX, 176, 296.

<sup>4</sup> In *Trimalchio's Dinner*, lvii. See Pischel, in *Philol. Abh.*, *Martin Hertz dargebracht*, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> *Rāmāyana*, I, 73, 26, Nirṇaya Sāgara ed., Bombay, 1888.

<sup>6</sup> *Vinaya-Pīṭaka*, Oldenberg's ed., Vol. I, p. 39; SBE., XIII, 143.

Magadha, Seniya Bimbisāra, took a golden vessel of water and poured it over the hand of the Exalted One, with the declaration, 'This park, Bamboo-Grove, I, reverend Sir, unto the brotherhood of the monks with the Buddha at their head do give.' The Exalted One accepted the pleasance." The introduction to the Jātaka<sup>1</sup> adds with pious gravity: "Upon the acceptance of this pleasance the mighty earth did quake, as if to say, 'Now the Buddha's religion hath struck root.' For in all the Land of the Rose-apple, there is no monastery whose acceptance made the earth to quake, save only Bamboo-Grove. And in Ceylon there is none such, save only Greatminster."

This last is in allusion to the first religious endowment of Ceylon, the gift of Cloud-Grove, famous under its later name<sup>2</sup> of Mahā-vihāra or Greatminster, and made by King Tissa to Mahinda, the Apostle to Ceylon. The charming story is told in the Great Chronicle or Mahāvansa:<sup>3</sup> "King Tissa took a vessel, a splendid one, and with the words 'Great-Cloud-Grove pleasance here, give I unto the brotherhood,' upon the hand of Mahinda the Elder the gift-water he did sprinkle. When the water fell on the earth, then quaked the mighty earth. 'Why quakes the ground?' the monarch asked him. 'Because the religion has got a foothold on the island,' Mahinda replied."

But for India the climax of all pious gifts is reached in the story of Anātha-piṇḍika, the Treasurer of Sāvatti. It is given in the Vinaya,<sup>4</sup> and, more fully and with many pleasing embellishments, in the introduction to the Jātaka. He had gone on business to Rājagaha,<sup>5</sup> had met the Buddha, and, won over by the strength and beauty of his character and teaching, had become his disciple. Returning home, he buys of prince Jeta, for "a layer of ten million gold pieces," that is, for coins enough to cover the ground, the famous Jeta-Grove or Jetavana. In it he builds a beautiful monastery and eagerly awaits a visit from the Buddha. And when at last the Exalted One arrives, the treasurer asks him, "Reverend Sir, how shall I proceed in the matter of this monastery?" "Well, householder, this monastery unto the brotherhood of the monks, present and to come, give thou." "Be it so, reverend Sir," said the treasurer, and taking a golden vessel, he poured water over the hand of the Buddha, and, with the words, "This Jetavana monastery unto the brotherhood, present and to come, of all the four quarters, with the Buddha at their head, give I," he gave it. The Teacher accepted it.

The story of Jetavana recurs in many books, and the formula of donation to the brotherhood of all the four quarters became, as the inscriptions show, a standing one, and the fame of the gift has spread from India to Ceylon

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, text, Vol. I, p. 85; translation, Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 118. The Land of the Rose-apple is India.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Mahāvansa*, xv, 214, with the rest of the chapter, or W. Geiger's translation.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahāvansa*, xv, 1-26. It is told also in the *Island Chronicle* or *Dīpavansa*, xiii, 18-34.

<sup>4</sup> *Vinaya*, Vol. II, pp. 154-159; SBE., XX, 179-189. *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 92; Rhys Davids, *ibid.* pp. 130-132.

<sup>5</sup> Rājagaha, or Kings-bury, was the capital of Magadha.



and Burma and China. A thousand years later, the touchingly beautiful records of the courage and devotion of the Chinese pilgrims who crossed the "Sand-ocean" to visit the Holy Land of Magadha fail not to tell the story of Jetavana and in particular the curious circumstances of its purchase.<sup>1</sup> Nor is this all. Thanks to Hindu piety and Hindu art, the story has been made the subject of one of the most interesting sculptures of a noted Buddhist monument of 250 B.C., the Stupa of Bharhut.<sup>2</sup> A medallion, of which a reproduction is given here, shows us the unyoked bullocks, the cart in which the coins were brought, a man unloading them, another carrying them, and yet two others at work covering the ground with a layer of them. The coins are quadrangular and rudely swaged, just such as we know from the texts.<sup>3</sup> In the center stands the great treasurer with his golden vessel ready to pour. And, that nothing may be lacking, there is underneath the medallion the legend, Anāthapiṇḍika giveth Jetavana, [having become its] purchaser for a layer of ten million.

Jetavana Anādhapeḍiko deti koṭi-santhatena keṭā  
 Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍika giveth, by a-crore-layer a-buyer.

So perfectly does the venerable monument confirm the books.

That the donor should have the right or capacity to give, that he should actually deliver, that the donee should actually accept, — such conditions of validity are so obviously necessary as to be universal, and herein they differ from the condition that the act of gift should be confirmed by a pouring of water. This seems to me to be primarily a symbolic act.<sup>4</sup> Its implication is: As this water which is now let go by me cannot be gathered up and taken back, — so shall it be with this gift which I now let go to thee, the donee. It was doubtless an immemorial Hindu usage, that grew (as we have seen) to be established custom at an early time, and thus came to be embodied in the law-books. The limits of this paper have allowed the discussion of a few details and no more, but enough, let me hope, to suggest that a systematic comparative study of the legal aspects of donation would make an interesting chapter in the history of Indo-European legal antiquities.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II, p. 4. Cf. James Legge's *Fā-hien*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> See Alex. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*.

<sup>3</sup> *Visuddhi Magga*, Book xiv, Rangoon ed. of 1901, p. 374, l. 25.

<sup>4</sup> The German word *schenke* means primarily 'pour' and secondarily 'give,' but the latter meaning does not appear until the post-classical period of Middle High German. As to the semantic connection, see Jacob Grimm's essay, "Ueber Schenken und Geben," in *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. II (Berlin, 1865), pp. 173–210, and especially p. 204. He mentions the Indian water-pouring in his *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 2d ed., p. 190.



THE GIVING OF THE LAND FOR JETA-VANA MONASTERY

From a Buddhist monument of about 250 B.C.





## THE MOTHER-IN-LAW

FRANCIS B. GUMMERE

In two lectures,<sup>1</sup> fortified by ample notes and references, Professor Schrader has traced back the tradition of the wicked mother-in-law. He argues partly from old literature, partly from survivals. A sinister figure, yet the most conspicuous member of the actual household, the husband's mother keeps her "wicked" name in Russian ballads and in the popular literature of South-eastern Europe. Conditions of family life in those lands which lie apart from the highways of civilization have changed but little in the course of centuries; and the mother-in-law seems to hold there still the place and power which she once held throughout the Aryan world. "Wicked," of course, is not her own word; it expresses the young wife's point of view, and has long been current. Old literature, Germanic and Celtic, older Greek and Latin, yet older Indian, testify to the envy and hatred of the wife towards her husband's mother. An older and better state of affairs in the family, however, can be faintly but definitely discerned, and a far better reputation of the mother-in-law, which survives by implication in English "goodmother."<sup>2</sup> Ranging far and wide for evidence, Professor Schrader finds not only that the relation between the husband's mother and his wife is one of the oldest concepts recorded in Aryan speech, and therefore one of the primitive facts of our household organization, but also that this mother-in-law was a leader in the struggle for domestic order and a decent family life.<sup>3</sup> Vivid is the contrast of that ancient dignity with the mother-in-law's present state, powerless, the butt of cheap wit or cheaper pathos. Excluding this third stage, however, one may ask whether the second and first stages in the career of the mother-in-law, particularly the first, are illuminated at all by a study of the English and Scottish traditional ballads.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Schwiegermutter und der Hagestolz, eine Studie aus der Geschichte unserer Familie*, Braunschweig, 1904. — The author assumes patriarchal conditions for the Aryans as far back as their history can be followed or inferred. The matriarchate, by his reckoning, has always belonged to quite alien peoples.

<sup>2</sup> The ballads use "mother deere" both in description (*Childe Waters*, A, 33) and in address (by the husband, *passim*; by the new wife, *Gil Brenton*, C, 55). So the Danish usage, even where the mother is a bad witch: "hans kiere moder" (*Hustru og Mandsmoder*, F, 2). A similar formula, perhaps, was the *αἰδούη* (*Iliad*, xxii, 451) which Schrader notes as given by the "good" daughter-in-law, Andromache, to Hecuba. Later views of the case would thus be responsible for the change of Hecuba's attribute in Plautus (*Menæchmi*, 714 ff.), and make Schrader's "doch" (note 15, work quoted) unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> Work quoted, pp. 26, 79. — The husband's mother is now to a large extent superseded for jocose purposes by the wife's mother, a relation practically unnoticed in oldest times.



The question was put by Professor Schrader, when he was gathering his material, to the present writer ; and the answer, too hastily given, was mainly negative. A subsequent review of the ballads has led to some positive results.

What sort of evidence can the ballads, which rest upon tradition of five or six centuries at the utmost, give for a state of affairs which belongs by the hypothesis to a far older date ? Only the survival in sentiment, in the setting of an ancient story which has been cast anew in the ballad mold, in fossil phrases, wreckage of old habits of speech that once expressed a definite custom or a forgotten attitude of mind. The ballads are not a bank upon which one draws at will ; but they are a very likely place for finding lost money. Theirs is the romance of tradition, a kind of obsolete reality, as different from literary romance of the past as it is from modern realism. They have not much of the fantastic element so plentiful in popular tales, and speak more willingly of old custom than of old myth. The ballad is more stubborn, its form is far from the flexible prose of the tale, its choral and dramatic origins keep it "near the ground," and it gives fancy too narrow range. Rare are the wafts from the fantastic world of the tales, such as the stanza about that hypothetical wolf in *Johnie Cock*, an impressive passage, which seems to have strayed from some story of "the grateful beast" ; and commonplace, if common, are the recurring lines about birds who tell tales, bring first aid to the injured husband, and carry messages, — an affable and serviceable band. It is easy, perhaps too easy, for the tales to point back from witch to matriarch ; witches are fantastic and cannot be explained by the modern instance. On the other hand, the tradition of ballads about old custom, and their sentiment of a vanished way of life, are always in danger of this modern parallel and its easy explanation. Scott pointed out the reference to sworn brotherhood in *Bewick and Graham*. It is a survival in sentiment —

In every town that I ride through,  
They'll say, "There rides a brotherless man" —

to be compared with the fine realism used by Chaucer's pardoner,<sup>1</sup> and with the unreal character of relationship generally in the popular tales. Here, indeed, is the great difficulty in taking the evidence of the ballads. The brotherless man, one may say, needs no stay in tradition ; he can be found in any modern kailyard story. It may be. But that phrase and that sentiment cannot be found in the modern transcript from life. The stay in tradition is demanded because of the incongruity of the old sentiment with the modern facts, with the actual narrative setting ; and this demand holds good of the sentiment about actual as well as artificial kindred. A preference, inexplicable in the life of the balladists, for the inferior bond of kin, as modern eyes see it, over the superior, must pass as traditional sentiment sprung from earlier custom.

<sup>1</sup> "Herkneth, felawes," etc., *C. T.*, C, 696 ff.

Absurdities, too, are often helpful. For material things, one knows how faithfully tradition has clung to such absurdities as the bower on the strand,<sup>1</sup> and the bigly bower far from the brother's or the father's hall. For more abstract nonsense, Prince Robert says to his own mother in her own house, "It is the fashion in our countrie, mithier, — *I dinna ken what it is here*, — to like your wife better than your mithier." Textual absurdity, too, bewrays an effete but sincere sentiment in *Lady Maisry*; <sup>2</sup> the nice conjunction of pronouns, the dislocation of facts, the formal phrase, show that to the old washerwoman who sang the ballad this silliness about a sister's son came down so, and must somehow be right. A different triumph of old sentiment over new fact is when Ebbe Galt, in the Danish ballad, is brought before the king, charged with horrid crime. Proper tragedy would make him the king's son. But the cry of horror is — "Ebbe Galt, söster-sön min!" Similar surplus of sanctity hangs over the relation of sister and brother. Not the husband here wagers on his wife's constancy; it is the brother, Wise William, confident in his sister, and he wins. Even when a competent father is at hand, the bold brethren, preferably seven, are nearest and dearest to the sister, the one sister; <sup>3</sup> they swarm in tragic tales; and outside of tragedy it is the sport to see them hoist by their own officiousness. Chief mourners at their sister's funeral, as in *Saunders* and *Lord Thomas*, — the old way, — they are chief dupes at her resurrection, as in the *Gay Goshawk*, — surely a fine new ballad for the new woman.

What, now, and at last, of the husband's mother in traditional English and Scottish ballads? These alone shall be studied; comparison with the European ballads would lead too far. In one case, however, the related foreign ballads must be examined, simply to show that such comparisons would often restore a lost mother-in-law to her empty place in the English version. In *Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight*, neither the elf nor Sir John — he that lures away the maid, would kill her, and meets his own death or defeat — is provided with a mother; but the mother appears in sundry important versions of the same ballad in Western Europe. "Far better preserved than the English, and marked with very ancient and impressive traits," says Professor Child, is the Dutch ballad of *Halewijn*. Impressive, certainly, and surely ancient is the story here of the stolen maid's safe return, not, as in the stupid conclusion of some English ballads, to meet her own family and fool them with a fable about her absence overnight, but to meet a solitary and perhaps tragic figure, the mother of her tricked captor. It is true that even here the ballad as *genre* asserts itself in some versions, indulges its own function of incremental

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Child's quip, *Ballads*, IV, 391.

<sup>2</sup> G, 5, 1 (her); 7, 1 (his).

<sup>3</sup> This "ae sister" with many brothers may dimly recall the times when exposure of female infants (the *Gunnlaugssaga* was contemporary with the last of the practice) made the proportion. The stories of naval foundlings began in that stage of culture; and of course the example of a husband preferred to brothers was set by the new and prevalent version of the *Nibelungenlied*.



repetition, and revels in the relative-climax. The maid meets in succession the man's father, brother, sister, mother, who ask after him; and, in the right climax, only the last inquirer gets true answer, taunt, and perhaps a sight of the severed head. The old sooth of the story, however, reminding one not only of Judith, Bugge's instance, but also of the mother of Sisera, occurs in sundry Dutch and Westphalian versions.<sup>1</sup> Here the girl's triumph is over the man's mother alone, whom she meets, now on the road, —

Frau Clara de kam de Straten entlang, —

now, Sisera's mother to the life at home, —

Frau Jutte de kek tom fenster herut :  
" Helena, wo ist mein Söhnelein ? "

Had the killing of Sisera been recorded in the song of his own people, one would hear, instead of the taunt to his mother, her own *kina* over her son's death. If the ballad had taken that older tradition of the "good" man's-mother, it would have given her lament as conclusion to a story of the dangerous or fatal bride. In *Young Hunting*, B, 19, appears this mother only in a casual way, a "dowie woman" moaning for her son whom the wily true-love, so it turns out, has slain. In C the mother finds her son's drowned body. But in related Scandinavian ballads this mother has warned her son against the leman's treachery. In *Lord Randal*, too, the man's mother, wise and good, right guardian of her son and his house, is too late to save him from the false true-love; who, indeed, belongs to the "dangerous bride" category, not necessarily to the modern setting of intrigue. In H, traditional in Ireland, the mother's "own pretty boy" has been poisoned by a wife; and Professor Schrader, noting that the daughters-in-law of Russian ballads — and real life — are "oft keine Heiligen," shows that in these cases "wicked" is a late and unfitting word for the mother-in-law. Here the old type of helpful, authoritative mother-in-law comes into view. If the "situation" can be saved, she saves it. In *Leesome Brand*, corrupted as it is and astray from the path of the right story, one nevertheless sees the man's mother in the part of one who "knows how," and has the word of command. Advice from the man's mother in matrimonial or other amorous quest is indeed inevitable, and should be taken. Even the devils obey her, and tremble. The elf, demon, hill-man, in old and widespread Scandinavian ballads, runs to his mother for counsel, a fact significant for the elf-knight of Lady Isabel. "Min kiere moder, y kiender mig rad," says the dwarf-king,<sup>2</sup> "huor ieg skall kongens datter foe"; and German Wassermann seeks the same help. The *ménage* of Grendel and his more formidable mother is suggestive, though the poet knew of no other

<sup>1</sup> Uhland, I, 153; Reifferscheid, p. 162. The simplest form is Uhland's D, 33-35.

<sup>2</sup> Grundtvig, II, 40, A, 14 f.

members ; and it is needless, almost, to point to popular tales of the devil himself and his mother, where the lady — now and then grandmother — is always more powerful and wise than her son. It is well known, too, that the devil's sire is never or rarely named. Superior knowledge always belongs to the husband's mother ; Estmere's resourceful brother owns that he got his skill in white magic from that source. Women, of course, taught magic to their daughters ; and Mary Douglas had her skill from her mother, "a witch woman."<sup>1</sup> Professor Karl Pearson makes the malignant witch direct descendant of the mother in the matriarchate ; but a nearer source can be indicated. It is a short step from Sir John, or elf-knight, or Halewijn, wicked all three, to a wickedly advising mother, who, from the maid's point of view, is the wicked mother-in-law of tradition. But tradition has more and better to say of her : "ealodrincende ðær sædan." There was an older story, different in all its details as well as in its chief persons ; and the basis of it is historical rather than mythical. Halewijn and the elf may indeed go back to the "half-human, half-demonic being" assumed by Mr. Child ; but the human half is the original. The man from a far country is the primitive bride-stealer. He stole or lured away his bride, — the great promises of gold in Swedish versions would fit this as well as the demonic case, — and took her home. In that home waited the man's mother, who ruled the household, and tamed young shrews to its ways. If, as often happened, no son came back with a bride to greet the waiting mother, that solitary figure was tragic. Sympathy with her responsible and arduous life, as Schrader notes, lingered long among the Romans, a practical and order-loving folk. But with new times, new marriage customs, new women, came new songs. The bride's point of view prevailed. The bride-stealing turned in retrospect to violence and willful or motiveless murder ; the bride-stealer to a demon, or a humanized demon like Hind Etin ; the man's mother to a black witch. For that happy ending to which the Lady Isabel ballads, notably the Ulinger group, have mainly come, a brother is provided — not, as in later fiction, a lover — to prevent the foul deed. Demon and witch are disenchanted ; man, and often mother, are killed. But the intimacy and economic alliance of that older pair were not altogether lost in the change of conditions and with the shifted point of view.

One makes no case of the mere household of widow and son, frequent enough in times of war and feud. "Gin a widow would borrow me," says Young Bekie, C, 4, "I wad swear to be her son." Naturally. Henry V will draft no widow's son into his army, for fear of a widow's curse. Sybill and Jock o' the Side do not count ; although Jock's "good night" to his mother and to Lord Mangerton, his mother's brother, is attractive. Little stress can be laid upon the homely appeal in *Lady Alice*, B, where "Giles Collins he said to his auld mother," that he was dying for love. But in ballads of the

<sup>1</sup> Child, III, 412, No. 176, st. 26.



type of *Gil Brenton* one comes to the man's mother in something like her ancient offices. Here is no necessary assumption of widowhood for her; often a father as well as a mother is named, but he plays no part. Gil Brenton's mother is authoritative, stern, but just; "stark and steer," she dings doors off their hinges as she strides to the inquisition; the shadow of memorial awe is upon her. Blankets, sheets, pillows, or the Billie Blin, tell Brenton the wife he has fetched home is no leal maid, — the substitution device can hardly be original in the story, — but their detective function is limited to present facts. It is the mother who, at her son's request, takes charge of the case and sets it aright. She is detective, judge, jury, executive. In the older and better versions, Scandinavian and German, of *Fair Annie*,<sup>1</sup> — another happy ending, — the man's mother plays the same part. In *Childe Waters* she is beneficent only by second intentions; but the force of her query and command is not quite obscured. This is romance of the old style if not of the old tradition. Under new conditions of the household, the ravished maid bears her Tristram in the forest, but marries anon, while the son bides an outlaw or hunter in the wood. The recognition could now be happy or tragic; but in either case the husband's mother is forgotten. Not so in the days of stolen or far-fetched wives. If the bride-stealing went awry, the mother was her son's refuge or hope; and romantic features in a Douglas Tragedy, less obvious in *Earl Brand*, do not altogether hide the old function. What, indeed, to look more closely at a single ballad, what has this *Earl Brand* to show of that lost money, that evidence of long-vanished custom? First, and plain to see, is the ballad form, the specific functions which make this poem a ballad and not a 'dramatic lyric' or other product of the artistic poet. There are the chanting, the pervasive refrain, the choral effect as of definite situation and shifting parts, the incremental repetition, the dialogue two thirds and the narrative one third of the whole. Next is the story, the plot, easily classified, comparable in a vast range of literature both popular and artistic. Third, — and is there any third element? Yes, the apparition of the mother, her cry for her mortally wounded son, her bitter word for the dear-bought bride, and the appeal of the son to her authority and her wisdom to save the fortunes of the house. The mother disposes. All this, taken by itself, can be explained in terms of modern romance; but the cumulative proof of many cases of the sort, where the sentiment often runs counter to all modern ideas, bids one see in this figure the traditional "goodmother" of the household of very distant times. For tragic completeness, indeed, the mother herself must also fall, the last prop of the house; so it is in *Ribold og Guldborg*,<sup>2</sup> when, with dawn, —

der vaar tre lige i Her Ribolts huss.  
 Det ene Her Ribolt, det andet hans mœ:  
 det tredie hans moder, aff sorg bleff død.

<sup>1</sup> Child, II, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Grundtvig, II, 355; D, 52 f.

These are the principals in the old domestic drama: man, stolen bride, man's mother. For modern notions, lover and bride alone are tragic victims; and the mother in *Earl Brand* remains to rule the house. This ancient office survives in many an episode. The child born of secret and tragic love is brought to her; there is no need to name all the ballads — *Fair Janet* is typical — where Willie, the widow's son, or another, gives his newborn child, soon to be orphaned, into his mother's care.<sup>1</sup> The ballad's lust of repetition, to be sure, often calls up all the members of the family; but the mother is not only head of the group, but is easily detached as a solitary and commanding figure. Substitutions are not hard to detect. In the tragic *Bonny Hind*, Jock Randal goes from the death-scene "his father dear to see," and to hear words of comfort; and Lizzie Wan sits, absurdly enough, at her father's bower-door. But in the second case the mother is clearly the original figure, as is shown by the contaminated verse; while for the former, Mr. Child's apt comparison of Kullervo and his mother in the *Kalevala* is decisive. To be noted in this Finnish tradition is the shadowy, inactive father as against the real and active mother. Whether or not *Clerk Colvill*, C, gets its grouping from *Willie and May Margaret*, "Clark Colven and his gay ladie" of A seem less fitting for the scene of the "forbidding" formula than "Clerk Colin and his mother dear." For these warnings were once absolute property and right of the man's mother. The Faroese versions of *Elveskud*, which, as Mr. Child notes, are nearest the English, make Olaf's mother, not his wife, warn him to keep away from his elfin love. So in French, Italian, Spanish versions, and naturally in the Slavic, a mother plays this main part. By new reckonings, to be sure, the mother could counsel ill. In *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet*, A, where the whole family convenes and advises, Thomas says, "Na, I will tak my mither's counsel." In C, E, only the mother is asked. In H she is main adviser, and will lay a curse upon her son if he shall spurn her own choice of the nut-brown bride. But this mother's curse, an important matter, belongs with the second stage of the tradition.

In the well-known group of stolen brides, sung in certain late but mainly traditional Scottish ballads, the authoritative mother-in-law appears in fairly close relation with actual life. In *Lizzie Lindsay* a Highland lord asks his mother for permission to fetch home a bride from Edinburgh city. Court her "in grit povertie," counsels the mother. So he woos and wins Lizzie in the guise of a lowly shepherd, takes her to the Highlands, points out a poor shieling as his home, and bids the old woman there treat them as son and daughter-in-law. The supposed mother welcomes Lizzie, but sets her to hard

<sup>1</sup> Sisters, too, are at hand to help; but the ballad-form loves a large family, and is bound, like Buchan's wight, to indulge in what may be called the relative-climax at every turn. Perversions and substitutions of relationship in this case of the man's mother, the entrance of step-mothers and bride's mothers, cannot be treated here as they deserve.

work just as would be the case in a Russian ballad. In *Richie Story* this command to work under the mother-in-law's oversight is in earnest. The good-mother bids Richie's highborn wife to kilt her coats —

And muck the byre with Ritchie Storie.

Finally, a late ballad, marked indeed by "barrenness and folly," as Mr. Child phrases it, puts forth the man's mother not simply as a wise woman, like King Estmere's mother, but as a sort of white witch. She gives her son Cow-me-doo his dove's form, takes his children in charge, and, in time of stress, with aid from another woman who knows how, turns him into a goshawk and his sons into swans. But this matter is far better handled in popular tales.

It is only what one would expect from the ballads when one finds there the mother-in-law as witch, nearly always of the black variety, companion figure to the wicked mother-in-law of tamer domestic ways. The trail now becomes plain enough. In *Willie's Lady* the wife is to be justified as right head of the household and first claimant upon her husband's love. Willie's mother, "a vile rank witch of vilest kind," is malignant to a degree, jealous of the son's wife and thwarting her hope of offspring. Cruelty outright is here; and cruelty is the mark of the mother-in-law in Russian ballads.<sup>1</sup> Professor Child very properly put *Willie's Lady* next after *Gil Brenton* in his collection; tradition of the old order precedes vindication of the new, and each is a pendant to the other. Happy also is the juxtaposition of *Lord Randal* and *Edward*. Both are retrospective ballads, dialogues in climax which bring out the story but do not tell it all or tell it clearly. A good mother's rede has been spurned, it would seem, in one ballad; a bad mother's rede has been taken in the other; and, in both cases, to a tragic end. In *Lord Randal*, with very old versions current in Southern Europe, the case is fairly plain. As for *Edward*, one would fain know precisely what were the "counsels" that his mother gave him. He has killed his father dear; as, in A, Son Davie has killed his brother John, probably a later phase of the story. Was his prototype perhaps some Hind Etin's or even Jellon Grame's son, avenging the mother, but here condemned by the new fashion of thought? In any case Son Davie will leave the "mother dear" a fire of coals to burn her, and *Edward*, more vaguely, the curse of hell. "Hell and fire," on the other hand, are for the true-love of *Lord Randal*; and she is surely representative of the "dangerous bride," — her real function in H. This curse of the son is return and echo of the mother's older curse for choice of bad wives. The jealousy of the wicked mother, her malignancy towards the young wife, — who is often romanticized into a sweetheart, — are set forth in a few of our ballads; and while the

<sup>1</sup> Schrader, p. 99, quotes a case from modern Greek life, often reflected in ballads, where a mother-in-law refuses to help her son's wife, who is mortally ill. The son begs his mother to go for the physician. Reluctantly she starts, but lingers outside the house until she is sure that the doctor's help will not avail.



older relation is often blurred, and hints of the older conditions are less clear than in related ballads of Europe, enough is also told to back the very modest claims that have been made for the tradition of the goodmother. One can imagine a vast range of stories, now lost, of the good and just mother-in-law who bars her son's door to the unworthy or suspect or positively devilish candidate for wifehood. The witch's stocking may have been on the other leg.<sup>1</sup> It may be by pathetic fallacy that modern readers sigh over Annie of Roch Royal when the false impersonating mother, so named and slandered by changed tradition, repels her from the son's door. "Awa," she cries, "ill woman, . . .

"You're but a witch or vile warlock  
Or mermaid o the flude," —

undesirable inmates all three, and the last with a particularly bad ballad reputation. By the Clerk Colvill argument, Annie might have been just what she is called, and Gregory's dame a true goodmother. Again, two can play at the poisoning game. The dangerous bride once poisoned her husband, — as happens in Russia; and by the new reckoning mothers-in-law must be shown in this congenial part. *Prince Robert* is a ballad not far from the Russian type, with no supernatural soliciting, but full of plain jealousy, hatred, and murder. The only son makes a poor marriage and refuses to be sorry for it, but dares not bring the wife home. He asks his mother's blessing, and gets a curse. He tells her, in a disordered stanza, that it is the fashion to like one's wife better than one's mother. She beguiles him to drink poison. In anticlimax she merely insults the wife, who has been summoned to the house only to find Prince Robert dead. "A slender tale," is Professor Child's comment; the full-bodied story perhaps showed the mother intending to poison the bride, but, by a blunder, killing the son.

The curse of the man's mother upon the wooing which she vainly forbids would naturally be most tenacious among the traditions of her ancient power. The formula of asking leave to woo, or seeking advice in a dilemma, has been noted as fairly frequent in the ballads. Defiance, failure to act upon the advice, have tragic results. In *Burd Isabel and Earl Patrick* the quite modern and silly story hinges upon an evasion of the mother's command.

"Burd Isabel has born to me a son,  
What sall I do her wi?" —  
"Gie her what ye like, Patrick,  
Mak na her your ladie."

Patrick compromises, to his ultimate sorrow. In the better ballads, however, the hero comes to a tragic end by reason of his mother's curse. Yarrow,

<sup>1</sup> "Lord Gregory . . . calls his dame 'witch mother,'" remarks Mr. Child, II, 214, "but there appears to be no call for magic or witchcraft in the case." No call, certainly; but the tradition of witchcraft is not at all foreign to these ballads of the man's mother.

among its other victims, counts such a cursed man. The fine ballad of *The Braes of Yarrow*, to be sure, does not furnish the actual instance; but it belongs to the stories of a marriage unwelcome to one or the other house, in their oldest form to the man's family, but under more romantic conditions to the family of the stolen bride. From this point of view it is by no means "of no importance to the story"<sup>1</sup> that in group A to I "the hero and heroine are man and wife," while in J to P they are unmarried lovers. The older group has the sooth of it. Still, it is not here, but in the two succeeding ballads, *Rare Willie Drowned in Yarrow* and *The Mother's Malison*, that ancient sentiment best survives. Willie, in D, promises to marry his love; but it is she, not he, who asks the man's mother, and is rejected. He rides back for a blessing and gets it in mockery; when he fords the water of Gamrie, at the third step of his horse Willie's saddle is empty. The bride drowns herself. In two other versions, the mother consistently curses her son, and tells him Gamrie water is wide. In a traditional version, Willie himself asks leave, but rides unblest to his fate. A plainer tale is told in *The Mother's Malison*, traditional, but sung of modern times and placed by the Clyde. Dialogue, with incremental repetition, leads straight to the event. Willie will ride to his true-love's gates, and asks his mother's aid. Stay at home, she says, and have the best bed in the house. He cares not for best beds. Stay, and eat "the best hen in a' my roost." — No. — Well, then "gin Clyde's water be deep and fu' o flood, my malison drown ye!" Here, by the hypothesis, enters alien matter, — a rival and a false sweetheart, found after safe crossing of the flood. But the son's cry, "My mother's malison will drown me," returns to the right way. He goes back to his fate.

What of it all? Is this "evidence"? By itself, almost any of the cases has little or no value. The tragedy of a clash between the son's duty and the husband's or the lover's devotion needs no stay in tradition of any place or time. Mr. Thomas Hardy found that tragic matter to his hand on Egdon Heath, among his own people; in his *Return of the Native*, mother, son, and son's wife enact the old drama and meet the old fate. The very mention of the man's mother would seem to be enough to forbid all searching of trails, all attempts to straighten the crooked ways. In French fiction and life this is the sacrosanct relation. Comedy and ribaldry, too, have laid hold of it. But this very universality makes for the need of a wider outlook. In the case of the mother-in-law, as in the case of the mother's brother, of the sister's son, there is direct historical evidence of ancient power and dignity now unknown; and faint as the traces are in the ballads of this old supremacy of the man's mother, and of the reaction against her pride of place, by cumulative proof they help one to visualize her as a beneficent and authoritative member of the primitive household.

<sup>1</sup> Child, IV, 161.

# CICLATOUN SCARLET

GEORGE FOOT MOORE

*Ciclatoun*, which is found in all the Romance languages as well as in English, is the name of a costly stuff. Chaucer describes Sir Thopas in all his magnificence :

His heer, his berd was lyk saffroun,  
That to his girdel raughte adoun ;  
His shoon of Cordewane.  
Of Brugges were his hosen broun,  
His robe was of *ciclatoun*,  
That coste many a jane.

Middle High German has *ciclât* in the same meaning. Thus in *Tristan* 11106 :

Er truoc ciclâdes kleider an,  
Diu wâren ûzer mâze rîch.<sup>1</sup>

Ciclatoun was employed also for ecclesiastical vestments. A charter of Alfonso (VIII) of Castile, dated in 1191, is quoted by Du Cange :<sup>2</sup> " In ornatum Ecclesiae trium marcarum pretio, tres frontales, duos de ciclaton, infulas tres, unam de ciclaton, aliam de palio, duas dalmaticas palias, unam capam de ciclaton, duo vestimenta linea cum stolis et manipulis," etc.

A robe or mantle of this stuff is called by the same name. At the creation of Knights of the Bath, the knights wore " un couverton d'or appelle sigleton." A knight rides into battle, " armez de haubregon, couvert d'un singleton." Another

Si a vestu un hermin pelicon,  
Et par deseure un vermeil ciglaton,  
Mantel a riche, qui n'est mie trop lon.<sup>3</sup>

In Latin contexts *cyclas* occurs in similar senses and uses. At the wedding of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, the citizens of London set out toward Westminster to meet the royal pair, mounted on fine horses, " sericis vestimentis ornati, cicladibus auro textis circumdati, excogitatis mutatoriis amicti," etc.<sup>4</sup> The apparel of the Countess Judith, daughter of Vratislav, king of Bohemia, is described : " cycladem auro textam, instar Dalmaticae, et preciosissimi operis, quam sub mantello ferebat, etiam auro texto induta " (1096 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> See Müller u. Zarncke, *M. H. D. Wörterbuch*, III (1861), 881, for other examples.

<sup>2</sup> From Antonio de Yepes, *Chronicon Ordinis S. Benedicti*, VII. Yepes wrote in Spanish : *Corónica general de la orden de San Benito*, 7 tom. fol., 1609-1621. The Latin text which Du Cange quotes is a translation by T. Weiss, Cologne, 1648 (?).

<sup>3</sup> These examples also are from Du Cange. <sup>4</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, anno 1236.



Further : "Portabant autem diversi generis species pretiosas, aurum et argentum, pallia oloserica, purpuram, siclades, ostrum, et multiformium vestium ornamenta." "Vestibus cultioribus, aureis et argenteis, velvetis, syndonicis[?] sicladibus, aliisque pretiosis."

Du Cange, who quotes these and other examples, inferred, as was quite natural in his time, that the Romance *ciclaton*, *sigleton*, etc., were derived from the Latin *cyclas*, *cycladem*, and consequently that the primary meaning of the word was a robe or mantle of circular cut,<sup>1</sup> worn by both men and women; whence it came to be employed also for the material of which such garments were usually made. Both inferences were erroneous, as will be shown below.

The word *ciclaton* was in use in Arabic also, and a vocabulary<sup>2</sup> made in Spain in the latter part of the thirteenth century, conjectured by some to be the work of the celebrated Raymond Martini (died 1286 A.D.), gives as the equivalent of Arabic *siqlātūn* Latin *ciclas*, perhaps taking *siqlātūn* as *ciclatum*.<sup>3</sup> Dozy, in a note in his edition of Ibn 'Adhārī's *Bayān al-Mughrib* (II [1851], 24), explains *siqlātūn* : "étoffe de soie brochée d'or," and adds that both this word and *siqlāt* (whence the German *ciclat*) are derived from Lat. *cyclas*, "Voyez Du Cange." This note is substantially repeated, with some additional references to Arabic authors, in Dozy's *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, s.v. *siqlāt* (I [1871], 663). Diez, in his *Wörterbuch* (1st ed., 1853), derives Span. *ciclaton*, O. Fr. *sigleton*, *singleton*, etc., from *cyclas*, *cycladis*. In later editions it is added : "Nach anderen arabischer Herkunft, von Engelmann<sup>4</sup> nicht aufgenommen."

With Du Cange, Dozy, and Diez for authorities, it is not strange that the derivation of *ciclatoun* from *cyclas* should have been widely accepted. It is repeated, e.g., in the Century Dictionary (s.vv. *Ciclatoun* and *Scarlet*, 1889), though the etymologist is aware of some of the difficulties that beset it, and is inclined to suspect contamination with an Oriental (Persian) word, *saqlatūn* [sic].

So long as *siqlātūn* was known to the etymologists only in the mediæval Arabic of Spain, it was possible to suppose that it was merely Spanish *ciclaton*, and that the latter was Latin *cyclatum*, or with some stretch of imagination, *cycladem*. But in fact the Arabic *siqlātūn* and kindred words had been fully discussed by the philologists of Basra and Kufa in the third century of the Hijra, and an example is quoted from a native Arabian poet who was a younger contemporary of Mohammed. In this time and place the initial *s* excludes a connection with *cyclas* κυκλᾶς, any derivative of which, by whatever channel it came into the language, would have begun with *κ* (*q*), as in *Caesar*, καῖσαρ, qaiṣar.

<sup>1</sup> See Du Cange, s.v. *cyclas*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vocabulista in Arabico*. Edited by C. Schiaparelli, Florence, 1871, pp. 118, 291.

<sup>3</sup> Du Cange quotes from the *Necrologium Eccles. Paris.* : "Dedit nobis unum cyclatum pretio 12. libr."

<sup>4</sup> I.e. *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, 1866; 2d ed. with additions by Dozy, 1869.

The theory of Du Cange, Dozy, Diez, and many followers in their footsteps, is thus refuted. The unquestionable connection between *cyclas* and *ciclaton* is to be explained in another way than Du Cange supposed. When authors writing in Latin had to find an equivalent for *ciclaton*, *cyclas* offered itself through a double association of sound and sense. A contamination of significance would be a natural result, and it is possible that *ciglaton*, *sigleton*, etc., in the meaning 'robe or mantle,' is sometimes a vernacular equivalent for *cyclas*.

In recent times a different view has been advanced, which is thus set forth in the *New English Dictionary*, s.v. *Ciclatoun*: "The source of the names found in most of the European langs. in the Middle Ages appears to have been Arabic (orig. Pers.) *siqilātūn*, also *siqilāt*, *siqalāt*, *saqalāt*<sup>1</sup> (acc. to Mr. J. Platts) from *siqillāt*, *siqallāt*, for *saqirlāt*, *saqarlāt*, Arabicized form of Pers. *sakarlāt*, the same word which has given SCARLET. The primary meaning was 'scarlet cloth,' later 'fine painted or figured cloth,' 'cloth of gold.'"

Under *Scarlet* the same Dictionary gives a somewhat different account of the matter: "The prevailing view is that O. F. *escarlate* is an alteration of Pers. *saqalāt*, *siqalāt*, *suqlāt*, a kind of rich cloth, a derivative of which appears as *Ciclatoun*. (The form *saqirlāt*, given in some Arabic dictionaries, is modern and probably adopted from some European language.)"

The *New International Dictionary* (1910) is closer to the mark: "Scarlet . . . fr. Ar. *siqlāt*,<sup>2</sup> sort of silk stuff (cf. Ar. *siqlātūn* in the same sense, whence E. *ciclatoun*, through F.), or Per. *saqallāt*, *saqalāt*, *saqallāt*, *saqalāt*, a sort of woollen cloth, broadcloth, prob. orig. a figured cloth and ultimately fr. L. *sigillatus* adorned with little figures, fr. *sigilla* little figures, as on seal rings, pl. of *sigillum*."

In a review of Crooke's edition (1903) of Burnell and Yule's "Hobson-Jobson," published in the *New York Nation* for October 29, 1903, the origin of the word was rightly asserted to be the Latin *sigillatum*, but without any attempt to establish the connection; and from the confusion the author is in about the history of the Arabic and Persian forms it is evident that the opinion had not been arrived at from that side. The reviewer wrote: "The Anglo-Indian . . . *suklat* . . . (Telugu *sakalāti*, Canarese *sakalātu*) represents the Per. *suqlāt*, *siqalāt*, *saqalāt*, Ar. *siqillāt*, 'particolored linen,' and this is merely the Middle Latin *sigillatum* or *sigillata*, 'figured cloth.' We read in late Latin of *tentoria sigillata*, 'particolored tents,' and *serica sigillata*, 'figured silks.' . . . The Ar. word appeared also with Ar. suffix as *siqlātūn*, Per. *siqlātūn*, *saqlātūn*, whence Old French *siclaton*, *ciclaton*, *siglaton*, Middle English *siclatoun*, *ciclatoun*, etc. Further, the Ar. word, as of foreign origin,

<sup>1</sup> Not one of these forms is found in Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> No such word is known to the Arabic lexicographers.

took a popular twist, perhaps under Mediterranean influence, and as *saqarlāt*, Per. *saqirlāt*, Turkish *iskerlāt*, gave rise to Ital. *scarlatto*, English *scarlet*," etc.

This derivation, which, as we shall see, is that of the Arab philologists, might well have been suggested to any etymologist in the last eighty years by two or three brief entries in Freytag's *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (1833): II, 330. "*Siqillāt*. Id. quod *Sijillāt*." — II, 286. "*Sijillāt*. . . . Stragulum laneum, quod mulieres pilentis iniicere solent; *vel* Panni linei, in quibus annulorum figurae pictae sunt. Kam." — *Ibid*. "*Sijillātus* (vox Graeca). Stragulum Graecum. Kam."

In 1901 I prepared a short note on the etymology of *Ciclatoun* and *Scarlet* for the meeting of the American Philological Association held that year in Cambridge; but other more exciting matters being up for discussion, the paper was not read. If I present here the substance of that paper somewhat amplified, it is not because the subject is either important or obscure, but in order to show in a fairly typical instance the necessity for a revision of the etymologies of words derived from the Arabic in European dictionaries, and to illustrate the method of such an investigation.

The etymologies passed on from one dictionary to another have for the most part, as in the present instance, come down from a time when the works of the native Arabic philologists were unknown to European scholars, who were chiefly dependent, directly or indirectly, upon a late and extremely condensed dictionary — hardly more than an enormous vocabulary — the *Qāmūs* of al-Feirūzābādī (died 1413 A.D.). Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Vol. I, 1863; left unfinished at his death in 1876 and never completed) first made the Arabic lexicographic tradition accessible. But Lane excluded words noted by the native authorities as foreign or vulgar, reserving them for a separate work which he did not live to undertake; consequently many comparatively common, and often old, words will be sought in vain in his pages.

After Lane's death, the native lexicons from which in manuscript he had drawn most of his material were printed: the *Lisān al-'Arab*, by Ibn Mukarram (d. 1311 A.D.), between 1882 and 1889, in twenty volumes; and the *Tāj al-'Arūs* (in form a commentary on the *Qāmūs*, completed in 1768 A.D.), by the Seyyid Murtaḍā, from 1888 on, in ten volumes quarto; not to mention less extensive general lexicons and many special lexicons and glossaries, e.g., of foreign words. The comprehensive dictionaries named above are based on older works, and derive ultimately, in large part, from the great lexicographers and grammarians of the third century of the Moslem era.

It is much to our advantage in using these works that the Arabic philological tradition is a tradition of authority for the form, meaning, and use of words, and that, consequently, later compilers constantly quote their predecessors for authority; the numerous examples from classic poets and the literature of tradition are also introduced, not as illustrations of usage, but as



authority, and often in the name both of the poet and of the lexicographer who first adduced his testimony. In these ways it is frequently possible to prove that a word of rare occurrence in literature is both old and good Arabic, or that a loan word was borrowed at an early time.

There are a great many foreign words in Arabic, derived from various sources — Aramaic, Ethiopic, Greek, and Persian. Many of these were current, either generally or in particular regions and dialects, before Mohammed; a vastly larger number were adopted in the first century, when the Moslem conquests carried Arab armies into remote lands and extended Arab rule over peoples of diverse speech. Further conquests in the East and the West, and the peaceful intercourse of trade continually added others. Part of these borrowings were made directly, part at second or third hand. Many Greek words, for example, came through Syriac, in which there were not only many Greek words in common use but a large body of translations in theology, philosophy, and science, carrying over multitudes of Greek technical terms. Latin words came chiefly through the late Greek, which contained a considerable Latin element; some of these also came into Arabic by way of Syriac.

The natural tendency was to Arabicize foreign words by squeezing them into some one of the Arabic morphological paradigms. In the case of words derived from other Semitic languages this was generally easy, and such words can often be recognized as alien only by phonetic criteria. Greek and Persian words were not so pliable; nevertheless, by the aid of analogy and popular etymology many of them were made to sound like something Arabic. The philologists, some of whom were Arabs of the Arabs while others were of alien — chiefly Persian — lineage, gave much attention to loan words, and endeavored to determine the source from which they were borrowed. Special glossaries of "Arabicized" words were made, and in the larger dictionaries the derivation of such words is noted.

The main reliance of the Western student engaged in an etymological investigation is on the works of the native lexicographers; he may not always agree with their conclusions, but he cannot dispense with their testimony. Collections of examples from Arabic authors may serve to supplement the native lexicons; but so long as we have no thesaurus of a European type, in which a large body of illustrative passages is brought together and classified, what we can add in this way will necessarily be incomplete and often accidental.

To come now from this excursion to the matter which has given occasion to it, I will set down, to start with, the forms which are authenticated by the native lexicographers, leaving the discussion of them till after the meanings of the words have been considered. These forms are *sjillāt*,<sup>1</sup> *siqillāt*,

<sup>1</sup> Etymologically *sigillāt*. The original sound of *g* (English *g* in *got*, *get*) is preserved in Arabic as spoken in Egypt; elsewhere it is generally pronounced like English *g* in *gem* (in some dialects, like French *g* in *juge*), and the letter is conventionally transliterated by *j*.

*siqlātūn*. The variants which make such a formidable array in the *New English Dictionary* and elsewhere are unknown either in classical Arabic or—so far as any record shows—in modern dialects. *Siqillāt* is expressly said to be identical in form and meaning with *sijillāt*; the dictionaries treat the word in full under *sijillāt*.

The definitions come from the scholars whose names make the third century of the Moslem era the golden age of Arabic philology. The materials had been largely collected in the previous centuries, and the foundations of a scientific treatment in lexicography and grammar had been soundly laid by Abū 'Amr al-'Alā, Ḥalil, al-Laith, al-Kisā'i, and Sībawaih; on these foundations their pupils built.

Al-Farrā (d. A.H. 207<sup>1</sup> = 822–823 A.D.) defines *siqillāt*, "a woolen thing that a woman throws over her camel saddle." Somewhat more precisely, Ibn Doreid (d. 321 = 933), "a colored cloth (*namaṭ*) with which a woman's camel saddle is covered."

In explanation it is to be said that the camel saddle (*haudaḡ*) has an arched framework of wood; a covering thrown over this protects and conceals the rider. The word *namaṭ* employed by al-Aṣma'i in his definition is said (like *zauj*, which is sometimes given as a synonym) to mean, in the speech of the Bedouins, a kind of dyed stuff, red or green or yellow, neither *namaṭ* nor *zauj* being used of the material when it is left white. So al-Azharī (d. 270 = 883–884). The *namaṭ* was also used as an outer cover laid over a bed to sleep on, or for a carpet spread on the ground to sit or lie upon.

Other uses of the word *sijillāt* are early attested. Abū 'Amr (d. 205 = 820–821) says: "A dark blue (*kuḥlī*)<sup>2</sup> robe or mantle is called *sijillātī*<sup>3</sup>"; and Ibn al-'Arābī (d. 231 = 845–846): "*Ḥazz* [a fabric of silk and wool] is called *sijillātī* when it is of dark blue color." In a tradition of Mohammed it is said: "There was given him a Persian mantle of *ḥazz sijillātī*." Another authority tells us that the adjective is used also of material which is dyed a pistachio green; and one lexicographer suggests that the name is derived from the color (yellow) of the jasmine, which is also called in Arabic *sijillāt*. This connection is false, as will be shown below,<sup>4</sup> but it may be inferred that the author thought that a material of yellow color would come under the name.

A third definition of peculiar interest in its bearing on the origin of the word is the following: "*Sijillāt* is a figured stuff, the figures of which

<sup>1</sup> I have taken these dates from Lane; where different years are given, I have taken the earliest. The differences are commonly only of a year or two, and for my present purpose nothing depends upon them.

<sup>2</sup> 'Dark blue' is the usual, but not the only, meaning of *kuḥlī*; 'purple' also may be so translated, and we read in one author of a carbuncle *kuḥlī*.

<sup>3</sup> The so-called "relative" adjective, formed by affixing *ī* to the noun, meaning 'of' or 'like.'

<sup>4</sup> See p. 35.

resemble a seal (*ḥātam*). Scholars hold that it is Greek (Romaic)." A verse is quoted by al-Azhārī (d. 883 A.D.) from the poet Ḥumaid ibn Thaur :

" They (fem.) preferred either ornate purple  
Or else figured <sup>1</sup> *sijillāt* of Irak."

This verse is of importance, in the first place for its age. Ḥumaid ibn Thaur was a contemporary of the Caliph Omar, and is said, indeed, to have composed verses in the pagan days before Mohammed.<sup>2</sup> We have in it, therefore, an example of the use of the word from the first generation of Islamic poets. In the second place, it attests in this oldest record the figured *sijillāt*, " with seals on it."

That the name is Greek is the prevailing opinion. Al-Aṣma'ī is quoted as saying: " I asked an old Greek woman in our neighborhood about a *namaṭ* [see above, p. 30], What do you call that? She replied, *Sijillāṭus*." Abū Ḥātim (al-Sijistānī, d. 248 = 862-863), a pupil of al-Aṣma'ī, reports the same inquiry and answer in his own name; in another account, if the text is in order, Ibn Doreid (d. 321 = 933) is the questioner.<sup>3</sup> Jawālīqī (d. 539 = 1144-1145), in his glossary of Arabicized words (*Mu'arrab*), writes: " *Sijillāt*. . . Scholars are of the opinion that it is the Greek *sijillāṭus*, Arabicized and pronounced *sijillāt*." In one place (*Tāj*, V, 150), indeed, I find the opinion that the word is Persian ascribed to al-Aṣma'ī on the authority of Ibn Doreid; but this contradicts the statement quoted above from the same work on the same authority (IV, 165), and is presumably due to a confusion of some kind or other.

If we turn now to *siqlātūn*, we find it also defined as a kind of stuff. Ibn Jinnī (d. 392 = 1001-1002) infers from its behavior in inflection that the final *ūn* is not the Arabic plural ending, for which it might easily be mistaken, but that the *n* is radical, and the Greek origin of the word is supported by Abū Ḥātim's testimony about *sijillāṭus* already adduced. Similarly the author of the *Tāj* puts it down as a Greek word, with radical *n*; the oldest lexicons entered it under *sqln*.

A different theory is found, so far as I see, only in the *Qāmūs* (fourteenth century A.D.): " *Siqlātūn* is a country in Rūm [properly the Byzantine empire; often vaguely for western lands], from which the material is called *siqlātūnī* or *siqlātūn*." The commentator on the *Qāmūs*, the Seyyid Murtaḍā, fortifies this assertion by citing the name of a man, 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad, al-*Siqlātūnī*, called Ibn Bir, who died in A.H. 514 (= 1120-1121 A.D.). No such country is known to the geographers, and the man's name is capable of other explanations. Whatever al-Feirūzābādī may have been thinking about, his opinion can hardly count against the authority of the older lexicographers.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'sealed,' i.e. with figures like a seal, *muḥattam*.

<sup>2</sup> Aghani, IV, 98.

<sup>3</sup> Hence *sijillāṭus* in the native lexicons, with the definition, *namaṭ rūmī* (Greek colored cloth).



To the testimony of the dictionaries may be added some examples from Arabic authors, which prove that the word was in common use in later times.

Freytag refers to the *Thousand and One Nights*, IV, 360 (Habicht's edition), where, in the preparation for a sumptuous banquet, slaves spread, to set the dishes on, a cloth (*sufreh*) of *zauj al-siqillāt*. *Zauj*, as has been noted above, is a colored cloth; whether it is here called *siqillāt* from its color or because it was figured does not appear.

According to Ibn 'Adhārī (end of thirteenth century A.D.) in the *Bayān al-Mughrib*, II, 319, the famous Maṣṣūr (ibn Abū 'Amir), at the close of the campaign in which he sacked St. James of Compostella (A.D. 997), distributed among his allies 1285 pieces of different kinds of embroidered silk (*ḥazz al-ṭirāzī*), 21 robes of "sea-wool," 2 'Anbar robes, 11 of *siqlātūn*, 11 outer garments with feather-like figures (*murayyaš*), 7 rugs (*'anmāt*), and 2 garments of Greek brocade, etc. This list is found also in al-Maqqarī (d. 1631 A.D.), I, 217, being copied from the *Bayān*.

Edrisī, whose geographical work, written at the instance and under the patronage of Roger II of Sicily, was completed in 1154 A.D., in his account of Almería in Spain, which was noted for the product of its looms,<sup>1</sup> says that there were in the city in his time 800 silk weavers, and that there was made in it common silk and brocade and *siqlātūn*, and Ispahān cloth, etc. Al-Maqqarī (I, 102) multiplies the weavers of Almería: there were 800 looms employed on common silk, 1000 on brocades, 1000 on *'isqalātūn*, etc.

The examples cited from Ibn 'Adhārī and Edrisī are of particular importance to us because they carry us to Spain; and the latter is close in time to the charter of Alfonso (1191) quoted above (p. 25).

We have seen that the oldest recorded use of the Arabic *siqillāt* is for a luxurious stuff adorned with seal-like figures, and that the native lexicographers derive it from the "Romaic" *siqillātus*. For this use of the Latin *sigillatus* it will suffice to quote a couple of examples. Trebellius Pollio, who wrote in the reign of Constantius Chlorus (d. 305 A.D.), in his lives of the "Thirty Tyrants" (rebels and pretenders in the times of Valerian and Gallienus), describes Herod, son of Odenathus of Palmyra,<sup>2</sup> as "homo omnium delicatissimus et prorsus orientalis et Graecae luxuriae, cui erant tentoria sigillata et aureati papiliones et omnia Persica."<sup>3</sup>

An edict of the emperors Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, of the year 393 A.D., prescribes: "Nulla mima gemmis, nulla sigillatis sericis, aut textis utatur auratis. His quoque vestibus noverint abstinendum, quas Graeco nomine a Latino crustas<sup>4</sup> vocant, in quibus alio admixtus colori puri rubor muricis inardescit. Uti sane iisdem scutulatis et variis coloribus sericis, auro sine gemmis collo, brachiis, cingulo non vetamus" (*Cod. Theodos.* XV, vii, 11).

<sup>1</sup> See Yāqūt, IV, 517.

<sup>2</sup> Murdered with his father in 266-267 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.

<sup>4</sup> Text probably corrupt.

Latin-Greek glosses give as the equivalent of *sigillatus*, ζωδιωτός=ζωωτός, on which Pollux: 'Ο δὲ κατὰστικτος χιτῶν ἐστὶν ὁ ἔχων ζῶα ἢ ἄνθη ἐνυφασμένα· καὶ ζωωτός δὲ χιτῶν ἐκαλείτο καὶ ζωδιωτός.

The forms which the word assumes in Arabic are easily explained. The neuter *sigillatum* (Greek \**sigillāton*) would be reproduced in Arabic as *sijill-lātūn*, in which, as soon as the consciousness of its foreign origin was lost, the *ūn* would inevitably be taken for the Arabic plural ending and dropped, leaving an apparent singular of a possible Arabic noun-type. Even where *sigillātus*, *sigillāton*, were recognized as Romaic, the foreign inflectional endings would be dropped in "Arabicizing" the word.<sup>1</sup> Precisely the same thing happened in the case of *sigillum* σιγίλλον (diploma, letters patent, and the like, authenticated by a seal), which appears in the Koran (xxi, 104) as *sijill*, and is in common use for the written decision of a judge or a judicial record.

The spelling *sigillāt* is an independent attempt to represent the Greek or Latin *g*, presumably in a dialect in which Arabic *q* was pronounced, as it was early in parts of Arabia, and still is throughout North Africa, as a hard *g*. This phonetic peculiarity is shared by *siqlātūn*, which is a reduction of \**sigill-lātūn*, through the effect of the heavy final stress, or under the influence of analogy.

From Arabic *sijillāt* passed into Ethiopic in the form *seglāt* (or *segellāt*), which occurs in the Ethiopic translation of Isaiah iii, 19-23, an inventory of the wardrobe and jewelry of a lady of fashion in Jerusalem. It is here the name of a costly fabric of which fine clothes were made. The Ethiopic translation of Isaiah was based on the Greek, and *seglāt* here corresponds to κόκκινα.<sup>2</sup> The word is found also in unpublished liturgical texts referred to by Dillmann in his Lexicon. The age of the Ethiopic version is not certainly known.

We should expect to find the word in Syriac, but the native lexicons do not record it, and only one occurrence is noted by Payne-Smith. This is in a letter of certain Nestorian bishops in India to the Patriarch (dated 1504 A.D.), in which they report the arrival of the Portuguese on the Malabar coast. The Christian commander of the expedition, they say, bestowed on a native prince "garments of gold and variegated (or brocaded) stuff, that is, *sēqlāt*."<sup>3</sup> Probably the name is here taken from an Indian vernacular, into which it had come as a trade term through Persian (see below, p. 35); the stuff was presumably European.

From Arabic *sigillāt* the "scarlet" forms arose by resolution of *ll* into *rl*. These forms get no recognition from the Arabic lexicographers, who from the beginning have felt it their mission to stand guard over the purity of the

<sup>1</sup> See Ibn Jinnī, and Jawālīqī, above, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this identification — the solution of a problem which others had given up — to Professor C. C. Torrey.

<sup>3</sup> Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, II, i, 597.

language. The author of the *Tāj* (eighteenth century) does, however, note under *siqillāt*: "This is what is vulgarly called *sakarlāt*" (the first two vowels are uncertain), and quotes a verse from a "post-classical" poet:

With more of a strut than she in her scarlet gown (*sakarlāt*).

Unfortunately, the age of this attestation is uncertain. The "post-classical" (*muwallad*) poets include the contemporaries of Harūn al-Rashīd and his successors; al-Mutanabbī (d. 965 A.D.) is sometimes reckoned the last famous representative of the class, but poets of more recent times are included in it. Further than this, it can only be said that the substitution of *k* for *q* suggests a Persian mouth. In a Persian-Hebrew glossary, from the early decades of the fourteenth century,<sup>1</sup> *siqlātūn* is explained by *saqirlātā* (here also the first two vowels are uncertain).

From *sakarlāt* (or *saqarlāt*), by reduction of the first vowel and subsequent prothesis,<sup>2</sup> comes the Spanish *escarlata*, and, through Spanish, French *escarlata*, English *scarlet*, and the rest. In Spanish *escarlata* is now the name of a woollen stuff of a red color. The definition of the Academy is: "Paño y tejido de lana, teñido de color fino carmesí, no tan subido como el de la púrpura ó grana." The word originally designated the fabric, not the color; a roll of Henry III of England (1230 A.D.) speaks of sanguine, brown, red, and even *white* scarlet. The restriction to a particular shade of red is more recent, and the use of the word for the color without regard to the material later still.

A reflux carried the Spanish *escarlata* back into Arabic in the form, *eškarlāt*. Dozy (*Noms des vêtements*, 111) quotes from a manuscript history of the Almoravides, in a list of presents distributed by the Berber prince, Yusuf ibn Tashfin (d. 1106 A.D.): "Fifty robes (*jubbeh*) of *eškarlāt*, that is, of fine cloth." Al-Maqqarī speaks of sleeved robes (*qabā*) of *eškarlāt*.

The *š* for Spanish *s* corresponds to Arabic *šant*, e.g. in *šant Yāqub*, St. James of Compostella, and often, and may perhaps be ascribed to local pronunciation of Spanish.

The Persian *saqirlāt* (so explicitly, "with *a* and *i*," in the native lexicons) is thus defined: "A woollen stuff which is woven in the country of the Franks."<sup>3</sup> Edmund Castell, in the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* to Walton's *Polyglot* (1669), quotes from another native lexicon: "*Saqalāt*, etc. . . . telae genus quod in Romania [Rūm] paratur."<sup>4</sup> Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, s.v.: "A[rabic] *saqirlāt*. Warm woollen cloth, purpet, broadcloth." It is superfluous to quote more dictionaries; that the Persian word is borrowed from Arabic, not the Arabic from Persian, needs no further demonstration.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by W. Bacher, 1900. Professor Theodor Nöldeke kindly called my attention to this glossary.

<sup>2</sup> An instance of the same process in Arabic is *'isqalātūn* in the passage quoted above from al-Maqqarī.

<sup>3</sup> *Shems al-Loghat*, s.v.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 31, n. 3, Arab. *sigillātus*, defined as *namaṭ rūmī*.



From Persian the word passed as a trade term into various modern languages of India: it is found in Urdu and Hindustani,<sup>1</sup> in Telegu, and doubtless in other vernaculars, whither it is not incumbent on us to pursue it. The dictionaries made by Europeans define it as "scarlet cloth."

The evolution of the various senses of *sijillāt*, *siqlātūn*, etc., may be conceived as follows: 1. A figured stuff, perhaps originally embroidered in raised designs like embossed metal work (cf. *scyphi sigillati*). 2. Various costly fabrics in rich colors. — *Ciclaton*, *Ciclat*.

The differentiated form *sakarlāt*, *saqirlāt*, appearing to be another word, was appropriated to a particular kind of stuff, commonly of some shade of red. Also the usual color of this stuff. — *Escarlata*, *Scarlet*.

*Sijillāt* is also, according to one of the earliest lexicographers, Al-Laith (d. ca. 175 = 791–792), a name for the jasmin (Pers.-Arab. *yāsmīn*). Al-Dinawārī (d. 282 = 895–896), the author of a special dictionary of plant names, more guardedly says that some of the reciters of poetry are of the opinion that *sijillāt* is the jasmin. *Sinjillāt* is defined as an aromatic plant,<sup>2</sup> as in the verse:

I love the singing girls and the basil,  
And a drink of old wine with *sinjillāt*.<sup>3</sup>

The word is obviously not Arabic, and as often happens in such cases, the lexicographer at a loss puts it down as the name of a place, thinking possibly of *Sinjāl*, a town in Persia.

In Syriac we have *segeltā*, a fragrant plant, defined in the native dictionaries and writers on materia medica by Arabic *su'ad*, a cyperus. In Aramaic, also, *siglā* is a sweet-smelling plant. Thus the Babylonian Talmud, Sabb. 50 b, describes a cosmetic mixture for cleansing the face, compounded of one third jasmin, one third aloes (*agallochum*), and one third *siglī*.<sup>4</sup> The word is defined in the Talmudic lexicon of R. Nathan, the *Aruch* (completed in 1101 A.D.), s.v. '*aphar*', by the Arabic *su'ad*. This interpretation is independent of the Syriac lexicons, and therefore of the greater weight. The Syriac and Aramaic words correspond to Assyrian *sagilatū*, which is shown by the determinative to be the name of a plant (Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 490).

This old Semitic word, taken over from Syriac into Arabic, was conformed to *sijillāt* (*sigillatus*) with which it has etymologically nothing to do. From Arabic, as the final *ṭ* proves, it passed into Ethiopic in the form *seglāt*, the name of a fragrant plant (see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

<sup>1</sup> See Platts, *Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English Dictionary*, 1884; Shakespear, *Hindustani Dictionary*; Burnell and Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Suclāt*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Qāmūs*, probably by a misreading or misunderstanding of its authority, makes it 'sweet basil.'

<sup>3</sup> Aromatic plants in wine, like *Waldmeister* in a *Bowle*.

<sup>4</sup> See also Berak. 43 b, Sanhedr. 99 b. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, No. 208.

In the foregoing pages I have confined myself as closely as possible to the Arabic side of the etymological problem. The history of the words and their meanings in the European languages, and the history of the stuffs they designate, are fields of investigation in which I should not presume to disport myself, even if the limits of this article permitted. My European examples of the use of *ciclaton* are all taken from Du Cange, because I was concerned, not with the word, but with the genesis of the erroneous etymology which connects it with *cyclas* — an error to which so eminent an Arabic scholar as Dozy gave the weight of his authority. I had therefore no reason to draw upon the ampler collections illustrative of European use which have been made in more recent times. The same thing is true about "scarlet": the migrations of the word and the kinds of cloth to which the name was applied lay outside of my plan, and the inquiry into these questions would require wide excursions into the history of industry and trade. A complete solution of such problems, which often hold the key to interesting chapters in the history of civilization, cannot be reached by the study of words alone; the knowledge of the things they stand for is indispensable. But the philologist may make his contribution to the subject in history of words as words, leaving the larger task to the historian of art or industry.

The case of Ciclatoun-Scarlet in the dictionaries is, I regret to say, not singular. A large proportion of the words of Arabic derivation in the *New English Dictionary* and the *Century Dictionary* are as badly treated. A bewildering variety of forms are alleged, many of which do not exist in Arabic at all, and are not made Arabic by printing them in Arabic characters; meanings which, when not erroneous, are taken at haphazard without regard to history or semasiology; assumed relations which are historically highly improbable or phonetically impossible. It is particularly to be regretted that in the *New English Dictionary*, which will undoubtedly for a long time be the first authority in its field, the compilations of its etymologists were not subjected to a revision by competent philologists.

## SOME REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN OF ROMANCE VERSIFICATION

EDWARD S. SHELDON

In the following pages it is intended to set forth a general theory for the origin in Vulgar Latin of the most popular of the early forms of Romance verse. To do this in the space available it will be necessary to refrain from going into all the details that would require examination for a final solution of the question. Nor do I mean to present the theory as one of whose correctness I am myself absolutely certain. But it does seem to me both simpler and more plausible than any other with which I am acquainted, and I think that if rightly applied it will account for all the phenomena more satisfactorily than other attempts at explanation of the problem.

The Romance verses to be explained are the old narrative verses which we find well exemplified in Old French, the verses of six, eight, ten, and twelve syllables (these being the minimum numbers), and in general I shall have only these in mind, though I might add the Spanish verse of the *Poema del Cid*, explained as Cornu has explained it, and possibly the seven-syllable French verse seen in *Aucassin et Nicolette*. I shall not discuss whether the Italian *endecasillabo* was derived from France or not. Lyric verse is left out of consideration, this allowing even in early times too much play for the art of the individual poet. If, now, the narrative verse-forms in question were developed from two — or I might even say one — Vulgar Latin types of accentual verse, what were those types and how did the Romance verses spring from them? These are the questions which call for answer.

Obviously, if such Vulgar Latin verse types existed, the natural sources to which we first look, besides such popular verses as the soldier songs belonging to the times of Julius Cæsar and Aurelian, together with, for instance, the hymn of Augustine, are those early Latin hymns of whose popular character we have assurance. I shall give no attention to the old Saturnian verse. Of the hymns in question the most important are the four unquestionably genuine hymns of Ambrose. But before taking up these hymns I wish to lay down certain general principles or statements without adducing evidence in support of them. These are as follows :

I. As in the study of the Romance languages and of Vulgar Latin we distinguish learned words and popular words, so for the subject of verse we must distinguish popular or Vulgar Latin verse and learned verse, the latter



constructed on the classical or quantitative (metrical) plan. In the time of Ambrose the composition of verses of the second kind required a certain degree of learning, and the ordinary speaker of Vulgar Latin, even in Italy, could not compose such verse with correctness. It is not, to be sure, inconceivable that an accentual verse, arising in some way or other from a learned quantitative verse, might in course of time become popular either during the Vulgar Latin period or in the earliest Old French, for instance; but if such originally learned verse was to become popular, it must evidently be of pretty simple and nearly or quite invariable character; nothing complicated or distinctly artificial could "take" with the common people. Hence, the hexameter and the metres seen in Horace's odes are almost certainly to be excluded from consideration. The sapphic verse, to be sure, may need a few words (see below, p. 46).

II. In accentual verse of simple type a rigid adherence to the basic scheme of accents (e.g., one on every alternate syllable) is not necessary. If there are enough accents in the proper places to make the rhythm obvious to the ear, that is sufficient; one here and there, especially near the beginning of a line, may be out of place without seriously altering the effect. And we may perhaps go so far as to say that, once the general simple scheme is fully recognized, especially if only one such scheme is in common use, and there can be no doubt in the reader's or hearer's mind as to the rhythm intended, even a rather considerable departure from the rigid scheme is permissible. Obviously different versifiers would vary greatly; the earliest forms of an accentual line might, especially if sung by marching soldiers, adhere very closely to the rule of accents on alternate syllables, while men of a later time or under different circumstances might vary the accents, either from lack of skill or with the purpose of avoiding a monotonous singsong or attaining some artistic effect. It should also be remembered that, though accent is a very important feature in the history of Vulgar Latin and of the Romance languages, it is not necessary to assume that it ever had as much force as in English, nor that those unaccented syllables which were not lost in Vulgar Latin (or were not lost until a very late period of Vulgar Latin or only locally) were so slurred as is often the case with English unaccented syllables.

III. It is necessary to bear in mind for popular verse some of the noteworthy features of Vulgar Latin pronunciation, particularly those which may have been among the early features of Vulgar Latin. I might mention differences from classic Latin in the place of the accent and differences in the number of syllables, whether due to (vulgarly or in classic Latin) unaccented *i* (or *e*) and *u* taking on consonantal value or to non-pronunciation of certain unaccented vowels existing in classic word-forms.<sup>1</sup> Examples, not illustrating all the possibilities, are *facies*, *habeat*, *batuit*, *voluit* in two syllables, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grandgent, *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, Boston, 1907, §§ 136 ff., 153 ff., 224, 232 ff., 450.

*voluerunt*, *voluera(n)t* in three with the accent on the first. But it is not necessary to assume that *facies*, for instance, in three syllables would have been unrecognizable to the common people, nor that all vulgar pronunciations were equally old.<sup>1</sup>

Having now somewhat cleared the way by what precedes, which, whether fully accepted or not, certainly has a bearing on the problem, I proceed to the examination of the hymns of Ambrose. Of these only four are universally admitted to be genuine; the four, namely, which Ebert mentions in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, I (= *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Literatur von ihren Anfängen bis zum Zeitalter Karls des Grossen*), 2. Aufl., 1889, p. 180. Other hymns have been ascribed to Ambrose, and notably August Steier has printed fourteen hymns as by Ambrose, in his "Untersuchungen über die Echtheit der Hymnen des Ambrosius" in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, 28. Supplementband, 1903, pp. 549-662. In these investigations, after examining the linguistic side of the problem, he raises the question whether any of the hymns he has added to the list of those written by Ambrose must be rejected on account of its metrical structure, and says (pp. 644-645):

"Ehe ich der Sache selbst näher trete, ist es notwendig, die Frage zu erörtern: Hat Ambrosius rhythmisch oder metrisch gedichtet? Diese Frage darf man gestützt auf die Urteile von Forschern, die sich mit der Metrik lateinischer Hymnen befasst haben, dahin beantworten, dass Ambrosius seine Hymnen metrisch, also nach dem Prinzip der *Quantität der Silben*, nicht rhythmisch, also nicht in Rücksicht auf betonte und unbetonte Silben gedichtet hat. . . . Das Richtige hat darüber m. E. Spiegel . . . gesagt, wenn er schreibt: 'Des Ambrosius Hymnen weisen denn auch das Kennzeichen der Kunstdichtung auf, die metrische Form. Freilich ist seine Art, die Silben zu messen, in etwas verschieden von der antiken Metrik, und seine Lieder stehen der accentuierenden Poesie weit näher als die Dichterwerke des klassischen Altertums, allein das ist nur eine Folge der veränderten Zeitumstände.' Hier ist zu bemerken, dass in den Hymnen des Ambrosius Wort- und Versaccent zwar öfters zusammenfällt, als dies durchschnittlich bei klassischen Dichtern der Fall ist, dass jedoch der Widerstreit zwischen Wort- und Versaccent noch viel häufiger ist als in späteren Hymnen, in denen 'der Zwiespalt zwischen Hochton und Vershebung allmählich seltener wird, bis im Laufe der Zeit die Vershebung ganz und unbedingt an den Hochton gebunden und die Tondauer der Silben dem Hochton erlegen ist' [these lines Steier quotes

<sup>1</sup> The importance, not to say the necessity, of keeping in mind these three principles (and perhaps others too) seems to me not open to question. It is not necessary to formulate them as I have done above, but if they are plainly formulated, there is less danger of ignoring them in one's work.

from Huemer]. In den Hymnen meines Kanons ergeben sich für den Widerstreit zwischen Wortaccent und Versictus nach der von Schlicher<sup>1</sup> . . . angestellten Berechnung folgende Zahlen :

	— —	— —	— —	— —
Hymn. I, II, III, IV, V, XIV . .	74	17	35	50
Hymn. VI . . . . .	8	4	11	12
Hymn. VII . . . . .	15	4	7	9
Hymn. VIII . . . . .	11	5	8	9
Hymn. IX . . . . .	10	5	6	9
Hymn. X . . . . .	15	2	9	13
Hymn. XI . . . . .	9	8	13	14
Hymn. XII . . . . .	12	2	14	14
Hymn. XIII . . . . .	10	2	8	7

"[Steier adds two footnotes, one saying that Schlicher does not count the last strophe of hymn III, regarding it as a doxology, and the other making a similar statement for the fifth strophe and the first line of the sixth strophe in hymn XIII. These nine lines, then, we must suppose are not counted in the table. The six hymns (I, II, III, IV, V, XIV) for which the total number only of conflicts is given for each of the four feet in the line are the six which Schlicher, following Kayser, admits as by Ambrose. For the first lines of these six, see below, p. 41, n. 1. — Steier concludes:] Auf Grund dieser Statistik darf behauptet werden, dass alle Hymnen des Ambrosius nach dem Quantitätsprinzip gebaut sind."

Now the figures at first sight look large enough to justify the conclusion that these hymns are not accentual, though it is easy to see that the numbers are pretty small for some of the feet and that the figures for the eight hymns Steier has added are on the whole larger than would be expected from those given for the first six.<sup>2</sup>

But suppose we look at the statistics from a different point of view, noticing the total possible number of opportunities for conflict between metrical ictus and prose accent, and also how often there is agreement instead of conflict. Each of the four feet in each line occurs thirty-two times in each of the

<sup>1</sup> John J. Schlicher, *The Origin of Rhythmical Verse in Late Latin*, Chicago, 1900. The value of this work is seriously diminished by the failure of its author to give due attention to any of the principles stated above. I should say something similar of Kawczynski's *Essai comparatif sur l'origine et l'histoire des rythmes* (Paris, 1889); cf. also the objections to the latter work made by Ramorino (pp. 158-159) in his "La pronunzia popolare dei versi quantitativi latini nei bassi tempi ed origine della verseggiatura ritmica" in *Memorie della reale accademia delle scienze di Torino, serie seconda, tomo XLIII, scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, pp. 155-222.

<sup>2</sup> The average numbers for the four feet are for the first six hymns  $12\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $2\frac{5}{8}$ ,  $5\frac{5}{8}$ ,  $8\frac{1}{8}$ ; for the other eight they are  $11\frac{1}{4}$ , 4,  $9\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $10\frac{3}{8}$ . To be sure, one should not attach too much importance to these averages.



fourteen hymns, except for four lines in hymn III<sup>1</sup> and five in hymn XIII, or in all each foot occurs  $448 - 9 = 439$  times, and in the group of six hymns each one occurs  $192 - 4 = 188$  times. If the figures given in the table are correct, including all the cases of conflict, there must be agreement in all other places than those counted in the table. Put in tabular form the agreements are as follows :

Hymn number	First foot	Second foot	Third foot	Fourth foot
I-IV, V, XIV	188 — 74 = 114	188 — 17 = 171	188 — 35 = 153	188 — 50 = 138
VI	32 — 8 = 24	32 — 4 = 28	32 — 11 = 21	32 — 12 = 20
VII	32 — 15 = 17	32 — 4 = 28	32 — 7 = 25	32 — 9 = 23
VIII	32 — 11 = 21	32 — 5 = 27	32 — 8 = 24	32 — 9 = 23
IX	32 — 10 = 22	32 — 5 = 27	32 — 6 = 26	32 — 9 = 23
X	32 — 15 = 17	32 — 2 = 30	32 — 9 = 23	32 — 13 = 19
XI	32 — 9 = 23	32 — 8 = 24	32 — 13 = 19	32 — 14 = 18
XII	32 — 12 = 20	32 — 2 = 30	32 — 14 = 18	32 — 14 = 18
XIII	27 — 10 = 17	27 — 2 = 25	27 — 8 = 19	27 — 7 = 20
Totals . .	439 — 164 = 275	439 — 49 = 390	439 — 111 = 328	439 — 137 = 302

If we add these totals we find 1295 agreements out of 1756 places where agreement (or conflict) is possible, and of the conflicts 164 are in the first foot, a larger number than in any other ; that is, at the beginning of the line, where in accentual verse this irregularity need raise no difficulty.<sup>2</sup> But this is not all. It will be observed that in Steier's table some of the instances of greatest frequency of conflict (of divergence from a strictly accentual scheme, one might say, if one were to make a comparison from that point of view) occur in the hymns which as the result of his investigations, perhaps not entirely convincing, he has added to the six previously accepted by Schlicher. We cannot from his table tell the figures for the four hymns which are certainly the work of Ambrose, nor do I care to make a separate table of my own

<sup>1</sup> I follow Steier's numbering. For the six hymns (the others I need not mention individually) the first lines are : I. *Aeterne rerum conditor* ; II. *Iam surgit hora tertia* ; III. *Deus, creator omnium* ; IV. *Intende, qui regis Israel* (the second strophe begins, *Veni, redemptor gentium*) ; V. *Splendor paternae gloriae* ; XIV. *Aeterna Christi munera*. The first four of these are the admittedly genuine hymns by Ambrose.

<sup>2</sup> Steier notices that O. Brugman had observed that "im jambischen Trimeter der älteren Dichter jener Widerstreit vor allem im ersten und letzten Fuss begünstigt ist," and that the figures given by Schlicher show a similar state of things for Ambrose's use of the iambic dimeter (in six hymns). This is also true, as the table shows, for the whole fourteen hymns recognized by Steier. I do not deny that Ambrose's hymns are quantitative, but I emphasize the importance of accent in them. They are not in Vulgar Latin ; they are learned quantitative verse, but are strongly influenced by Vulgar Latin verse. No late Latin rhythmical verses can with any certainty be brought forward as specimens of Vulgar Latin versification unless their vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciations are clearly not learned ; but learned or semi-learned verses may be influenced by the vulgar versification.

on the same plan for them.<sup>1</sup> It is enough to say that for the six hymns grouped together the number of agreements between verse ictus and prose accent is 576 out of 752 possible agreements, or rather more than three fourths, and this takes no account of the fact that 74 out of the 176 conflicts occur at the beginning of the line. This is a remarkably high proportion, and it at once suggests the question whether Ambrose did not write these hymns, deliberately or unconsciously, in such a way that they are at once quantitative or metrical and accentual or rhythmical, though neither system is followed with an absolutely unfailing observance of rigid rules. I doubt if it is possible to read aloud the four hymns in question as prose, but with a slight pause at the end of every line, without feeling that they are really accentual verses; and, once that is felt, one almost instinctively makes the necessary accommodations of accent to fit such a scheme. The ear, not the eye, should be the judge, and the verses should not be considered individually, but read in succession, the rhythm, wherever there might be room for doubt, being fixed for the ear by the verses which precede. The verses which may seem most difficult to read accentually are: (1) where two short syllables take the place of one long, as in IV, 1, 17, 19; here the two short syllables can be so rapidly gone over as not to interfere with the general rhythm; *gemmae* (IV, 19) may indeed have been commonly pronounced *gem'nae*, and possibly a *tal'mo* for *thalamo* was in existence; (2) the lines ending in a dissyllable, of which, if I have counted correctly, there are forty-two, no one of them, it is true, beginning a hymn; (3) the line IV, 8 (*Talis decet partus Deum*), in which all the four prose accents are in conflict with the usual accentual rhythm. But the preceding verses may guide to the right rhythm, which can be brought out by dividing force between the even and the odd syllables so that neither the usual rhythm nor the prose accents are lost.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover we have direct testimony to the popular character of Ambrose's hymns, including necessarily the structure of the verse (his verse must have been like popular verse, or at least so similar to it as to find ready acceptance),

<sup>1</sup> I have, however, for the four admittedly genuine hymns, counted the lines which as accentual lines are correct according to strict rules (*veritas*, for instance, is of course counted as having two accents, one, a secondary accent, on the syllable next but one to the main accent); and I have also made a count which includes these verses and those in which there is only one easily admissible irregularity of accent, namely, at the beginning of the line. For I these numbers are, if my count is correct, fifteen and twenty-two out of the thirty-two; for II they are eleven and seventeen; for III, ten and twenty-one (I include all the thirty-two lines); for IV, ten and sixteen. For all four the totals are forty-six and seventy-six. In other words, considerably more than half the 128 lines are practically perfect as accentual verses, and for almost all the others a slight accommodation with some forcing of the accents is easy, the general (accentual) iambic rhythm being pretty plain.

<sup>2</sup> It is not absolutely necessary to assume that all the hymns of Ambrose were so accentual as some of them appear to be; it may be that in one or the other, even among the unquestionably genuine hymns, he resisted somewhat, consciously or not, the accentual influence, the reality of which it seems impossible to deny.

in that his own words (see Ebert, *Allgem. Gesch.*, I, 177 ff., and Ebert's comments on the passages he quotes; also *ibid.*, 250-251) inform us that his hymns were actually sung by the whole body of the worshippers in the church service. This makes it clearer why his verses show so strong an approximation to the accentual form, if indeed they are not really accentual in plan as well as quantitative; and we could infer with great probability, if we had only these hymns with the words of Ambrose quoted by Ebert, that such accentual verses, with accents prevailing on the even syllables, were in common use, and that knowledge of them was not confined to the lowest classes, in which they may have had their origin. And when we consider the well-known soldier verses, where the accent is with great regularity on the uneven syllables, the hymn of Augustine, and such other iambic or trochaic verses as seem to be of a popular character,<sup>1</sup> it does not seem at all improbable that accentual verses with the accent pretty regularly on alternate syllables, sometimes the even, sometimes the odd syllables, and of varying length were or came to be in common popular use during the Vulgar Latin period. Some of the forms may well have been more popular than others, and some indeed may not have come into anything like general use till the eighth century or even later. And, further, I add that I do not think there is any satisfactory evidence that any other kind of verse than this alternating type was really popular during the Vulgar Latin period.

With the qualification as to dates which I have added, the derivation of the popular Old French verse-forms from these Vulgar Latin verse-forms, the number of syllables remaining essentially unchanged, and the distribution of accents likewise remaining unchanged for a time, seems to me probable. As the octosyllable comes from original — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ (in the strictest form), so, for example, the six-syllable verse points to an original — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘, and the decasyllable to an original — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ (with perhaps a cæsure in either of two places). Gröber (*Grdr. d. rom. Phil.*, II, i, 443) derives the French octosyllable, as seen in the *St. Leger* poem and later, from the Latin hymns, not mentioning the possibility of a Vulgar Latin verse as its origin or of influence of such Vulgar Latin verse on the hymns; and this might be true of the *St. Leger* poem without necessarily holding good for the French octosyllable in general. Cf. also Stengel in Gröber's *Grdr.*, II, i, 22.

It will be seen that this resembles the idea expressed by Gaston Paris when he said (*Romania*, XIII, 625<sup>2</sup>) of French verses: "Les vers de quatre, six, huit, dix, douze syllabes ne sont que des variations d'un même type, qui à l'origine avait peut-être un accent sur chaque syllabe paire." But I put the origin of some or all of these forms back into a distinctly Vulgar Latin period,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ramorino, "Pronunzia popolare," pp. 211-215, and a number of the iambic and trochaic verses in Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *Rom.*, XV, 137-138; XXII, 575-576.



and propose a similar origin for Old French (and Spanish) popular verse with the accent on uneven syllables, not assuming a change for French from "trochaic" to "iambic" accentual rhythm. It becomes necessary to meet the difficulty he speaks of. This change (from rhythmical "trochaic" to rhythmical "iambic"), he says, "a dû s'opérer en même temps que la langue perdait toutes les ultièmes, sauf l'*a* . . . c'est-à-dire vers le VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Tous les vers français, à mon avis, remontent à cette période, et ceux qui existaient auparavant devaient être assez différents." Also we need to account for the restriction of the fixed accents in these French verses to one (or two when there is a *cæsura*), and for the allowed syllable containing a feminine *e* at the end of the verse and just before the *cæsura*, this syllable not being counted as altering the character of the verse.

Of these three questions I take the last first. In the alternating type of accentual verse the general rhythm is the same whether the accents are on even or on uneven syllables. Unless you know how the verse begins you cannot tell which you have before you, and it could make no essential difference, either for Vulgar Latin or Old French, whether the last syllable is accented or not. The same explanation applies to feminine *e* before the *cæsura* in mediæval French verse, the pause giving the first part of the verse more or less the effect of a complete verse by itself. (I avoid the words "anacrusis," "catalectic," "acatalectic," "iambus," "trochee," "dimeter," "trimeter," etc., as properly to be used only of quantitative verse, as interfering with a clear perception of the facts in accentual verse, and as possibly confusing.)

Next, a reduction in the number of accents is easily explained by the fact that even in a long verse not many are needed to fix the accentual rhythm (see above, pp. 38 ff.), and with the cultivation of the art of versification a reduction so great as is seen in the octosyllables of Chrétien de Troyes, for instance, which have only one fixed accent, is intelligible, and it justifies itself by the effect on the ear when the verses are read aloud. Perhaps it is then necessary (as was previously usual) to have exactly eight syllables with the accent on the eighth; otherwise the rhythm might be spoiled. But that originally there was not this one accent only is clear from the tenth-century verses in the *St. Leger*, where Gaston Paris (*Romania*, I, 294) found that out of 240 verses 222 show an accent on the fourth syllable. It is, therefore, by no means improbable that the original strict scheme called for an accent on all four even syllables.

As to the first question, the difficulty which Paris found, it may be said that the Italian *endecasillabo* is sufficiently different from the French decasyllable, though the two verses are essentially identical, to make it uncertain whether the Italian form is derived from France. If it is not, then there seems to be at least one French form of verse for which it is scarcely possible to assume a change from rhythmical "trochaic" to rhythmical "iambic"

movement due to loss of certain vowels in Latin final syllables, which were not regularly lost in Italian. That Old French accentuation favors "iambic" rhythm is true, but iambic verses were common in Latin too, and seem to have been easily composed in both metrical and rhythmical forms, quite as easily as trochaic verses. But, leaving aside the doubtful case of the relation of the French decasyllable to the Italian verse, I do not think the difficulty felt by Paris is really a serious one. A Vulgar Latin accentual verse with accents in general on the even syllables is so simple and easy a type for popular use that it could easily be retained, the old verses being changed, as changes became necessary, in various ways, for example, by addition of one or more syllables here and there, during the period while the Latin vowels were gradually ceasing to exist. The definite article may have been a very useful word, and perhaps masculine and feminine verse-endings were for a time not kept distinct so carefully as was the case later. The language change cannot have been a sudden one, and traces of the older pronunciation doubtless lingered in the verse for some time after ordinary speech had completely lost the sounds in question. There must have been a time during which old and new pronunciations could be heard side by side, while the verse type remained unchanged. Perhaps neither ordinary speakers nor minstrels ever felt any embarrassment during this period of remarkable linguistic change or were even conscious of it.

With the tendency to make old verse ictus and prose accent coincide apparent in the older popular alternating verse of Vulgar Latin, the question how classic Latin quantitative verses were read in the earlier Middle Ages, whether according to the prose accents<sup>1</sup> or not, loses almost all its importance for the view here presented of the origin of vernacular Romance verse. Metrical iambic and trochaic verses would naturally fall into the alternating

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ramorino, "Pronunzia popolare dei versi quantitativi," and reviews of it, notably those in *Romania*, XXII, 574 ff.; *Litbl.f.germ.u.roman.Phil.*, XV, 1894, coll. 153-154; *Revue Critique, N.S.*, XXXVIII, 500-501 (noteworthy is the citation from Virgilius Maro); *Rassegna bibliogr. della lett. ital.*, I, 220-221. From this last I quote a few lines:

"Alcune forme del dimetro giambico convengono con l'endecasillabo sdrucciolo [the sdrucciolo ending I am inclined to look upon as an easy Italian development]:

*Phaselus ille quem videtis hospites.*

. . . Ma non in tutte le combinazioni d'accenti quei versi convengono coi nostri. Venendo poi ai versi italiani con accenti fissi, come il decasillabo, l'ottonario e in parte il senario, la teoria del Ramorino non trova applicazione se non dove l'accento abbia preso il posto dell'arsi quantitativa. Così, per esempio, il paremiaco puro conviene col decasillabo nella forma

*Deus ignee fons animarum*

ma non nelle altre. Da ciò s'intende che tra le forme dei versi classici, nelle varie combinazioni dei loro accenti, il senso ritmico popolare fece una scelta: il cercare le ragioni di questa sarebbe un utile complemento alla bella memoria del Ramorino, che spiega in parte, ma non in tutto, le origini della nostra metrica."

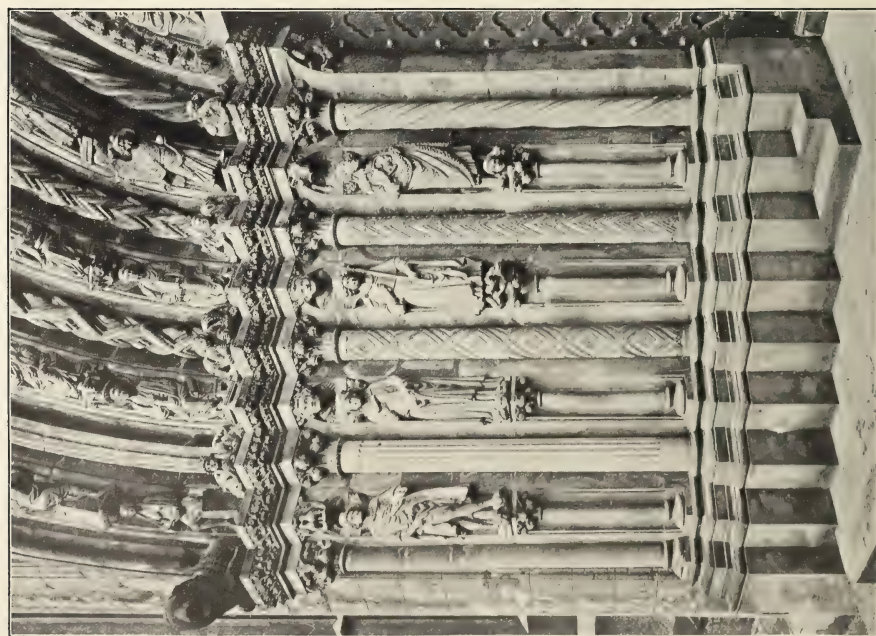
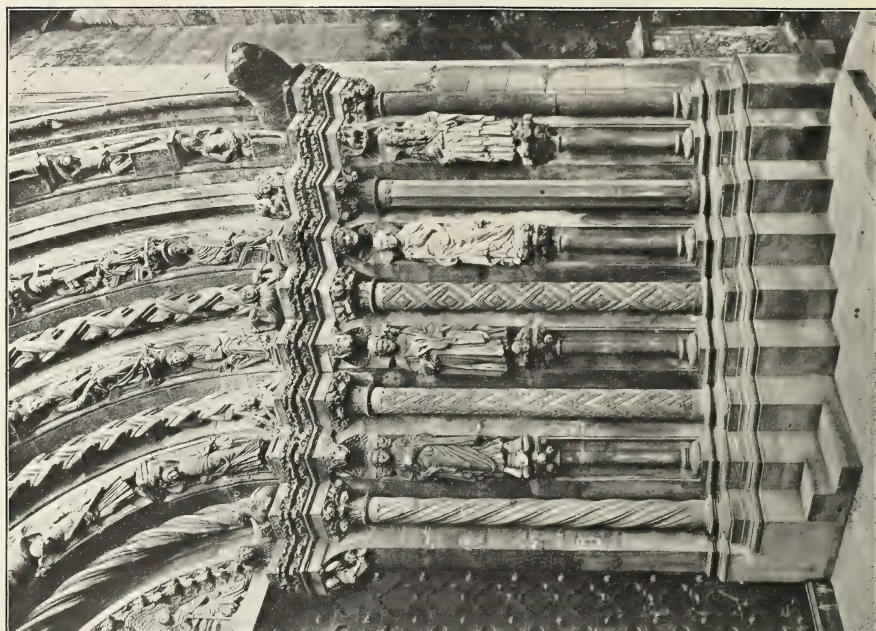
accentual form, and other verses could scarcely become popular but remained learned, even though they might be attempted by men of very little learning. One might say that there was no "pronunzia popolare dei versi quantitativi latini" (except perhaps of iambics and trochaics); such learned or semi-learned verses were over the heads of the common people. At most one could speak of such pronunciation as that of more or less ignorant clerics.

It is, to be sure, quite conceivable that some such semi-learned reading of metrical verses could, if of a sufficiently simple and unvarying character, become the basis for a popular form of verse (see above, p. 38). The sapphic verse, read with accents as in prose, has been proposed as the source of the Old French decasyllable and the Italian *endecasillabo*, and a strong (though to me not convincing) and ingenious argument has been made for this opinion.<sup>1</sup> I have no intention of arguing against it here, but I call attention to the fact that the author does not deny influence of iambic verse (cf. pp. 265, 276 of his book), and add that the sapphic verse read accentually becomes in most cases practically identical with the alternating type of verse assumed above as the source of the most popular forms of mediæval verse in the Romance languages. Thus, *Integer vitæ scelerisque purus* read in that manner is  $\acute{ } - - \acute{ } - \acute{ } - \acute{ } - \acute{ } -$ , where only the first accent is not strictly in place, and this variation is quite admissible. Some sapphics indeed would give at once the strict alternating form; as, *Non eget Mauris jaculis neque arcu*. If quantitative sapphic verses were later read simply with accents as in prose, I suspect the real cause was the influence of Vulgar Latin alternating verse.

<sup>1</sup> See Francesco d' Ovidio, "Sull' origine dei versi italiani" (reprinted with additions from the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1898) in his *Versificazione italiana e arte poetica medievale*, Milan, 1910.







LOWER PART OF THE GOLDEN GATE AT FREIBERG

# THE SCULPTURES OF THE GOLDEN GATE AT FREIBERG

KUNO FRANCKE

The two most comprehensive attempts to give a consistent interpretation of the sculptures adorning the portal of the Church of Our Lady at Freiberg in Saxony have been made by Anton Springer<sup>1</sup> on the one hand, and by O. Fischer<sup>2</sup> and R. von Mansberg<sup>3</sup> on the other.

Springer sees the fundamental idea of the whole in the mystic marriage between Christ and the Church, and all the scenes and figures of the portal he interprets as having a symbolic relation to this mystic marriage. "They are rooted," he says,<sup>4</sup> "in the conception that Christ, accompanied by numerous witnesses, weds himself to the Church; they glorify Mary, as the visible incarnation of the Church and consequently as a symbolic substitute for the *sponsa Christi*; and they exalt the heavenly Bridegroom of Judgment Day." The witnesses of the wedding Springer finds in the eight individual figures at the two sides of the door, whom he designates as Daniel, the Queen of Sheba, Solomon, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, David, Bathsheba, and Aaron; and he shows in detail how every one of these figures by ecclesiastical writers and poets of the Middle Ages has been brought into more or less direct connection with the union between Christ and the Church. The wedding itself he finds indicated in the relief of the tympanum, representing the Adoration of the Magi, and in the Coronation of Mary of the first archivolt. The heavenly Bridegroom of Judgment Day he finds suggested in the Paradise and Resurrection scenes of the three upper archivolts.

One needs only to summarize this interpretation in order to see its defects. For if the artist really had made the mystic marriage between Christ and the Church the central thought of his composition, he certainly would not have placed the Adoration of the Magi, a scene which is clearly not an adequate symbol of this marriage, in the very center of the whole portal; and he would not have relegated the Coronation of Mary by Christ, a fit symbol of Christ's union with the Church, to a secondary and inconspicuous position in the archivolts. As for the supposed glorification of the heavenly Bridegroom in the

<sup>1</sup> "Ueber die Quellen der Kunstdarstellungen im Mittelalter," in *Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (1879), XXXI, 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Die goldene Pforte zu Freiberg," in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* (1886), IX, 293 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Daz hohe liet von der maget. Symbolik der Skulpturen der goldenen Pforte* (1888). <sup>4</sup> P. 40.



Resurrection and Paradise scenes, this conjecture equals the conception of a play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out; for there is not even a suggestion of the figure of Christ in these scenes. Springer's interpretation, then, in spite of its illuminating quality in the identification of individual figures, is too forced to be plausible as a whole.

Fischer's and Mansberg's analysis is simpler and more natural. Both writers proceed from the Adoration of the Magi, the relief of the tympanum, as the center of all the various figures and scenes; and they find in its subject, the glorification of Mary, the keynote of the whole composition. To paraphrase some of Fischer's words,<sup>1</sup> the Golden Gate is a plastic hymn in praise of the Virgin, the *ianua coeli*. She appears as the center of all creation: below her, at the two sides of the door, patriarchs and prophets as representatives of the life on earth; above her, in the inner archivolt, the heavenly hierarchy; in the outermost archivolt, redeemed and transfigured mankind reëchoing the chorus of universal jubilation.

Both the interpretations mentioned are largely based upon the testimony of mediæval hymnology and homiletic literature; neither of them adduces the testimony of the religious drama. And yet, it seems to me, the analogy of the Freiberg sculptures with a particular class of dramatic productions of the Middle Ages, the Christmas plays, is both obvious and fruitful.<sup>2</sup>

As Marius Sepet<sup>3</sup> has shown, there is a close connection between the Christmas plays from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries and the so-called Prophet plays, dramatic scenes derived from a pseudo-Augustinian sermon, in which prophets and patriarchs of the Old Testament are called upon by St. Augustine to quote, one after another, their testimony about the coming of Christ and thereby to confound the opposition of the Jews against the expected Messiah. The names of these witnesses to Christ's coming and the manner in which they are introduced vary in the different plays. In the troparium of Limoges<sup>4</sup>—to mention a few of the more important of these plays—St. Augustine is replaced by the precentor, and the witnesses called by him are Israel, Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Habakkuk, David, Simeon, Elizabeth, John the Baptist, Virgil, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Sibyl. In the *festum asinorum* of Rouen,<sup>5</sup> Israel is omitted, but there are added fifteen other witnesses, among them Aaron, Balaam and his ass, and Zacharias. In the Benediktbeuren Christmas play,<sup>6</sup> St. Augustine, supported by Isaiah, Daniel, the Sibyl, and Balaam, engages in an eager dispute with the archisynagogus and the Jews about the Messianic prophecies; and finally, when neither his own

<sup>1</sup> *Repertorium für Kunstw.*, IX, 294–296.

<sup>2</sup> I have briefly suggested this analogy in my *Handbook of the Germanic Museum of Harvard University* (1906), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Prophètes du Christ*, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge*, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Ducange, III, 460 f., s.v. *festum asinorum*.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, III, 877 ff.

arguments nor the words of the prophets are sufficient to convince his opponents, he resorts to a *demonstratio ad oculos*: the performance of the Nativity itself, beginning with the Annunciation and ending with the death of Herod.<sup>1</sup> The St. Gall Christmas play<sup>2</sup> differs from all the preceding plays in this, that here the controversial character of the pseudo-Augustinian tradition is entirely effaced. The prophets — they are Moses, Balaam, David, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Micah — testify, not at somebody's bidding, but of their own accord; they step forth one after another and each of them tells of a particular phase of the work of salvation to be carried out by Christ. One of the characters, Daniel, includes even an account of the Resurrection of the Flesh in his prophecy. After these eight speeches there follows the Nativity play proper, from Mary's betrothal to Joseph to the Slaughter of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

There is no need of a formal argument to prove that in this combination of Prophet and Nativity plays we have a striking parallel to the most conspicuous part of the sculptures of the Freiberg portal: the eight prophet figures at the right and left of the door and the relief of the Adoration of the Magi, one of the most important scenes of the Nativity cycle, in the tympanum. Instead of calling the Golden Gate either, with Springer, a plastic representation of the mystic marriage between Christ and the Church, or, with Fischer and Mansberg, a plastic hymn to the Virgin, we may call at least this part of it a Christmas play in stone.

But even the remaining part of this composition, the plastic ornament of the archivolt, receives, it seems to me, a better explanation by connecting it with the joyous, idyllic character of the dramatic representations of the Christmas cycle than by any other literary parallel. The subject of the innermost archivolt, the Coronation of Mary, although apparently it has never formed an actual part of the Christmas cycle, may be designated as potentially a joyful finale of all those charming scenes which lead from the Annunciation to the Flight into Egypt. As for the other three archivolt, the treatment of their central theme, the Resurrection of the Flesh and the reception of the blessed in Paradise, is marked by the same serenity and hopefulness of expression which characterizes the Christmas idyl; the terror of Doomsday is entirely absent from it.

At the same time, it is just the conception of Judgment Day which connects these scenes no less than the Adoration scene of the tympanum with the figures of the prophets at the sides of the door. For the Last Judgment

<sup>1</sup> A Tirolese Christmas play of the fifteenth century (Pichler, *Das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol*, pp. 5 ff.) shows Isaiah and Ezekiel disputing with the Jews. In an Erlau Christmas play (Kummer, *Erlauer Spiele*, p. 5) only the protest of the Jews is left of the scene.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Joseph Klapper, in *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, XXI, 77–87. The introduction, pp. 53 f., has a good analysis of the Prophet scene.

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 245 ff.

is, beside the Nativity, the great subject of Christian prophecy; and it is significant that the oldest German Judgment play is introduced, like the Christmas plays, by a Prophet scene.<sup>1</sup>

Two figures in the group of prophets at the Golden Gate seem to me to have a particular reference to the Resurrection and Paradise scenes of the archivolts: the two women next to Solomon and David. Anton Springer calls them the Queen of Sheba and Bathsheba, and he finds in their relation to Solomon and David symbols of the mystic marriage between Christ and the Church. I prefer to call both of them Sibyls, although the figure next to Solomon might retain the designation proposed by Springer in a somewhat modified sense, since the Queen of Sheba in mediæval tradition is often identified with a Sibyl. It is she who prophesies to Solomon the birth of Christ, the redemption of mankind by his death, the subsequent decay of church and empire, the advent of Antichrist, and the Last Judgment.<sup>2</sup> The name of Bathsheba for the woman next to David, it seems to me, should not be retained;<sup>3</sup> nothing prevents us from seeing in her an illustration of the line "teste David cum Sibilla." She is clearly a counterpart of the woman companion of Solomon, and both correspond to the stage directions of the *ordinarium* of Rouen: "Sibylla coronata et muliebri habitu ornata."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rudolf Klee, *Das mittelhochdeutsche Spiel vom jüngsten Tage*, pp. 69 ff. The prophetic personages appearing here are Joel, Zephaniah, St. Gregory, Job, and St. Jerome. Cf. Karl Reuschel, "Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele," in *Teutonia*, IV, 110 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Sibyllen Boich," ed. Schade, in *Geistliche Gedichte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts vom Niederrhein*, pp. 303 ff.; F. Vogt, "Sibyllen Weissagung," in *PBB.*, IV, 86 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Mansberg's designation of this figure as Ecclesia would demand as its counterpart on the other side of the door an impersonation of the Synagoga — which is absent.

<sup>4</sup> Ducange, s.v. *festum asinorum*. — Through Lactantius, *Inst. Div.*, I, 6, the conception of the ten Sibyls had become common property of mediæval tradition. The appearance of a Sibyl in the troparium of Limoges and the Benediktbeuren Christmas play has been noted above. Two Sibyls together with eight Prophets are found on Syrlin's Bishop's Chair of Ulm Cathedral.



# A FANTASY CONCERNING THE EPITAPH OF SHAKSPERE

BARRETT WENDELL

"Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear  
To dig the dust enclosed here,"

and so on. Just where these lines may have come from I know not; nor whether they are frequent on old gravestones. They are on Shakspeare's; and Shakspeare's has stayed inviolate in Stratford Church for almost three hundred years.

Unless my memory is all at fault, the doggerel character of this quatrain has been presented as an argument against the authenticity of Shakspeare's plays and poems. Whoever wrote these, the whole world would grant, was the greatest poet of our literature. Whoever wrote Shakspeare's epitaph wrote sad stuff. Tradition attributes the verses to him. Grant the tradition true, and you have proved him beneath the level of the poetry set forth in his name, if not of all poetry whatsoever.

To pretend, in view of this most reasonable argument, that his epitaph has in it true Shakspearean quality may seem preposterous. The poems of Shakspeare were addressed to the cultivated and fashionable taste of his time; and accordingly are highly studied. The plays of Shakspeare were addressed to the popular audiences of his time; and accordingly, though often so careless as to warrant the stricture that he wanted art, are constantly and freely ingenious. The epitaph of Shakspeare is assumed to have been addressed to posterity; it is poor stuff, even in view of the posterity which curdles about us nowadays; unstudied, devoid of ingenuity, it reveals him, lying there, in all the nudity of the vulgar commonplace actually his when he lived and moved and had his being under Queen Elizabeth and King James. How any sane man nowadays can call it Shakspearean passes belief.

Something of this would have troubled me until a few years ago. One autumn day I chanced to be in Stratford Church, looking at the grave old stone, and marvelling a little that it had stayed undisturbed. England is an older country than our America; more used, by centuries, to the dusty accumulation of death. Instead of filling barren fields with new and ever new and swelling generations of the departed, the English can always find room for those who seek sepulture in the ancient and inextensive acres of the Lord. The incumbent of an English parish, they say, generally has a fee for every

burial in his church or his churchyard. Wherefore, since before the Conquest, there has been no want of room in either. Yet Shakspeare still rests beneath the stone they put above him when the flowers on his grave were fresh. Match this security in all England, if you can. Even royal dust has blown about in the winds of three centuries; this repose of Shakspeare's is almost unique, when you reflect that, at the utmost, he was finally a small, self-made country gentleman, with neither heir male nor considerable estate.

Ruminating thus, I happened to observe, in the church wall at my left, — close beside the newly colored bust of the poet, on whose hazel eyes the afternoon sun cast a revivifying gleam, — the outline of a walled-up doorway. You can see it in any photograph of the chancel wall; it is within an easy stone-toss of the grave where Shakspeare lies in his wondrously prolonged peace. A verger — or whatever they call the black-gowned being who watches you, and takes your fees, in such places — chanced to be at my elbow. I carelessly asked him where that door had led to. He didn't rightly know, he said; but the story was that it used to lead to the charnel house. If so, it had been walled up when that grim sanctuary for the communion of the dust had been done away with.

Now whether this tradition has in it a particle of truth I do not pretend to know; nor yet have I any purpose of inquiring. At least it has been a local tradition at Stratford, in all likelihood neither more nor less worthy of credence than that which attributes to Shakspeare himself the invention, or the selection, of the doggerel quatrain still above whatever may be left of his mouldering human frame. The one truth above peradventure here is that the two distinct traditions completely harmonize, each defining the other. In this harmony, and only in this, the lines at last sound Shakspearean.

For look at what little sure record remains of the life of him. A man who had his way to make made the same, in a material way, respectably. When his savings from his earnings got to be palpable, he began to buy land; at about the same time, his evidently ruined father managed to have arms granted him — a luxury which demanded at least fees. The inference of common sense is that Shakspeare, as a sound and sensible Englishman, desired to pass his later years, and to face eternity, in the character of an English gentleman, who could put forward some formal claim to having inherited his quality. The choice of his burial spot, in the mid-chancel of his parish church, crowns the story. The man might have sunk to obscurity among the vulgar; he chose to rise above them — or else recorded facts imply nothing whatever concerning his earthly aspirations.

Yet he did not really found a family; neither did he leave such a fortune as should be apt to preserve the memory of him, as a man, very long after decent friends had laid him in a decent grave. Nowadays, of course, he is immortal. In his own time, he was a successful playwright and manager, —

a man, apart from his recent arms and his petty estate, of about such consideration as a prosperous reporter might be among ourselves, or one who draws good pictures for a popular magazine. Personally, in the country, he was respectable enough; professionally, in London, he had been at best Bohemian. The tavern scenes in *Henry IV* portray such surroundings as those in which the corpse of Robert Greene was traditionally laurel-crowned by a hostess who might have gossipped with her of the Boar's Head in Eastcheap; such surroundings as those in which tradition has it that Christopher Marlowe met his end amid company such as Doll Tearsheet ornamented; such surroundings as bred the deathless poetry of the Elizabethan drama. To the charnel house they went, most of them, almost before their dust was dry—Greene and Marlowe, Falstaff and Nym and Pistol, Hostess and Doll. The charnel house awaited the skull of Yorick, when Hamlet had done with commenting on the empty vanity thereof. Imperial Cæsar himself, when left unburned, might well stop holes. Not a sepulchre of sovereign antiquity but has oped his ponderous and marble jaws. What was to become of that where some small country gentry, hardly yet acknowledged as such, should deposit the kindly Bohemian, whose shrewd savings had made them a bit better in this world than he or than his forbears, who were theirs?

In the year of grace 1616, the answer to this obvious question obviously lay mostly in the discretion of a fairly obvious line of small functionaries—namely, the successive sextons of Stratford Church. When the parson thereof, in time to come, should happen to want space, for a new fee, he would probably address himself to the sexton for advice as to where such space might best be found. Any normal sexton would be disposed to choose it as near the charnel house as might be; it is easier to toss bones a stone's throw than to manage their reburial, or to carry them, or to wheel them, across a hubbly churchyard. Stratford chancel was a fine place for a small gentleman to lie in, but perilously near that practicable doorway in its northern wall. An hour's work on the part of the gravedigger, and bones laid there in King James's time might well mingle with those of previous generations long before the seventeenth century had run its course; which would have been comfortable enough for the gravedigger, but deeply unwelcome to one of the departed who in life had loved personal consideration.

In such circumstance, the most prudent course for a man of sense would evidently have been to address himself, as cogently as might be, to the gravediggers. How well Shakspeare understood this kind of creature is implied in *Hamlet*. Just there, he had no need of touching on one phase of such character pretty certain to influence action—its superstition. To your gravedigger, your dead man is a dead man, until something occurs to suggest that he may somehow or somewhere be alive; then your gravedigger may perhaps display a degree of respect for your dead man's prejudices remarkably different from



his stolid disregard of the dead in general. No sane gravedigger has sentimental scruples about corpses ; few gravediggers of the seventeenth century can have had eager liking for the visitations of ghosts.

Suppose, then, that the lines above the dust of Shakspeare were addressed not to posterity but to the sextons who might at will have cast what was left of him through the open door of Stratford charnel house. Suppose that for a century the lines gave hesitation to sextons who loved their stoups of liquor and their night's sleep. Remember that for the two ensuing centuries that grave has been a shrine of pilgrimage, almost as curious as it has been reverent. Remember that the stone still stays undisturbed. Then, for sheer power of human appeal, match the epitaph, if you can. If you cannot, ask yourself whether after all, invented or selected, no matter which, it is not supremely Shakspearean.

But do not forget, the while, that this is no piece of laborious scholarship ; I have offered you only a fantasy, sprung from the stray word of a Stratford verger, one autumn afternoon, years ago.

# JOHNSON AND HIS FRIENDSHIPS

CHARLES TOWNSEND COPELAND

Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, without contest the best biography in the world, probably has at least a hundred readers for one that ever looks into the *Diary and Letters* of Madame D'Arblay — Madame D'Arblay, who began life as Fanny Burney. And if one book is to be read and the other neglected, it were well that a thousand persons should study Boswell for one that looks at Burney. But 'tis pity that every reader of Boswell and lover of Johnson should not also know the *Diary*.

For Boswell, with all his variety, gives an idea of Johnson that is as incomplete as it is vividly dramatic. I know that Johnson appears in those magical pages, those realized scenes, not only as Johnson *loquens*, Johnson the King of his Company, but also as the sage, the moralist, the genial and humorous companion, the friend to his friends, the pitying helper of the poor. Yet who rises from each fresh perusal of Boswell without a strong, renewed impression of Dr. Johnson as the arch talker, holding the field against all comers? He congratulated Boswell one morning — late one morning — on the fact that they had had "good talk" the night before. To which Boswell answered that his revered friend had indeed "tossed and gored" a number of persons. And if Johnson's rejoinders were often taurine, the picador that maddened him was a Scotchman. Now Boswell knew what he was about, in his tactics, his records, and his book. The unity of the book is plain. Tossing and goring must predominate. Johnson must talk for victory. The opposer must be vanquished, though he be Reynolds, or Garrick, or Goldsmith. Even Burke must usually be no better than a good second. The magnificent man himself said that he was content to ring the bell for Johnson.

Yet, as I have said, the arch biographer was not content to show Johnson ever rampant. He varied his unity by exhibiting "the big man" (as Goldsmith, in pure Irish, once called him) in many another light. And one important aspect, revealed long after in Miss Burney's diary, Boswell knew, lacked, and greatly desired. If Miss Burney had given him the help he wanted, her name might have appeared more often and more illustriously in the *Life*. She would neither lend him her letters from Johnson, nor put him in the way of any knowledge on the subject. It was not for lack of urging, and one of the most entertaining pages in the *Diary* is the account of how Boswell pressed his ardent suit. Lovers might pattern after him. It

was in 1790, Miss Burney being then at Windsor attending upon Queen Charlotte, that the biographer lay in wait for her at the choir gates. He petitioned for some of "her choice little notes of the Doctor. . . . Grave Sam," he explained, "and great Sam, and solemn Sam, and learned Sam, all these he has appeared over and over. . . . I want to show him as gay Sam, agreeable Sam, pleasant Sam; so you must help me with some of his beautiful billets to yourself." The lady evasive, the suitor importunate, he followed her up to the castle gate, where he actually read her a letter from defenseless Sam to himself. People now began to gather, to see the king and queen, who were approaching from the Terrace. Miss Burney was freed at last, and ran away to her own rooms. Thus did the Beefeater break the dramatic deadlock in Sheridan's glorious farce. "In the Queen's name I charge you all to drop your swords and daggers."

What would n't Boswell have given for Fanny's account, written to her "Daddy" Crisp, of her first meeting with Johnson? This took place at her father's house, St. Martin's Street, in the year 1777, the famous man being sixty-eight, the young woman — soon to be famous herself — about twenty-five. Dr. Johnson "kept his friendships in repair" by associating constantly with younger people.

Much music was in progress at Dr. Burney's, — a professionally musical house; and in the midst of it, "before the second movement was come to a close, Dr. Johnson was announced." When the music was well over, there was much talk; and Fanny, like most women when Dr. Johnson was in form, found herself bewitched. Nor was the spell relaxed to the end of Johnson's life. On this first occasion Dr. Burney began to "draw" him with the mention of an impending concert by Bach, then established in England and very well known. "The Doctor, comprehending his drift, good-naturedly put away his book, and see-sawing, with a very humorous smile, drolly repeated: 'Bach, Sir? — Bach's concert? And pray, Sir, who is Bach? Is he a piper?'"

Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale were in merry pin. From lively sally the two passed to comparing complimentary notes from Mrs. Montagu. Honors being easy, Dr. Burney suggested that the two ladies must get Johnson between them that day and see which could flatter him most — Mrs. Montagu or Mrs. Thrale. "I had rather," said the Doctor, very composedly, "go to Bach's concert." Not much of solemn Sam here. This gay little scene, like many another in Burney's drama, is far enough from the disputations at the Turk's Head, and, except for the lurking humor in *Rasselas*, immeasurably far from that melancholy fable.

Miss Burney soon became a frequent visitor at Streatham, the Thrales' ample villa, where Johnson had the prophet's chamber and for sixteen years passed more than half his time. And although Miss Burney (and still more Mrs. Thrale in her *Anecdotes*) tell of Johnson's rugged manners and of some



terrible outbursts on his part, the total impression remains of brilliant talk, happy days, and midnight conversation very different from that in Hogarth's picture. At Streatham, too, as in all other places, Johnson's onslaughts were often witty and sometimes humorous. We that, like David, are delivered out of the paw of the bear, cannot much deplore the blow that fell on the young man who, one day at Streatham, said suddenly to Johnson:—"Mr. Johnson, would you advise me to marry?" "I would advise no man to marry, Sir," returns for answer in a very angry tone Dr. Johnson, 'who is not likely to propagate understanding,' and so left the room." But now observe what followed. Mrs. Thrale, then of course Mrs. Piozzi, tells the anecdote; and adds that Johnson came back directly, drew his chair among them, and "with altered looks and a softened voice . . . insensibly led the conversation to the subject of marriage." He then spoke so wisely and so kindly that, in Mrs. Thrale's concluding words, "no one ever recollected the offence except to rejoice in its consequences." Perhaps the young man did not quite forget. Perhaps, when he married, he chose a wife without any conspicuous gift for repartee.

No doubt Johnson often turned on Mrs. Thrale and Hannah More; he once displeased Mrs. Montagu mightily; and once he had a fierce dispute—fierce on his side—with Mrs. Knowles, the Quaker lady, who was not without the pertinacity sometimes attributed to her sect. Her offense was the more heinous in that Dr. Johnson was clearly worsted. In general, however, he was gay and agreeable in the company of clever and charming women, with whom he spent much time in the twenty years of his life that are the only well-known period of it. As poor Miss Reynolds said, he was never intentionally "asperous."

It is no blame to Boswell that delightful little parties, even had he been present at many of them,—where Johnson differed from other people chiefly in being more interesting than they,—should have evaded a method that needed strong effects for its complete success. Boswell was perhaps aware of this difficulty, for often—whether women were present or not—he would record a spirited encounter, with Johnson on his highest horse; and then dismiss the rest of the conversation by saying that for the remainder of the evening the great man was "in good humor." Nothing consolidates friendship more firmly than meetings where every one is in good humor, but even a Boswell can't make his best copy out of them. Of one such meeting he says, "The general effect of this day dwells upon my mind in fond remembrance; but I do not find much conversation recorded." We read Johnson's best retorts with keen delight, agreeing with Garrick's brother that he was "a tremendous companion": Johnson was a fond remembrance in the minds of many wise and clever people, and for the most part the memory died with them. Boswell tried to supply part of this deficiency when he begged Miss Burney for her

"beautiful little billets." Moreover, when a friend writes that, to have Dr. Johnson at his best, one must have him to oneself, the statement sets us thinking how many quiet, lost talks must have taken place in that past century of time. Fanny Burney relates one of these. She must have *thought* of many others on the last morning of all, when she sat weeping on the stairs, waiting to be summoned to the dying man's room. Burke's final visit connotes long years of companionship, grave and gay, of which the high disputations formed only a part, though no doubt a great part. What passed between Johnson and Dr. Taylor in Taylor's long grief and perplexity? We shall never know, for the surviving letters are an imperfect record. Whatever it was, it made the two men more significant to each other. Johnson's "frisk" with Langton and Beauclerk, the two collegians who roused him at three o'clock one morning, makes all who read of it regret that oblivion has swallowed most episodes in Johnson's long intercourse with two men who were thirty years younger than he. The frisk is immortal, and deserves to be. Where are the genial dealings, tête-à-tête, between Johnson and Beauclerk? One or two of that sad dog's speeches show how genial they must have been. In Beauclerk's last illness Johnson exclaimed, "with a voice faltering with emotion, 'Sir, I would walk to the extent of the diameter of the earth to save Beauclerk.' " Thanks partly to Boswell, partly to Goldsmith's desire to "get in and shine," he and Johnson often had encounters in which "Doctor Minor" was usually worsted. But Johnson sold *The Vicar of Wakefield* for him, and sent him a guinea (once, we know; often, we suspect). What the deep relations were between the two, is clear from a well-worn anecdote. Johnson is never known to have made a direct apology more than a very few times, or to more than a very few persons. On an evening in 1773, however, — Boswell relates — Goldsmith "sat silently brooding" at the Club "over Johnson's reprimand to him after dinner. Johnson perceived this, and said aside to some of us: 'I'll make Goldsmith forgive me'; and then called to him in a loud voice: 'Dr. Goldsmith, — something passed to-day where you and I dined; I ask your pardon.' Goldsmith answered placidly, 'It must be much from you, Sir, that I take ill.' " The credit here, in my opinion, is all with Goldsmith; but the silent resentment and the angelic forgiveness throw a flood of light on the friendship between Johnson and Goldsmith. It depended little on club suppers and the fortunes of debate. Let us be thankful for what we have.

In another matter not unconnected with the friendly Johnson, as partly distinguished from Johnson the talker for victory, Jowett, so long Master of Balliol College, has a word to say. It is in a letter published by Dr. Birkbeck Hill, *Johnsonianissimus*, that Jowett surmises Boswell to have represented Johnson too uniformly as "sage and philosopher." In my opinion, Jowett's surmise is correct. Boswell knew that his book would contain too little of the Doctor of Laws who was capable, to use Miss Hannah More's word, of

gallanting young ladies from supper to conversazione. But he appears not to have realized that, in order to round the Doctor out, the Club should figure much more often in his account. At the Club the great men were very clubbable and merry. They drank the Dean of Derry's claret, and eat stewed veal and pullets, and listened to Goldsmith's songs. Those Monday evenings in Gerard Street were not occasions for Boswell to follow his favorite employment of stimulating Johnson to consecutive utterance on all sorts of subjects. No doubt he talked. He could n't help it; though, like a ghost, he never spoke first. But at the Club he talked more like a gigantic good fellow, less like a dictator; and laughed much, "blowing out his breath like a whale," and sometimes calling out, "Who's for punch?" According to Garrick, that was one of the words Johnson always spoke in the Lichfield accent, — *poonsh*. Garrick says too, by the way, — now that we speak of mirthfulness, — "he gives you a forcible hug, and shakes laughter out of you whether you will or no." Sir John Hawkins, Johnson's first biographer, remarked of him: "He was the most humorous man I ever knew." "Dr. Johnson," said Fanny Burney (who, remember, knew him only after he had passed the grand climacteric) — "Dr. Johnson has more fun, and comical humor, and love of nonsense than almost anybody I ever knew." "I never knew a man to laugh more heartily," is Boswell's own report. Happily he lets us hear that laugh from time to time. Would that he had told more of the Club! But, as we have agreed, it is hard to be any man's Boswell when the man is merely happy.

Boswell was too great an artist, however, not to sound the whole gamut, and strike the note of that awful melancholy which, Johnson said, had made his life "radically wretched," and kept him always near the verge of madness. The cold passion of art, like the hotter ones, drives out pity. Boswell knew, from more than one source, Johnson's fear of death, with which his melancholy was closely linked. "I mentioned to him that I had seen the execution of several convicts at Tyburn, two days before, and that none of them seemed to be under any concern. JOHNSON. 'Most of them, Sir, have never thought at all.' BOSWELL. 'But is not the fear of death natural to man?' JOHNSON. 'So much so, Sir, that the whole of life is but keeping away the thoughts of it.' " Johnson has been blamed for this morbid terror, but even our enlightened republic has not established the *entente cordiale* with the King of Terrors.

Too much an artist to leave Johnson's melancholy unnoted, Boswell was far too good an artist to let it appear often or unrelieved. It was when Johnson was alone that the enemy conquered him. In his published *Prayers and Meditations* the enemy is never far away. Yet, as with Lincoln, this dark undertow of the stream of life helped dignify the man to his friends. And the knowledge of it makes his humor strangely attractive.



Many of Johnson's friends were of low degree. It is well known that he literally loved the poor, and that he gave in charity at least two thirds of his pension of three hundred pounds a year. The "dear old friend" of the following passage from *Prayers and Meditations* was a faithful servant in his mother's family.

Oct. 18, 1767, Sunday.

Yesterday, Oct. 17 at about ten in the morning I took my leave for ever of my dear old friend Catherine Chambers, who came to live with my mother about 1724, and has been but little parted from us since. She buried my father, my brother, and my mother. She is now fifty-eight years old.

I desired all to withdraw, then told her that we were to part for ever, that as Christians we should part with prayer, and that I would if she was willing, say a short prayer beside her. She expressed great desire to hear me, and held up her poor hands, as she lay in bed, with great fervour, while I prayed, kneeling by her, nearly in the following words:

"Almighty and most merciful Father, whose loving kindness is over all thy works, behold, visit, and relieve this thy servant who is grieved with sickness. Grant that the sense of her weakness may add strength to her faith, and seriousness to her repentance. And grant that by the help of thy Holy Spirit after the pains and labours of this short life, we may all obtain everlasting happiness through Jesus Christ our Lord, for whose sake hear our prayers. Amen. Our Father."

I then kissed her. She told me that to part was the greatest pain that she had ever felt, and that she hoped we should meet again in a better place. I expressed with swelled eyes and great emotion of tenderness the same hopes. We kissed and parted. I humbly hope, to meet again, and to part no more.

The world has forgotten many grander religious documents. It will not forget these deep tones of trembling hope, spoken with utter simplicity in a simpler age than ours.

I have said that Dr. Johnson loved the poor, because his charity began (and continued) where the charity of most of us misanthropic philanthropists comes to an end, — at home. For did he not fill his house with defeated beings who had no other friend? We know them all, and how they hated one another, poor things. Like everything and everybody connected with Johnson in his great days — his bitter earlier life he could scarce bear to speak of — they are all a part of literature. Blind Miss Williams; the unsuccessful old medical man, Levett; Mrs. Desmoulins and "Poll"; Frank, the black servant, and Hodge, the cat, — they are all in the saga. "I recollect him one day," says Boswell, "scrambling up Dr. Johnson's breast apparently with much satisfaction, while my friend, smiling and half-whistling, rubbed down his back, and pulled him by the tail; and when I observed he was a fine cat, saying, 'Why yes, Sir, but I have had cats whom I have liked better than this'; and then, as if perceiving Hodge to be out of countenance, adding, 'but he is a very fine cat, a very fine cat indeed.'" Johnson himself used to go out and buy oysters for Hodge, rather than run the risk of making any one else dislike him. Immortal Hodge!

Oddly enough, one member of Johnson's forlorn family group inspired him to his best short poem. These "sacred verses," as Thackeray called them, were written after the death of Levett. Not great, only noble and tender, the sometimes heavy lines are lifted by impassioned sincerity into the realm of poetry.

Not all of him we celebrate, then, is to be found in Boswell. And, though no trait of Johnson is neglected, taking the *Life* and *Hebrides* together, dramatic grouping and triumphant talk leave the main impression. Wit never yet made a friend. It has indeed made many enemies. It lost an Irishman a bishopric and an American the Presidency. But wit such as Johnson's, in such a record as Boswell's, keeps ever renewing its delighted audiences. Trenchant wit, sound sense, the glint of paradox, a readiness of retort that surprises even those who, like Jowett, have read the book fifty times over, — these are among the qualities that make Boswell's *Johnson* incomparable. Boswell is incomparable, because there is no one to compare him with; inimitable, too, I judge, as no man has dared to imitate him.

How far was the biographer a friend? As far as who goes farthest, Carlyle would have us believe. Certainly, whatever his shortcomings may have been, Boswell has atoned by bringing Johnson ten thousand friends for every one he would have had without that great artist. Whenever Boswell's readers become also readers of Burney, and Thrale, and Johnson's own letters, they increase and diversify their friendship for a great man.





## THE DATE OF HEGETOR

ALBERT A. HOWARD

Vitruvius, the Roman architect, in the fifteenth chapter of his tenth book, has given a detailed account of a huge battering-ram and the shed from which it was operated, the invention of Hegetor of Byzantium. The same invention is described in practically identical terms by the Greek mechanician Athenæus, in his work *Περὶ Μηχανημάτων*, and also by a later anonymous writer of Byzantium who obviously drew his information almost exclusively from Athenæus; but none of these writers has contributed any information by which either the date of Hegetor or facts regarding his life can be established, and the name of this engineer, not elsewhere mentioned in either Greek or Roman literature, does not appear in any of the classical dictionaries in German, French, or English. Possibly the man is too insignificant to deserve any extended notice, but as he has appeared to me no less worthy than many who have been accorded a place in the Pauly-Wissowa *Encyclopädie*, I have thought it worth while to attempt to rescue from oblivion this ancient engineer, and, by indicating the time at which he probably lived, to secure for him, if possible, a place in future classical dictionaries.

Pretty certainly the elaborate engine designed by Hegetor, and clearly regarded by the ancients as the limit of audacity in the construction of siege machinery, belongs in the period after the battering-ram was perfected, and this period is shown by the evidence of ancient writers to have been the middle of the fourth century B.C., immediately following the campaigns of Alexander, and his death.

The history of the invention and development of the battering-ram is given by Vitruvius (x, 13) and by Athenæus, the mechanician, who states that his account is derived from Agesistratus, a writer on military engines, and is in substance as follows. While the Carthaginians were besieging Gades, some of the soldiers, taking in their hands a long beam, ran with it against the wall and, by repeated blows, burst for themselves a passage. A Tyrian shipwright, Pephrasmenus by name, improved this primitive ram by setting up a mast from the summit of which he suspended by a cable the beam, like the arm of a steelyard. The beam was then swung in such manner as to knock down the successive courses of masonry. Geras, a Chalcedonian, next set this ram on a framed base mounted on wheels, and built over it a shed to protect the soldiers who operated it. Later, when Philip,

son of Amyntas, was besieging Byzantium (340 B.C.), his architect, Polyeidus, improved the invention, which his pupils Charias and Diades, who served under Alexander in his campaigns, perfected.

Having thus determined with some probability the time after which Hegetor constructed his ram, there remains to fix, if possible, the time before which it must have been built. The solution of this problem depends somewhat on our ability to determine the date of the mechanician Athenæus, who in the treatise already mentioned describes the ram of Hegetor, and in the introduction to his work implies that he was himself a pupil of Agesistratus, and states definitely that Agesistratus was the pupil of the Apollonius who, in the harbor of Rhodes, loaded into ships and unloaded from them on the dock stones of such enormous weight that those witnessing the sight were amazed that such operations were at all possible. This Apollonius, called by Hultsch in Pauly's *Encyclopädie* (No. 113) an Athenian, is mentioned in only one other place in literature and that, obviously, derived from this passage of Athenæus, so that, in fact, no evidence whatever as to his nationality exists. Assuming, however, as is not improbable, that these enormous stones mentioned by Athenæus were used in the construction of the walls and fortifications of Rhodes, we may draw from the story an inference as to the date of Apollonius. For the fortifications of Rhodes were certainly in an advanced state of completion before the famous siege of that city by Demetrius Poliorcetes (308 B.C.), as appears from the evidence of Diodorus Siculus (xx, 95), who, in his account of the siege, speaks of towers built of stones four feet square, which are perhaps the very stones referred to above. If then we are right in assigning this date to Apollonius, the date of his pupil's pupil, Athenæus, should fall somewhere in the third century B.C., and in confirmation of this date there is other corroborative evidence.

The treatise of Athenæus is dedicated to a Roman named Marcellus, who is addressed as *σεμνότατε Μάρκελλε*, and it contains mention of Ctesibius, a mechanician, both of which facts should give some positive clue as to the time of the composition of the treatise. For it seems natural to identify the Marcellus of the treatise with the celebrated conqueror of Syracuse (ob. 208 B.C.), who alone of the Marcelli is sufficiently distinguished in military affairs to merit this dedication, and to identify Ctesibius with the mechanician of that name mentioned in the *Deipnosophistæ* of Athenæus of Naucratis (p. 497 D-E) as having designed and made for a statue of Arsinoë, the wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.), a famous rhyton, about which several epigrams are preserved, one at least by a contemporary poet, Hedylus, which mentions the name of Ctesibius, all of which evidence would accord perfectly with a date for Athenæus, the mechanician, in the last half of the third century B.C., the date assumed above.

It is not necessary to go into the long discussion<sup>1</sup> as to whether one or more other Ctesibii, barbers or sons of barbers, who lived at some later time, were mechanicians and writers about the water-organ or inventors of it. The unquestionable fact remains that a Ctesibius, said to have been a mechanician, flourished in the middle of the third century B.C., made a much-famed rhyton for the statue of Arsinoë, and was commemorated in contemporary poetry which has come down to our time under the name of the poet Hedylus, and that this mechanician satisfies the requirements of the present investigation. Athenæus, the mechanician, who mentions a mechanician Ctesibius, may well refer to this one, and, if so, naturally falls into the second half of the third century B.C.

It seems, then, reasonably safe to assume that Hegetor lived at some time between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the third centuries B.C., and there is further indirect evidence to connect his feats of military engineering with the famous siege of Rhodes under Demetrius Poliorcetes. The dimensions of the great ram are given in detail by Athenæus, Vitruvius, and the anonymous Byzantine writer; and in the account of the siege of Rhodes in Diodorus Siculus (xx, 95) there is a description of the battery used by Demetrius, which consisted of a gigantic helepolis (also described in both Athenæus and Vitruvius in immediate connection with the description of the ram of Hegetor) which was flanked on either side by four excavating sheds, and at the extremities of the battery were huge battering-rams, mounted on wheels and covered by sheds. The length of the ram itself is given in Diodorus as one hundred and twenty cubits (one hundred and eighty feet), which corresponds exactly with the length given in Athenæus and Vitruvius, as does also the statement that the head of the ram was constructed of hard iron shaped like the beak of a man-of-war.

In view of these coincidences, it does not seem unfair to conjecture that Hegetor lived at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries, that he was engaged in the siege of Rhodes in 308 B.C., and that he served under Demetrius Poliorcetes.

<sup>1</sup> Those who are interested in the discussion as to the date of Ctesibius will find the bibliography of the subject given at length in Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, I, 734 ff.





## CHANTICLEER

C. H. GRANDGENT

" Sans doute il est trop tard pour parler encor d'elle,"

wrote Alfred de Musset of Malibran, a fortnight after the death of the famous singer. Plays, except the best and luckiest, are even more quickly forgotten than their actors; and to speak of *Chantecler* three years after its first production seems almost like disturbing a grave. Yet something of this Yorick among comedies still subsists. Now that the merely ephemeral glitter — the whimses and puns, the verbal caprices, the satirical trifling, the novel stage pictures — is fading from the memory, there stands out with greater distinctness the one vital theme that gave the piece body and life while it lived, and is worthy to survive the sparkling froth. That theme is the need of faith in the importance of one's own task; or, to put it a bit cynically, the necessity of self-deception regarding the futility of human endeavor. The thesis is embodied in the part of the Cock, whose moral strength wholly depends on the belief that his crowing makes the sun rise day by day. The speeches in which this leading idea is developed I have ventured to detach from the more or less irrelevant matter in which they are involved, and I have attempted to turn them into English verse as similar as possible, in style and in general metrical effect, to the original.

First comes the glorious hymn to the sun, spoken by the Cock from the barnyard wall, in Act I, scene ii:

### CHANTICLEER

Thou that driest the tears of the tiniest things,  
That turnest the wither'd blossom to butterfly-wings,  
When, like a flickering life, the almond-tree flings  
    Its petals to the breeze  
    Cold from the Pyrenees, —

I adore thee, O Sun, whose beneficent light,  
To ripen the honey, to make the sad visage bright,  
Piercing each flower and the cottage of each poor wight,  
    Divided, remains whole,  
    Even as a mother's soul.

I am thy priest, I am thy herald true,  
Thou who comest to color the soap-suds blue,  
And often choosest, to signal thy last adieu,  
    A humble window-pane,  
    When thou dost set again.

## CHANTICLEER

Thou makest the sun-flowers' heads turn to and fro,  
 Thou makest my golden friend on the steeple glow,  
 And, fluttering thro' the lindens, dost stealthily throw  
     Round light-flakes on the lawn,  
 Too fair to tread upon.

The varnisht pitcher thou dost enamel and mold;  
 Thou makest the drying clout like a banner unfold;  
 And, thanks to thee, the mill wears a hat of gold,  
     The hive, his little mate,  
 A bonnet aureate.

"Glory to thee!" the fields and the vineyards cry.  
 Glory to thee on the gate, in the grasses high,  
 On the wing of the swan, in the lizard's glittering eye!  
     Thy broad art never fails  
 To show the least details.

Designing a lowly twin-sister dark as night,  
 Which lies outstretcht at the foot of everything bright,  
 Thou doublest in number the objects of our delight,  
     Adding a silhouette  
 To each, that's prettier yet.

O Sun, I adore thee! Thou fillest with roses the breeze,  
 With gods the woodland, with flames the brook as it flees;  
 Thou deifest, O Sun, the humble trees.  
     The world, without thy beam,  
 Would only be, not seem.

The theme is continued in a dialogue between the Cock and the Hen Pheasant in Act I, scene vi:

PHEASANT

All things remain the same . . .

CHANTICLEER

Nothing's the same!  
 Nowhere beneath the sun! The sun forbids!  
 She changes everything.

PHEASANT

She! Who?

CHANTICLEER

The light!

The farmer's wife's geranium over there  
 Never shows twice the selfsame red. That shoe,  
 That old, straw-spitting wooden shoe — how fair!  
 That wooden comb that hangs among the coats  
 With meadow-hairs still clinging to its teeth!



The aged pitchfork in its corner there,  
 Still dreaming, in its penance, dreams of hay !  
 The tight-laced ten-pins, pretty girls who pout  
 When Towser comes and spoils their fine quadrilles.  
 The huge worm-eaten wooden bowling ball,  
 On which an ant, forever journeying,  
 With all an old globe-trotter's self-esteem  
 In eighty seconds travels round its world.  
 None of these things remains two winks unchanged.  
 And as for me, Madame, for many years  
 A leaning rake, a flower in a vase,  
 Have driven me to chronic ecstasy,  
 And I have caught from looking at a weed  
 This wide-eyed wonder that will not come off.

## PHEASANT

I see you have a soul ! How can a soul  
 Grow up so far from life and live events,  
 Behind a farm-wall where a house-dog sleeps ?

## CHANTICLEER

When we can see and suffer, we know all.  
 An insect's death reveals the whole world's pain.  
 One sky-lit crevice shows us all the stars.

In the great monologue of the Cock, in Act II, scene iii, the Hen Pheasant serves as a chorus :

## CHANTICLEER

I never sing until my eight good claws,  
 Tearing away the grass and stones, have found  
 A spot where I can reach the soft, black loam.  
 Then, close in contact with our mother earth,  
 I crow ! And that itself is half the mystery,  
 O pheasant, half the secret of my song—  
 No song for which the singer racks his brain :  
 It mounts, like sap, up from the native soil !  
 The moment when this sap rises in me,  
 The hour when I am certain of my gift,  
 Is when dawn dallies on the dark sky's rim.  
 Then, quivering with the thrill of leaves and stalks,  
 Which fills my being to my pinions' tips,  
 I feel my mission, and I magnify  
 My trumpet posture and my clarion curve ;  
 Then Earth resounds in me as in a horn.  
 Ceasing to be a common fowl, I then  
 Become the official mouth-piece, so to say,  
 Thro' which Earth's voice emerges to the sky.

## CHANTICLEER

PHEASANT

Chanticleer !

CHANTICLEER

This cry that mounts from Earth,  
 This call, is such a cry of love for light,  
 A frantic and sonorous peal of love  
 For something golden which we call the Day,  
 Which nature craves, — the pine, to gild its bark ;  
 The path uplifted by the writhing roots,  
 To light its moss ; the corn, to deck its tips ;  
 The tiny pebbles, for their tiny gleam, —  
 It is the cry of all the things that miss  
 Their tint, reflection, flame, their tuft, their pearl, —  
 The entreating cry with which the dewy field  
 Demands a rainbow on each point of grass ;  
 The forest, at the end of every lane,  
 Begs for a ruddy glow to pierce the dark, —  
 This cry, which thro' my throat climbs to the blue,  
 Is such a call from everything that feels  
 Neglected in a dim and murky void,  
 Deprived of sunlight for some unknown crime,  
 A cry of cold, of fear, of weariness  
 From everything made helpless by the Night —  
 The rose that shivers in the dark, alone ;  
 The grain, longing to dry its wetness for the mill ;  
 The tools forgotten by the husbandmen  
 And rusting in the grass ; white-color'd things,  
 So tired of hiding all their dazzling sheen —  
 'T is such a cry from innocent dumb beasts  
 Which never need conceal the things they do ;  
 From brooklets, eager to disclose their beds ;  
 And even (thine own work disowns thee, Night !)  
 From puddles, hankering to reflect a ray,  
 From mud that wants to dry itself to earth —  
 'T is such a grand appeal from all the land,  
 Aching to feel its wheat or barley grow ;  
 From flowering trees desirous of more flowers ;  
 From grapes that long to tinge their green with brown ;  
 From trembling bridge that wants a passenger  
 And wants the shadows of the birds and twigs  
 Softly to dance once more upon its planks ;  
 From all that fain would sing, quit mourning, live,  
 Do service, be a threshold, be a bank,  
 A good warm bench, a stone rejoiced to heat  
 A leaning hand or little prowling ant —  
 In short, a universal call for day  
 From all that 's healthy, all that 's beautiful,  
 From all that 's fond of work in joy and light,  
 That wants to see its work and make it seen.

And when this mighty call surges in me,  
 My very soul expands and swells and grows  
 The more sonorous with its own increase, —  
 To make the great cry loud and louder still, —  
 So reverently, that ere I send it forth,  
 I hold the cry one instant in my soul;  
 Then, when, contracting, I let loose my note,  
 So certain am I that a deed is done,  
 I have such faith that this good crow of mine  
 Will make Night crumble like the walls of Jericho —

PHEASANT

Chanticleer!

CHANTICLEER

Preluding victory,  
 My song bursts forth, so clear, so proud, so stern,  
 That the horizon, with a rosy thrill,  
 Obeys me!

PHEASANT

Chanticleer!

CHANTICLEER

I crow! And Night  
 With twilight vainly seeks to compromise.  
 I crow! And all at once —

PHEASANT

O Chanticleer!

CHANTICLEER

I start, surprised to see myself quite red,  
 For I, the cock, have made the sun to rise!

PHEASANT

Then all the secret of thy song?

CHANTICLEER

Is this:

I dare to fear that if I do not call,  
 The east will never waken from its sleep.  
 My "cockadoodledoo!" is not designed  
 To make a waiting echo from afar  
 Repeat a feebler "cockadoodledoo!"  
 My thoughts are bent on light and not on fame.  
 Crowing, for me, is battle and belief.  
 And so my note is proudest of them all:  
 I sing so clear to make the heavens clear!



## CHANTICLEER

PHEASANT

(His words are madness!) — Thou dost make the dawn?

CHANTICLEER

Which opens flowers and eyes, windows and souls!  
 That is the truth. My voice evokes the day.  
 A murky sunrise means my song was bad.

The severest test of Chanticleer's constancy is reserved for the end of the play. The Hen Pheasant, jealous of her lover's devotion to the sun, tries to rid him of his illusion. Hiding the east from him at dawn, she distracts his attention until daybreak; then, showing him the light, she tauntingly cries:

"Thou seest the sun can rise without thy help!"

But in the face of evidence the Cock, after a moment of despair, renews his faith. Even tho' his individual ministry be not indispensable as he had thought, he is still a collaborator in some vast, mysterious mission destined to produce, in the vague future, greater good than he had ever before conceived.

CHANTICLEER

The herald I of a remoter sun!  
 My cries, piercing Night's veil, inflict on her  
 Those stabs of daylight which we take for stars!  
 I ne'er shall see on spire and belfry gleam  
 That final heaven, of cluster'd orbs compact.  
 But if I crow, precise and loud, and if,  
 Long after me, in years to come, a Cock  
 Shall crow, loud and precise, in every farm,  
 Night will exist no more!

PHEASANT

But when?

CHANTICLEER

Some day!

# WHAT IS CHAUCER'S *HOUS OF FAME*?

JOHN M. MANLY

One of the strangest facts in literary criticism is that, after more than forty years of intense and occasionally even feverish activity on the part of students of Chaucer, the question heading this article is still a legitimate question. If the poem were a brief and much-mutilated fragment containing part of a single episode, the present state of criticism would be intelligible and excusable. But of this poem we have nearly all that was written or planned by the author. Though incomplete, the extant copy contains 2158 lines, and it obviously can never have been intended to contain much more, for at the beginning of the third book the author distinctly speaks of that book as the last.<sup>1</sup> A disproportionate treatment of certain features doubtless prolonged this book beyond the author's original plan (it now contains 1068 lines); but the incidents and episodes of his plan were obviously such in character and number that at the beginning of this third book, he thought of them as forming a single division of his poem.<sup>2</sup> We have, therefore, in the extant version nearly all that he intended to write.

Moreover, we have, as an indication of the meaning of the poem, the title given by the author himself. And we have, in the words of the eagle to the author, a positive and definite statement not only of the main features of the narrative as far as it is preserved to us, but also of the principal incident of the unwritten portion.

Why, then, are not the purpose and meaning of the poem clear and well recognized? Several reasons may be suggested.

In the first place, much of the study devoted to this poem has been concerned, not with the interpretation of the author's meaning, but with the discovery of the sources of his materials. What suggested the temple? and the figures on the walls? and the treeless desert? Did the eagle come from Ovid, or from Dante, or from folklore? Whence came the ice-capped mountain and the revolving house? Correct answers to these questions would be interesting; if rightly used, they might be important; but they could hardly, in any event, contribute largely to the interpretation of the poem, for an author's meaning depends, not upon where he got his materials, but upon what use he makes of them.

<sup>1</sup> This litel laste book (iii, 3).

<sup>2</sup> We may be quite sure that there was to be no long account of the journey back to earth, as some suppose. This would certainly, in Chaucer's plan, have called for another book.

Another obscuring cause was furnished centuries ago by an inarticulate and unintelligible line of John Lydgate's. The line is the second in the following stanza of *The Falls of Princes*:

He wrote also full many a day agone  
 Dant in English, him-selfe doth so expresse,  
 The pitous story of Ceix and Alcion:  
 And the death also of Blaunche the duchess:  
 And notably [he] did his businesse  
 By great auise his wittes to dispose,  
 To translate the Romaynt of the Rose.<sup>1</sup>

We have no evidence that Lydgate had any information about Chaucer except what he derived from his writings, and we know that he was not an Italian scholar, but Skeat thought that he must have meant the *Hous of Fame*, and Rambeau attempted to show that that poem was in fact written as a counterpart to the *Divina Commedia*. Despite slight superficial resemblances of form and numerous insignificant reminiscences of Dante's great and serious poem in this light-hearted *jeu d'esprit*, Rambeau's theory is now generally discredited, though traces of its influence are discernible in some of the latest discussions of the poem.

Less specific than Rambeau's theory, but no less obstructive to the proper understanding of the poem, has been the general tendency to interpret it allegorically and to assign to it an important autobiographical significance. The details of this, as displayed by Sandras, ten Brink, Rambeau, Willert, Garrett, Snell, Brandl, and Koch, are too well known to need recital, and the latest expressions of this view, that by Brandl<sup>2</sup> and that by Koch,<sup>3</sup> have been discussed and refuted by Imelmann.<sup>4</sup> But Imelmann himself is unable to get entirely away from the allegorical interpretation.

That students of Chaucer should persist in interpreting him allegorically is strange. As a matter of fact, his work is singularly free from allegory in the strict sense of the term. The mere presence of nonhuman actors, whether animal, or mythological, or even personified abstractions, does not create allegory; for this there must be symbolism of action or of character. To be sure, the term "allegory" is used loosely to describe compositions in which there is no symbolism; but confusion of critical thinking is likely to arise from this abuse of the term. The *Roman de la Rose*, *Everyman*, Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, are properly called allegories, because in them the author presents the action symbolically, that is, by means of an entirely different sort of action. But a debate between two girls concerning their lovers is not allegory, even if birds take sides and

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Skeat, *Works of G. Chaucer*, I, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Sitzungsber. d. kgl. preuss. Akad., philos.-hist. Classe*, 1908, XXXV, 732 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Englische Studien*, XLI, 113-121.

<sup>4</sup> *Englische Studien*, XLV, 397-431.



debate and fight, and the decision be left to the god of love or his representative.<sup>1</sup> In like manner unsymbolic and unallegorical is the action in *Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amors*, in Machaut's *Dit du Vergier*; and only slightly allegorical are Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours* and *Lay Amoureux*. In Chaucer there is scarcely any allegory. None of the *Canterbury Tales* is allegorical; the nearest approaches to allegory are the *Nonne Prestes Tale*, which is a beast fable, and the *Squiers* (unfinished) *Tale*, which, in spite of Brandl's attempt to interpret it allegorically,<sup>2</sup> seems to be a mere tale of magic. No one, I suppose, has ever attempted to regard *Troilus and Criseyde* as an allegory. The *Compleynt of Mars* seems to be only a fanciful representation of the astronomical relations of certain planets in terms of human action, suggested by the general practice of astrologers.<sup>3</sup> Neither the *Boke of the Duchesse* nor the *Legend of Goode Women* has the slightest claim to be regarded as allegorical; and the *Parlement of Foules*, as I have recently shown,<sup>4</sup> is a Valentine poem, presenting a *demande d'amours* in the setting of a bird parliament. Indeed the only clear example of allegory in the whole of Chaucer's writings is the *Compleynte to Pite*, one of the earliest and most conventional of his poems. In view of these facts, the burden of proof that any one of his poems is to be interpreted allegorically certainly rests upon the scholar who proposes such an interpretation, and should meet with acceptance only when nonallegorical interpretations have entirely failed.

Imelmann's recent attempt to interpret the *Hous of Fame* has many excellent features. Where he has gone astray he has always, or nearly always, been misled by the effort to read allegory into it. Much the same may be said of the view set forth by Garrett in 1896, particularly as concerns his first section on the conclusion of the poem.<sup>5</sup> Like Imelmann, Garrett saw clearly that the fundamental intention of the poem was to lead up to some good story or stories, but both writers were under the influence of the allegorical idea and felt obliged to interpret some, if not all, of the objects and incidents of the poem as symbolical. This tendency is so strong as to produce definite misquotation or misinterpretation of the language of the author. Although Imelmann (p. 414) rightly rejects Koch's insistence upon any symbolism in the desert,<sup>6</sup> he himself feels obliged to interpret the temple allegorically, and says (p. 414), "Weil er etwas wissen möchte von dem sinn des darin erlebten und draussen aufklärung zu finden hofft (i, 474-479)." But Chaucer nowhere

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the whole series of poems connected with the debate of Phyllis and Flora.

<sup>2</sup> Brandl, *Engl. Stud.*, XII, 161-186; Kittredge, *ibid.*, XIII, 1-25.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Manly, *Harvard Studies*, V, 107 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Festschrift* for Morsbach (1913).

<sup>5</sup> *Studies on Chaucer's "Hous of Fame"* (*Harvard Studies*, V), 150-157.

<sup>6</sup> Koch, *Englische Studien*, XLI, 118, does not seem to recognize that if the temple had been surrounded by a flowery plain, or any other sort of landscape, instead of the desert mentioned by Chaucer, the problem of allegorical interpretation would have been just as insistent. In other words, if allegory is to be read into a poet's work, no choice of details can defeat the intent.

expresses any interest in the meaning of the temple or what he has seen in it. In the passage cited by Imelmann he says, "I do not know who made the images nor where I am, and I will go out and see if I can find any one who will tell me where I am." That the temple or the images or his own experiences have any occult meaning is nowhere hinted.

Let us see if the poem is not capable of a simple, unallegorical interpretation that is entirely adequate to explain all its features. That it is a love poem has been shown by Sypherd and by Imelmann, and is abundantly evident from the repeated statements to this effect in the poem itself. Sypherd erred in supposing that Chaucer's motive in writing the poem could be adequately expressed in the mere desire to produce a love poem. Imelmann rightly calls attention to the inadequacy of Sypherd's view and points out that Chaucer himself tells us that the poem exists for the sake of the story (or stories) promised as the conclusion of the poem.<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary to repeat his citation of passages proving this, the most important of which are ii, 133-143 and 164-191.

Beginning with the general intent of the poet as thus expressed, we may reconstruct the composition of the poem in some such way as the following: Wishing to introduce certain stories (or a certain story) to his readers by a pleasing device, the poet conceives of the house of Fame (or Report) as a place where such stories may be obtained, since all the sounds of the world tend naturally to that place. In order to reach this house, located, as it is, between heaven and earth and sea,<sup>2</sup> he has need of a winged carrier powerful enough to transport him. Such a supernatural creature can be provided only by some god or goddess, and the poet's service of the goddess of love motives the plan of her rewarding him by having him transported to the house where all good stories gather. Venus, of course, has no messenger capable of such a feat, but in the *Aeneid*, i, 254 ff. (a passage remembered by Chaucer, *HF*, i, 212-220), Jupiter shows himself somewhat affectionately ready to aid his dear daughter; and so here Chaucer represents him as lending her his own messenger, the eagle, who had already shown his powers by the long flight with Ganymede. This is the framework of the story; the rest is decorative or subsidiary. The temple with its storied walls, the treeless plain, the splendor of the eagle and his power of human speech, his conversation about the heavenly bodies and his explanation of the manner in which sounds reach the house of Fame, — all are determined by the fundamental idea.

That the poem is badly proportioned is true. The story of Dido is told at too great length, and the other love stories briefly indicated in Bk. i ought to have been omitted entirely. But the worst offense in proportion is, of

<sup>1</sup> It is not the fact that the poet is to be rewarded that is important, but the nature of the reward, as is sufficiently emphasized in the remarks of the eagle.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Met.*, xii, 39 ff., is the adequate source for this and much more.

course, the long description in Bk. iii of the outer walls and the great hall of the castle. It is not at all clear that the conception of Fame as the goddess of renown as well as of report came to Chaucer only when he was writing or planning the third book. In the earlier parts of the poem there was no occasion to mention renown. The third book is marred, not so much by the presentation of Fame in two aspects, as by the entirely disproportionate space (and consequent emphasis) given to the ice-cap, the castle walls, the hall, the goddess, and the throngs of suppliants. But Chaucer was somewhat prone to digression, and, especially in his earlier poems, did not restrain within proper limits the ideas brought up by association (note the famous passage on predestination in the *Troilus*).

If the reader will make due allowance for these errors in proportion, the poem will be seen to be clear and simple in structure, so far as it is preserved to us, and to require very little for its completion. What the missing portion was to contain is, in a sense, almost equally clear. We have been told in Bk. ii that the poet is to hear new stories; and, since his interest in learning new stories is to tell them, we may be certain that some provision was to be made for his telling them, — perhaps some such provision as is made in the end of the Prologue to the *Legend of Goode Women* (B, 548–551). Even if he was to learn and tell only one, we can hardly suppose that it could have been told in full in “this litel laste book.” It is possible, therefore, that the poet was merely to announce here his new treasure of stories which were to be told later; that is, that this poem was to serve as a sort of introduction to a group of stories. This may conceivably have been Chaucer’s first effort — the *Legend* and the *Canterbury Tales* are the others — to organize into a group tales of similar or of various themes. We may further infer that this group was to be a group of love tales of varied character (cf. ii, 136–138, 164–190).

Garrett, as I have already said, thought that a single story, that of Alcestis, “was to form the chief part of the continuation.”<sup>1</sup> His suggestion has met with little favor, probably for three reasons: (1) it is not in harmony with the specifications in Bk. ii, 136–190; (2) Chaucer would hardly have planned to make so long and elaborate a story a part of the third book; (3) while the poem as planned might fitly introduce a group of stories, it could hardly serve as an introduction to a single one.

Imelmann’s view also calls for a single story as the completion of the poem. He finds special emphasis in the words of the eagle:

And noght only fro fer contree  
That ther no tyding comth to thee,  
But of thy verray neyghebores,  
That dweller almost at thy dores,  
Thou herest neither that ne this (ii, 139–143).

<sup>1</sup> *Harvard Studies*, V, 155.



This means, he thinks : there is a love story of present interest to a distant land and also to England of which you have heard (or written) nothing ; the story is that of the marriage of Anne of Bohemia and Richard. This view he supports by arguing : (1) that the *Parlement of Foules* requires and promises a sequel, which is given in the *Hous of Fame* ; (2) that the tercel royal of *PF* is clearly the eagle sent by Jove to the poet in *HF* ; (3) that *HF* was intended as a gratulatory poem to be presented to Anne on her arrival in England, and therefore that December 10 (mentioned twice in *HF* as the night of his dream) is December 10, 1381, and fixes the date at which the poet began to write ; (4) that the unfinished condition of the poem is due to the poet's inability to complete it before Anne's arrival ; (5) that Bk. iii, 1044-1050, affords a strict proof of the nature and the source of the new story :

And eek a tyding for to here,  
That I had herd of som contree  
That shal not now be told for me ; —  
For hit no nede is, redely ;  
Folk can singe hit bet than I ;  
For al mot out, other late or rathe,  
Alle the sheves in the lathe ;

(6) that the coming of Anne from a distant land to marry Richard could hardly be better presented by Chaucer with the allegorical methods at his command than by means of the story of the man, who, driven by Fate, arrived, under the guidance of Venus, after manifold delays, at the Latian shore and found a wife ; (7) and, finally, that the name Anna was a connecting psychological link between the journey of the Bohemian princess and the fateful wanderings of Æneas.

As will be seen, Imelmann's theory has some very attractive features. That Chaucer should wish to celebrate the arrival of the queen would be natural ; that the love story of Richard and Anne should be presented as one of special interest would be equally natural. If the question were to be decided on *a priori* grounds, one could hardly refuse assent to Imelmann's view ; but unfortunately both the view and the arguments adduced in support of it seem to be contradicted by the poem and by other evidence.

One of the weakest and methodically unsoundest of the arguments is that identifying the eagle of this poem with the tercel royal in *PF*. Their functions are different ; nothing suggests any identification of them. What, moreover, could be absurder than to make Richard, as the eagle, call Chaucer's attention to his own love story — a story which, according to Imelmann's later interpretation (p. 427), comes "kolportiert von schiffen und sonstigen weit herumstreifenden leuten" ?

But Imelmann's principal use for the eagle is to establish a connection in subject matter between this poem and *PF*. If such a connection exists,

something is indeed needed to show it. I have shown, in the *Festschrift* for Morsbach, that *PF* needs no sequel. But even on Imelmann's theory that it needs one, who would expect to find that sequel in a poem different in meter, in professed theme, and in *dramatis personae*? If the courtiers expected a sequel to *PF*, they doubtless expected some real continuation of the story contained in it; and when they learned in *HF*, ii, 136 ff., that this poem was to introduce a story previously unknown to Chaucer, they would hardly expect to hear a sequel to *PF*.

December 10 may at first sight seem to harmonize with the date of Anne's arrival — Froissart says she left Calais on a Wednesday, which would be December 18. But does it really fit Imelmann's theory? It had been expected that Anne would arrive in the preceding summer; was Chaucer ignorant of that? After she started, she came by slow stages, and halted a month for fear of the pirates who infested the channel; did Chaucer know nothing of her approach? On December 1, Richard issued an order for her reception; was this also unknown to the poet who, according to the current view, had celebrated the wooing in February, and who, according to Imelmann, was under special obligations to celebrate the wedding? Why did he not hear of it — or receive a commission to write of it — until December 10?

That the poem was left unfinished seems unlikely. It is preserved to us in three manuscripts and two old prints, all of which are so closely related that they may have had a common ancestor not much earlier than 1450. Moreover, it seems unlikely that Chaucer would represent the Queen of Love in *L G W* as citing in his defense an unfinished poem, especially one begun in praise of Queen Anne and left unfinished. The excuse that he had begun it too late would perhaps have been as uncomplimentary to Anne and Richard as entire silence would have been.

Imelmann insists upon the fragmentary character of the poem, says that Chaucer "längst fühlte, dass dieses werk nie zu ende kommen würde," and gives this as a reason why he "babbles freely" and refers as he does in Bk. iii, 1041 ff., to the story that should be reserved to the end. The reference is undoubtedly mysterious to readers of to-day. It may have been, as Imelmann suggests, perfectly intelligible to the courtiers of Chaucer's day. It may even be an allusion to the wooing and marriage of Richard and Anne. But, unless Chaucer was incredibly confused in thought and expression, it can hardly refer to the story or stories which he is to hear and retell.

Imelmann is also, like Koch, obliged to emend iii, 817-820; and, since he declares that Chaucer gets his news of Anne's approach to England from the shipmen, pilgrims ("with scrippes bretful of lesinges"!), pardoneres, curroures, and messangeres ("with boistes crammed ful of lyes"! ) of iii, 1031-1040, he must credit Chaucer with a confused intention in this passage also.

That the story chosen by Chaucer to present to Anne as a greeting at the completion of her long journey to her betrothed husband should be the story of Æneas would, in any case, be odd enough; that, in telling it, he should dismiss in a single line (i, 458) the sole feature which constitutes the point of telling the Æneas story on this occasion, namely, the winning of a mate, would be a serious indictment of his intelligence; that he should devote nearly the whole story to the unfaithfulness of Æneas to Dido, emphasize this by a recital of other stories of man's perfidy and woman's weakness, and finally warn Anne, who had come so far to wed a king she had never seen, that she was acting foolishly, —

Lo, how a woman doth amys  
To love him that unknownen is (i, 269), —

would convict Chaucer of a lack of taste and courtesy incredible in a courtier and poet. Imelmann, to be sure, thinks this was all a jest for the benefit of the initiated. Anne, of course, might not have understood these English lines, and so might not have been troubled by the implied comparison of herself to Dido or by the warning against "laying to her eye an herb of unknown properties" (i, 291 f.); but Richard would have understood at once and Anne would surely have understood later. We have no evidence that Chaucer enjoyed the privileges of a licensed jester, — nowhere in his poems is there any hint of the fool's cap and bells and flapstick, unless we admit that his compliments were such as some of his interpreters believe them to be.

That, in *L G W*, Chaucer was to present to the queen legends involving the fickleness and unfaithfulness of man cannot be cited in favor of the supposition that he welcomed her to England with stories of man's perfidy, for in *H F* the emphasis is entirely on man's perfidy while in *L G W* it is on woman's faithfulness.

If *H F* was written to celebrate the arrival of Anne, and Dido's sister Anna was in any sense a connecting link between the Æneas-Dido story and the Richard-Anne story, it is certainly remarkable that Chaucer gives the name Anna no more prominence than he does in *H F*, where she receives, in Bk. i, 366-371, the bare mention required by the story. If Chaucer was given to making these sly, scarcely noticeable allusions, why does he never use the names Richard and John in such a way as to suggest the king or John of Gaunt, his supposed patrons?

The theory that Chaucer was to hear (and tell) the story of Anne and Richard is, then, so out of harmony with the details of the poem as to be untenable. Whether ii, 136-143, necessarily imply, as they certainly suggest, that what Chaucer was to hear was news of his own day, we may be unable to determine; it is certainly the strongest point of Imelmann's theory.



But interpreted with no greater strictness than Imelmann applies to this passage, the later lines, ii, 164-190, imply that the poet is to hear (and tell) many love stories of the most varied character :

For truste wel, that thou shalt here,  
 When we be comen ther I-seye,  
 Mo wonder thinges, dar I leye,  
 Of Loves folke mo tydinges,  
 Bothe soth-sawes and lesinges;  
 And mo loves newe begonne,  
 And longe y-served loves wonne,      170  
 And mo loves casuely  
 That been betid, no man wot why,  
 But as a blind man stert an hare;  
 And more Iolytee and fare,  
 Whyl that they finde love of stele,  
 As thinketh hem, and over-al wele;  
 Mo discords and mo Ielousyes,  
 Mo murmurs and mo novelryes,  
 And mo dissimulaciouns,  
 And feyned reparaciouns;      180  
 And mo berdes in two houres  
 Withoute rasour or sisoures  
 Y-maad, then greynes be of sondes;  
 And eke mo holdinge in hondes,  
 And also mo renovaunces  
 Of olde forleten aqueyntaunces;  
 Mo love-dayes and acordes  
 Then on instruments ben cordes;  
 And eke of loves mo eschaunges  
 Than ever cornes were in graunges.      190

And this impression is borne out by what is said in iii, 1031 ff., of the stories and the bearers of them in the housê of Rumor (or Fame).

I am therefore disposed to believe that this poem was intended to herald or announce a group of love stories and to serve as a sort of prologue to them. As the attachment between the poem and the stories announced was loose, — looser perhaps than that between the legends of good women and the prologue to them, — the poem might well have been cited in *L G W* as a complete poem although it lacked the stories it was to introduce. Until a better theory is suggested, I shall therefore regard the *Hous of Fame* as the first of the series of experiments in grouping stories of which the *Legend of Goode Women* was the second member and the *Canterbury Tales* the final and satisfactory outcome.



## THE MODERNNESS OF DANTE

JEFFERSON B. FLETCHER

Puffed up with the pride of the New Learning, a certain Italian humanist of the fifteenth century once exclaimed, "What we humanists write we write not for ourselves, we write for humanity." Perhaps that was the trouble with him, one reason at least why he is forgotten—except by other scholars. Humanity as a whole has few interests and a short memory. To write for nobody in particular is usually to be read by nobody in particular. To speak at one time for all time is to speak to no time.

There is truth in these quibbling phrases,—truth which modern historical criticism is, if anything, inclined to exaggerate. Historical critics to-day grow impatient when it is declared that Shakspeare "wrote for all time." They emphasize rather his dependence on contemporary stage conditions, his appeal to an Elizabethan, nay, a London audience. He kept, they contend, his eye on the pit and never turned it on posterity. M. Jusserand would reduce Edmund Spenser to a purveyor of perishable intellectual dainties to an ephemeral courtly taste at Greenwich and Hampton in the year of our Lord 1590. Milton's business, we are told, is to represent a precise moment in the history of English Puritan theology and of the pseudo-classic epic.

No doubt this scrupulous adherence to historical perspective has been salutary as a corrective against loose talk. We have put ourselves back, so to say, among the author's immediate audience, and can better understand him as he meant to be understood. Wanting this just perspective, critics in the Middle Ages totally misread antique literature, forcibly wresting pagan meanings into impossible compliance with Christian and feudal conditions. And perhaps the romantic critics in the early nineteenth century who used to talk about a philosophic Shakspeare writing "for all time" were as fantastic.

But there is another side to the story. A literary masterpiece is not merely the mouthpiece of its maker. Once born, it has a voice of its own; and to them who lovingly hold communion with it, it speaks a various language. The ideas it contains live, and are fertilized by contact with ideas, distantly akin, of later generations. If, by rigidly sticking to what an author actually had in mind when writing, we may in some measure put ourselves back among his original audience; so, by considering what he may mean for us of another time, we in so far bring him himself back to life, and set him talking to us, as he might have talked, of our affairs. This is no doubt what in a sense mediæval critics



did with the classics, — and we condemn them for it ; but I think there is a distinction to be drawn. It is one thing to try the ideas of a past writer by ours, another thing to dye his ideas with ours. Resemblances shown by the first method are illuminating, by the second only confusing.

So, while realizing the critical risk, I mean to try certain ideas of Dante's by certain of ours, to ask what Dante has to say, if anything, anent certain larger issues of to-day. I can only hope that in so "interviewing" the great Florentine I may not — to invert one of Byron's titles — merely present Dante as 'the transformed deformed.'

Dante is still — for most people — the grim poet of the *Inferno*, the black dreamer he appeared to those women of Verona, with visage seamed and hair crisped from the fires of hell. Not long ago in New York City I heard a moving-picture showman explaining a film of the *Inferno*. On one grotesquely representing of certain sinners stuck heads down in pits, their protruding wiggling legs aflame, he remarked deprecatingly : "It is presumed — Dant' was a paræsthetic. No sane man 'd 'a' dreamed such queer an' awful visions." Maybe the worthy barker meant 'paranoiac.' It is a good word, is 'paræsthetic' — for some æsthetes, say for 'Cubists' and 'Futurists' in art ; but it is plainly a libel on Dante.

My Broadway commentator, however, was really expressing, after all, only the very common opinion of the poet of hell as of course a great genius (for the books say so), but decidedly queer and nightmarish to the plain citizen. Yet I must in justice add that my showman found at least one kind of modernness in the *Inferno*. As to these upside-down sinners — "It is presumed," he said, "these were unfair business men." And he found a subtle fitness in the mode of their punishment. "It is presumed — only their limbs were let free because the only honest part of 'em were their limbs."

The majority have 'their Dante of the dread *Inferno*.' But besides this majority of the small minority who have any Dante at all, there is another more refined and knowing set of readers who ignore or deprecate the things Dante most cared about, to extol if not his 'paræsthetic,' at any rate his pure æsthetic power. The poet Carducci once sonnetized this view. I translate — as best I can :

Dante, whence comes it that I, reverent, bear  
My votive homage to thy shrine sublime?  
That me the sun leaves bending o'er the rime  
That made thee gaunt, and dawn still finds me there?  
For me St. Lucy prays not, nor the fair  
Matilda laves away my spirit's grime,  
And Beatrice and her chaste lover climb  
Godward in vain along the starry stair.  
I hate thy Holy Empire ; and my sword  
Gladly from thy good Frederick's head had cleft

The crown, when he in Val d'Olona warred.  
 Empire and Church are ruins life-bereft  
 Where broods thy song, and makes with heaven accord :  
 Jove passes, — but the poet's hymn is left.

The idea — by him — is strikingly put, but is it true ? Is the 'hymn,' the 'poetry,' all that is left of Dante — even for those for whom Church and Empire, as Dante conceived them, are a melancholy ruin ? Must we hold to Dante simply as the idle singer of a day that is dead, and of prophets who lied ? If so, is there not left to us even less of him than Carducci seems to allow ?

For what makes Dante admittedly one of the two or three supreme poets of the world ? He himself indeed once gave thanks for

The fair style that hath done me honor.

But man-of-letters shall not live by style alone. Nor, again, does Dante's greatness, his unique greatness, lie in reproducing life, holding the mirror up to nature, creating many-sided men and women. His thumbnail character-sketches are indeed marvelously suggestive ; but his men and women as such cannot endure comparison with those of Shakspeare, perhaps not even with those of his humble admirer Boccaccio. Neither of the protagonists — besides himself — in the *Divine Comedy*, neither Virgil nor Beatrice is, I think, a full and lifelike character. They are spiritual symbols ; they are more than mere personified abstractions surely, and yet they are abstract, or at least they are not solid. They are above and apart from complex human beings ; they are mouthpieces for human and divine wisdom or justice or mercy. They move in one dimension of character. And in varying degrees the same thing is true of the vivid but unilateral folk who people the three regions of the other world, — articulate moods of wrath and pathos in hell, of resignation and hope in purgatory, of tenderness and peace in paradise.

One character indeed emerges from the *Divine Comedy* foursquare, yet not so much created as vicariously revealed. I mean of course Dante himself. He is the measure of his ideal world ; it is the many-faceted mirror of him. He is the ever present Issue. Behind the mask of the stormy St. Peter it is the Ghibelline exile who fulminates against the abuses of the Church ; behind the stately pathos of Francesca da Rimini it is the fate-driven outcast who remembers in wretchedness the happy time ; behind the relentless Ugolino, softened a little by the thought that

my words  
 Shall seed-like bear the fruit of infamy  
 Upon the traitor whom I gnaw,

it is the patriot betrayed by false Florence to the 'salt bread' of others who chafes for vengeance. Dante is no curious analyst of other men for their own sakes ; he is strangely self-absorbed ; but, it must straightway be added, he has

made his self-interest coterminous with the universe. He has interpreted all truth in the light of his own spiritual needs. So far he is a pragmatist. The unifying principle of the world as he sees it is the projection of his own master passion. The true *primum mobile* of his universe lies not beyond the stars, but in his own breast. And just because he was intensely human, that moral universe of his remains essentially true and real.

I say that *moral* universe. A vision of the world, a reordering of man's world, unified by an ideal intensely and permanently human — that is Dante's distinctive accomplishment, I think. Not artistry alone, nor pure dramatic power, but constructive criticism of life is what makes him one of the two or three supreme poets. No doubt he himself believed in the world he ideally reconstructed as an external and physical fact. Earth was for him still center of nine concentric revolving solid heavens somehow mystically enwrapped in their turn by an immaterial tenth heaven, the Empyrean, residence of God and his angels and saints. God was for Dante a demonstrable fact; so were the nine orders of angels, and the Devil and his fiends; so was that divine and foreordained right of the Holy Roman Empire, hateful to Signor Carducci. Dante also very probably came to regard even his subterranean ringed and pocketed cone of hell, made in the inverse image of the heavens, as a literal fact. For him, too, a real Mount of Purgatory thrust out from the precise antipodes to that dome at Jerusalem which covers the sepulcher of Christ. Was it not written by Virgil himself how the restless Ulysses had sailed past the forbidden mount, and perished for his presumption?

I need not multiply illustrations. None of us to-day believes in all the things that were to Dante facts, or conclusive inferences from fact. Some still believe in a personal Devil; many more in a personal and revealed God. I will not say that Dante has not something to give to such co-believers which the skeptic or agnostic cannot get, and would hardly value if he could. I do say that the most radical skeptic or agnostic need not find himself an alien in Dante's world, if he will but recognize that this world, false or not in literal fact, is also an interpretation, a projected mirage of Dante's own mind and character, — a symbolic or 'picture' language in which the poet has phrased his supreme human desire. Ptolemy, Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, and how many others are responsible for the picture language. Dante thought this picture language the hieroglyphics of God. We may not think that. What matter, if through the 'dead' language we may read the live message?

Manifestly, I can here hope only to hint at a line or two from that message, to expose maybe just a corner of the heart of it, — a heart alive and beating still, as I believe.

It has often been remarked that the triumph of the Copernican system of astronomy involved the greatest defeat ever suffered by human pride. Hitherto the universe had revolved about man; now man went spinning somewhere in



the bleak outerness. In a picturesque phrase of Professor Royce's, the earth was forthwith reduced to a "mere local item in the news of the universe." True—from the point of view of the reading public of heaven; but hardly true for the citizens of earth. However humbler his habitation, there is still nothing more interesting or important for mankind than man. Indeed, like all suburbanites, we residents of this now out-of-the-way planet are only the more thrown back upon ourselves, upon our own resources. Cut off—during our lives here anyway—from cosmopolitan activities and the courts of heaven, we must needs make the best of our local, our earthly selves. Amidst all the modern varieties of belief and unbelief, there is the one practical agreement that our present task as men is the betterment of human conditions. We are at least bound to make ours the 'suburb beautiful.' For us, far more emphatically than for the old philosopher recorded by Pliny, "God is the helping of man by man."

And this is just what Dante is forever saying, — although his God is also something more besides.

Before ever I opened his essay on monarchy, the *De Monarchia*, I supposed, I was led to believe, it an archaic curiosity, a museum specimen of 'high priorism.' So I was startled, when I actually began the book, to find this thesis laid down as a starting point: "The work proper to the human race, taken as a whole, is to keep the whole capacity of the potential intellect constantly actualized, primarily for speculation, and secondarily (by extension and for the sake of the other) for action." The vocabulary is a bit archaic; but the doctrine sounded essentially modern. Translated into modern terms, it suggested an idea as modern as Matthew Arnold's saying that conduct is three fifths of life, and culture the rest. For "speculation" as the outcome of keeping "the whole capacity of the potential intellect constantly actualized" I take to be, so far as human experience is concerned, not really different from what Arnold means by culture, — "culture being," to quote his familiar words, "a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all the matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world." Arnold would give three fifths of life to conduct; Dante would apparently give three fifths to 'speculation.' We need not quarrel about that odd one fifth. The important thing is that the Florentine no less than the Victorian is asserting that the goal of humanity is more humanity, not any mediæval ascetic stifling of the life that is in us, but rational enlargement of that life, 'new life' on earth in 'sweetness and light.' It is the modernist's *summum bonum*.

And to this end, this 'greatest good,' continues the author of the *De Monarchia*, the primary condition is peace. "In the quiet or tranquillity of peace," he declares, "the human race is most freely and favorably disposed towards the work proper to it." And furthermore, to be efficient to its end

this peaceful work must itself be organized, must have unity of direction, must have the unified direction of a single mind. So Dante argues for a universal monarchy, an international tribunal making for concordant coöperation towards the goal of human effort — realization of fullest humanity. Modern idealism recognizes the same goal, premises the same requirements; only, grown politically democratic, postulates instead of an international emperor at Rome an international parliament at The Hague.

Peaceful coöperation towards the realization of fullest humanity — such is the social ideal of the Ghibelline pamphleteer. The *De Monarchia* might fitly bear the imprint and the motto of our international peace-society — *Pro patria per orbis concordiam*. Peace — outward and inward, here and hereafter — is the gospel which Dante preaches ever and everywhere. When the brother of the monastery at which he once applied for refuge, asked what he sought, the wayfarer only replied, "Peace." Not selfish withdrawal from life indeed, but fullest harmony of life with self and man and God — such rich peace is ever the object of Dante's seeking. True, in the *Divine Comedy* he seems to set his goal, his millennium, in an otherworld beyond the grave; but as I have stated, while this paradisiacal otherworld of his was for him a reality hereafter, it is also the symbol of a possible earthly state here and now. His paradise is not that "inverted world," that "*verkehrte Welt*" of Hegel's, where everything just is n't what it here is, but a model world for men to pattern their world upon. Earthly life is made in the image of heavenly life just as, and in proportion as, man is made in, and may grow in, the image of God. Dante's *Paradise* is fairly construable precisely as More's *Utopia* is construable, — as a criticism of our civilization as it is, and as a theory of improvement.

But, it may be said, just in that matter of democratic ideal rises the barrier between Dante and us. His world is a world of caste, a social hierarchy as stiffly ringed and graded as his immutable hell. That is what makes him so mediæval. He is no democrat. He has no sympathy with man as man. Whether in hell or heaven, he will converse only with people of importance, and takes almost an exclusive interest in 'good society.' The great revolutionary watchwords of modern democracy — *liberty, equality, fraternity* — are not heard in a state so rigidly policed by prince and priest. It is such indictments as these, I suppose, that made Signor Carducci reject everything in Dante except his 'poetry.'

Well, as to equality, Dante does not believe that, in any romantically literal sense, men are born equal. I doubt if any one does, or ever did — really. Nature opposes too obvious a veto. I know, for instance, so beyond all peradventure, that I was not born William Shakspeare's equal. But apart from Nature's favoritism, inequality is essential to human progress itself. For human progress demands social organization; social organization involves diversity of

individual function, — which is to say, speaking plainly, humble jobs as well as exalted jobs, privates as well as captains, stokers as well as stewards, college professors as well as college presidents, — or in a word, inequality.

Dante therefore is not speaking mediæval feudalism but common sense, when he asserts and justifies such inevitable social inequality, a graded world. (What else do we mean by organism?) For instance, the princely young Charles Martel meets his former friend, Dante, in the heaven of Venus, and in the course of a discussion as to how degenerate sons can spring from worthy parents, he asks Dante, "Would it be worse for man on earth were he no citizen," — were he, that is, not a member of organized society? Dante admits that of course it would. And Charles retorts, "And may that be, except men live below diversely and with diverse offices?" The argument is implied that I have just now outlined: social organization implies diversity of function, and hence inequality. But, according to Charles, inequality is quite independent of heredity, though men in their blindness persist in acting as if it were not. They think mistakenly that a son ought to be given his father's place, however unfitted by nature he may show himself. Hence people are constantly trying to fit square pegs into round holes. "Ye wretch," he exclaims, "to a religious order him born to gird the sword, and make a king of him who should be for discourse; wherefore your track runneth abroad the road."

The further implications of Charles's argument are obvious. A man is indeed born, if you will, to his 'office,' his place in society, but — not because he is his father's son. Personal fitness, inborn merit, alone shall qualify him for his birthright; nothing else.

The rank is but the guinea's stamp,  
The man's the gowd for a' that.

In the true sense of the word Dante does not seem to be undemocratic, after all. Faith in social democracy is quite compatible with faith in a political monarchy, as present-day England proves. And indeed Dante made democratic a social doctrine as aristocratically exclusive as ever was. I mean the social doctrine implied in the love poetry of the troubadours, his literary masters. According to the Provençal code of courtly love, gentleness of feeling was confined to gentility of birth. Love was the flower of good breeding; it could not be grown in 'common or garden' soil.

The troubadours intended indeed no social theorizing. For the most part they were simply writing amorous compliments to and for high-bred dames; and they naturally voice the exclusive prejudices of a rigid feudal caste. Dante borrows their phrases, but by a single amendment alters their whole meaning. Gentleness of feeling is confined to gentility — yes, but, qualifies Dante,

È gentilezza dovunque è virtute.



'Gentility is wherever virtue is.' Love is the flower of good breeding — yes, but good breeding is just high-mindedness. Only the gentleman really loves — yes, but the gentleman is literally *ὁ καλὸς κἀγαθός*, the beautiful and good character. Though an emperor has said that gentility rests on birth and outward manners, he is, comments the independent Florentine, but one of "those who err." To the old jibing question —

When Adam dived and Eve span,  
Where was then the gentleman?

Dante must in consistency have replied, "Nowhere" ; but — merely for the reason that a gentleman would n't have thrown the blame on a woman !

Dante's gentleman — or, as he prefers to say, 'gentle heart' — is thus far enough removed from the 'nobleman' of feudal caste. His gentleman is virtuous, high-minded, a beautiful and good character, and might — in consistency — be a shoemaker or a peasant, — though I admit Dante might have been also surprised to find him one. Even the greatest are sometimes practically inconsistent in their prejudices. *I* am — about simplified spelling and some other things. Dante's gentleman alone can love — in Dante's sense of loving. Indeed, whatever his gentleman does is a work of love.

This last sentence sounds sentimental or evangelical. In fact, it is neither. Dante means much more by 'love' than his troubadour masters meant. They meant only amorous passion, however much sophisticated or quintessentialized. I cannot pretend to say how much amorous passion, simple or sophisticated, the young Dante Alighieri felt for the Florentine girl, Bice Portinari. It may well be that as a boy of nine he was really infatuated with her, and as a youth of eighteen actually besonneted her ; but, however all that may be, the man of thirty composed his book called the *New Life* to record no mere personal affair of the heart. Philosopher that he had become he had come to recognize the impulse to self-forgetful service which springs from all deep personal affection as one with

The Love that moves the sun and other stars.

The highest and the humblest love meet in this, that each burns with "a flame of charity." Whenever he saw Beatrice, "a flame of charity possessed me," he says, "which made me pardon whomsoever had offended me." In that moment at least, his will was the good will which should bring peace among men, was that 'helping of man by man' which was to bring God, the 'greatest good,' to earth. The fulfillment of his vision of God, as he records it in the *Paradiso*, is ethically only the clearer realization of that early mood of love. His will and desire, as he tells us, have at last become intelligently one with the love that moves all things to its ends. His purpose is now God's purpose ; to its fulfillment he is spontaneously and wholly self-dedicated. And God's purpose for man is the "pursuit by man of his

total perfection," as Arnold called it, or the keeping "the whole capacity of the potential intellect constantly actualized," as Dante called it.

Here then is the evolution of this idea of love from the troubadours through Dante. For them in theory love was the self-devoted service of one's lady. In practice, their 'service' was largely a gallant make-believe, a matter of forms and ceremonies. For the young Dante of the *New Life*, love is also self-devoted service of his lady, even though to no more practical ends than the celebration of her excellence living, and the perpetuation of her memory dead. (The *New Life* has broader philosophic intentions, I believe, but they are enigmatically presented, and therefore say relatively feebly what is later said with power.) But for the mature Dante of the *Divine Comedy* and the *De Monarchia*, though love is still self-devoted service, yet it is service not of his lady merely, however bright and fair she be, but also of his fellow men. It is in the highest sense the spirit and ideal of fraternity.

We begin to see the rich implication of Dante's line —

Amore e cor gentil sono una cosa.

'Love and the gentle heart are one same thing.' If love is thus measure of gentility, of rank and office, and if love is self-devoted service of one's fellow men, then Dante's practical solution of social inequality becomes plain. It is for the general good that the right man should be in the right place, and the right kind of man, the *gentleman*, will joyfully acquiesce in his place, be it high or low. All that he, as one moved wholly by love, asks for is the greatest possible serviceableness. To be doing what one is qualified for doing, to be where one serviceably belongs — that is the basis for content, the necessary condition for inward peace. And inward peace is as essential for the general good as outward peace. So the meek Piccarda expresses to Dante her contentment with her place in the lowly heaven of the Moon. "Brother," she smiles, "the quality of love stilleth our will, and maketh us long only for what we have, and giveth us no other thirst. Did we desire to be more aloft, our longings were discordant from his will who here assorteth us — and his will is our peace."

A recent and brilliant writer on Dante, Professor Santayana, has, I believe, curiously misunderstood Piccarda. According to him, "For Piccarda to say that she accepts the will of God means not that she shares it, but that she submits to it. She would fain go higher, for her moral nature demands it, . . . but she dare not mention it, for she knows that God, whose thoughts are not her thoughts, has forbidden it. The inconstant sphere of the moon does not afford her a perfect happiness; but chastened as she is, she says it brings her happiness enough; all that a broken and a contrite heart has the courage to hope for." If that is indeed what Piccarda means, it is strange that Dante, leaving her, could say: "Clear was it then how everywhere in heaven is

paradise, e'en though the grace of the chief Good doth not rain there after one only fashion." Piccarda fairly sings her joy; Dr. Santayana would have her but sighing her resignation.

But Dr. Santayana — I speak under correction — quite misses Piccarda's point. To say that she "would fain go higher, for her moral nature demands it," is to confuse two very unlike aspirations — the aspiration for higher office, and the aspiration for highest service. Piccarda's aspiration to serve is indeed infinite, insatiable; for such is the quality of love. But it is this very "quality of love" that, as she says, "stilleth our will, and maketh us long only for what we have"; because, incompetent to a higher place, she would there be of less service. Now in her right place, all her powers have full play. From no one can more be asked; to no one can more be given. Perfect service is perfect freedom.

For human conduct the moral of Piccarda's words is obvious. They do not spell 'quietism' or 'standpattism,' or exalt the maxim 'Whatever is, is best.' Personal ambition, the desire to better one's self in the world, is justifiable so long as one's power for good measures up to the coveted place. For the individual as well as for the race it is right that "the whole capacity of the potential intellect" should be kept "constantly actualized." Else there is waste. So any one who sincerely feels that he has not found or been allotted his right place, his place of greatest usefulness, has a right, nay, a duty to protest. Not only he but, through him, society is the loser by the dislocation. 'Noble discontent' is awakened when one is needlessly kept from doing one's best. But individual discontent or social unrest, when stirred by desire of self-aggrandizement and not of disinterested service, is like the ambition of the bullfrog in the fable to swell himself to the bigness of the bull. His was not 'noble discontent'; it merely — as the event proved — spoiled a 'perfectly good' frog. We may heroically resolve to hitch our wagon to a star; but we should remember that such a team calls for a specially gifted driver.

Have I been saying undisputed things in a solemn way? Well, so be it. I held out no promise of showing novelties in Dante, but rather the opposite — ideas and ideals so staled by frequency in our time that they have grown commonplace, and seem still more so in my commonplace handling. But if they are in Dante, if I am right in thinking they are in him, assuredly they will not sound commonplace from him. Really, is n't everything commonplace and also not commonplace — as it is spoken?

Social inequality, then, regulated by social justice; social justice bent on giving each individual his fullest scope, and so his greatest opportunity of service; individual and collective service wholly dedicated to the realization of the whole potential capacity of mankind for 'speculation' and 'action,' culture and conduct, — *liberty, equality, fraternity* interpreted and upheld as



the best thought of the twentieth century is interpreting and upholding them, — such is Dante's social program. Is it mere empty paradox to speak of his modernness?

In conclusion, I may submit as it were an amendment on Carducci's sonnet, with which I began this paper. Mine may be no more than a travesty of a sonnet, but I believe it a juster appreciation.

Dante, not supine in ecstatic swoon  
Held'st thou communion with the Love which moves  
The sun and other stars; not so behooves  
Man to abjure his manhood. Late and soon  
Thy gentle heart besought as for a boon  
Service; believed he serves God best who loves  
Life, — who, still holding fast the good, yet proves  
All things, — and else were recreant and poltroon.  
Unto this end sweet Lucy made her prayer;  
Gentle Matilda washed thy spirit clean;  
Pure Beatrice led up the mystic stair —  
That thou might'st know where lies man's true demesne;  
Which is not yet where angels have no care,  
But in such loving toil as left thee lean.



## THE TWO PROLOGUES TO THE *LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN*: A NEW TEST

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES

There is excellent authority for the persuasion that one's private glee in harping "ay o werbul" on however jolly a harp is not always shared by one's courteous auditors. And to touch again the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* is to court at best gently tolerant rather than eagerly expectant ears. So be it!

And therefore, who-so list it nat y-here,  
Turne over the leef, and chese another tale.

What I wish briefly to do is to look at the problem of the two versions of the Prologue from what I hope is a fresh angle, and to supplement by internal evidence certain considerations earlier adduced<sup>1</sup> as looking towards the priority of B.

One of the curious features of the problem has been the seeming absence of decisive aid and comfort accorded by the two versions themselves to the literary detective. Where a revision has been so sweeping as that which is embodied in the first four hundred lines of the poem, it would seem inevitable that some trace of the actual process of change should be left in the workmanship to betray unmistakably which is original and which alteration. Yet none of the evidence of this sort so far brought forward has been felt to stand wholly free from ambiguity. Strangely enough, however, one obvious test has not been hitherto thoroughly applied. And it is the application of this test which constitutes the purpose of the present paper.<sup>2</sup>

There are in the Prologue three passages of some length which in the revision have been *transposed*. That is, they have been taken out from between the lines of their original context, and inserted between other lines. In doing this, certain changes both in the new context and in the transposed lines have been rendered necessary. And if one take the trouble to go through the process of assuming first one version, then the other, as the original, and of

<sup>1</sup> *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIX, 593-683; XX, 749-864; *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII, 513-569.

<sup>2</sup> In presenting the considerations which follow, I shall have to deal with matters of rather minute detail, which in the nature of the case exact, in order to their just appraisal, close and constant reference to the documents themselves. I have tried, however, to organize and coördinate these details as far as possible, in order to reduce to the minimum the burden of weighing the evidence adduced.



thereupon actually making the necessary transpositions as Chaucer in either case must have made them, some interesting and pertinent facts are at once disclosed.

Let us examine first the implications of A 71-80 and B 188-196, so far as matters of mere *joinery* are involved,<sup>1</sup> and let us assume for the moment that Chaucer has lifted the passage from its place in B, and carried it back a hundred and odd lines to its present position in A. Precisely what, on this assumption, must have happened? The question can be answered explicitly. The last two lines of the passage, thus shifted, will read as they still read in B, *and will now be brought into immediate juxtaposition with B 97-98*,<sup>2</sup> so that the four lines which Chaucer has brought together will stand as follows:

- B 195 For this *thing* is al of another tonne,  
 196 Of *olde story*, er swich *thing* was begonne.  
 B 97 But wherfor that I spak, to give credence  
 98 To *olde stories*, and doon hem reverence, etc.

We have simply done over again, that is to say, what Chaucer must have done, *if B is the original*, and these four lines are what he must have had before him.

Certain things are obvious at a glance. I have already<sup>3</sup> pointed out the

<sup>1</sup> I am deliberately steering clear, in the present discussion, of arguments drawn from purely æsthetic considerations — always more or less dependent on disturbing personal equations — and confining myself to the less alluring but more demonstrable evidence of technique. Questions of the comparative *elegance* of two passages may admit of, or even invite, disputation without end; questions of the mere *mechanics* of style are susceptible of what approaches demonstration. And it is the minutiae of literary craftsmanship that concern us here.

<sup>2</sup> For it must be remembered that we are now engaged with Chaucer in the process of *making A* (on our assumption of the moment), and that it is B alone that we have before us.

<sup>3</sup> *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX, 665. Dr. French argues (*The Problem of the Two Prologues to Chaucer's Legend of Good Women*, Johns Hopkins Dissertation, 1905, p. 78, n. 1) that "*thing* is in Chaucer's usage not always the very general term that it is in modern English, but is here evidently used in a sense akin to that in which it is employed in F [B] 364,

But for he useth *thinges* for to make.

The contrast is between *this poem* and *that genre of poetry*, and *thing* is used in a sense almost technical." But that is to force the second *thing* from the plain sense of its context. On Dr. French's own view that *stryf* has been changed to *thing* to avoid "a heaping up of sibilants" (p. 78), see *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XX, 751, n. 1. Professor Goddard's explanation (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII, 105), to the effect that no better word than "the delightfully indefinite 'thing' could be hit on to describe the nature of this gloriously unique production, the *Legend of Good Women*," and that "by the repetition of 'thing' in the following line . . . the poet achieves one of his roguish ambiguities," perhaps demands no comment. Professor Koch, in his review (*Englische Studien*, XXXVI, 144) of my first article, is forced to the conclusion that the scribe has slipped up: "Umgekehrt kann das in B aus z. 195 in z. 196 wiederholte *thing* auf unaufmerksamkeit des schreibers beruhen, während A an letzterer stelle das gewiss passendere *stryf* bietet." The "umgekehrt" is not without significance, as it refers back to Dr. Koch's suggestion that it is also the scribe, *this time of A*, who has changed elsewhere an original "florouns" to "floures."

awkward repetition of *thing* in two successive lines — a repetition to which Chaucer's attention would inevitably be directed as he now scrutinized critically lines thrown off in the glow of composition. To hold that once seen the repetition would not be recognized as a blemish is to deny to Chaucer a sense of the rudiments of his craft.<sup>1</sup> But by following through his actual processes in revision, there is brought to light a fact which has so far escaped observation. It is possible (in a word) to see how the change in revision came about. For as Chaucer inserted the couplet in its new position in his manuscript, his eye could not fail to catch the couplet (B 95-96) which had *originally* preceded B 97-98, but which he had now cancelled :

As to myn erthly god, to yow I calle,  
Bothe in *this werke* and in my sorwes alle.<sup>2</sup>

The mere glance at his manuscript as he wrote would have been enough to suggest the apt substitution of "this *werke*" for "this *thing*." And the further substitution of "stryf" for the second "thing" is merely carrying out the differentiation.

Might not the change, however, have been the other way about? If we assume A as the original, that is, may it not have been "this *werk*" of A 79 which suggested "this *werke*" in B 96, when the passage in A was carried forward? One has still to answer, on such an assumption, the question: Once granted the careful discrimination involved in *werk* and *stryf*, what conceivable motive could there be for substituting, not for one only but for *both* (thus *bringing about* the awkward repetition), the indiscriminating *thing*? But this question may be waived. "In this *werke*" of B 96 could not have had its suggestion in "this *werk*" of A 79, for the phrase in B *has its own independent origin* in the "*Nell' opera la quale a scriver vegno*" of the *Filostrato*.<sup>3</sup> In other words, the change from "this *thing*" of B to "this *werk*" of A is explicable at once through the wording of the cancelled passage in B. This wording of B, on the other hand, has its independent origin in something wholly outside of A. So far as this couplet is concerned, then, an examination

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer's procedure may be readily paralleled, of course, from the work of other poets. In 1815, for example, Wordsworth found in the 1807 text of "I wandered lonely as a cloud," the following lines:

A host of *dancing* daffodils;  
Along the lake, beneath the trees,  
Ten thousand *dancing* in the breeze.

By the substitution of "golden" for the first "dancing" the repetition was obviated.

<sup>2</sup> In all probability the new passage was inserted in the *margin*, so that B 195-196 would be brought *opposite* B 95-96:

<p>B 95 As to myn erthly god, to yow I calle, 96 Bothe in <i>this werke</i> and in my sorwes alle. But wherfor that I spak, etc.</p>	<p>B 195 For <i>this thing</i> is al of another tonne, 196 Of olde story, er swich thing was begonne. But wherfor that I spak, etc.</p>
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<sup>3</sup> See *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIX, 619.

of the craftsmanship involved seems to afford definite evidence of the *order* of revision.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, as if to make assurance double sure, the very next couplet offers even more striking evidence. For A 81-82 and B 97-98 are as follows:

But wherfor that I spak, to yeve credence	But wherfor that I spak, to give credence
To <i>bokes olde</i> and doon hem reverence.	To <i>olde stories</i> , and doon hem reverence.

If A is the earlier version, it is difficult to see any reason why for "bokes olde" there should be substituted "olde stories." On the face of it, such a change seems to be purely arbitrary. But, postulating B as the earlier version, and actually *making* the shift of the Flower and Leaf passage thus required, what we get is the group of lines already brought together on page 96. It is at once clear that the change from "olde stories" to "bokes olde" is due to the necessity of obviating the repetition involved in "olde story" and "olde stories" within three lines — *a repetition brought about by the shift of paragraphs*. Absolutely no such reason is operative in the other case. For what is inserted in place of A 71-80 (namely, B 83-96), if A is the original, contains nothing which requires the change from "bokes olde" to "olde stories," as a glance will show. That is to say, on the assumption of the priority of B there is again an obvious and cogent reason for the change; on the contrary assumption, the explanation is to seek. And once more the *order* of revision has left its traces in the workmanship — traces which have not hitherto been observed simply because nobody has repeated the actual processes involved.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that still another change is perhaps accounted for by this same new juxtaposition of the lines. For if we add the *next* couplet, we shall have (as Chaucer had) the following:

For this *thing* is al of another tonne,  
Of *olde story*, er swich *thing* was begonne.  
But wherfor that I spak, to give credence  
To *olde stories*, and doon hem reverence,  
And that men mosten more *thing* beleve, etc.

*Thing* is thus repeated *three* times within five lines. The use of *autoritees* in A 83 may readily enough have been also due to what a glance at the rearranged lines disclosed. For Chaucer had probably at least as much sense for such details as the average corrector of Freshman themes. Nor is the repetition of *thing* the only such blemish he would observe.

<sup>2</sup> Instances could be multiplied from other sources of changes in revision which carry still other changes with them. In Wordsworth's "I wandered lonely as a cloud," to which reference has already been made, the present second stanza, which was inserted in 1815, contained the line

*Ten thousand* saw I at a glance.

The original first stanza ended in the line

*Ten thousand* dancing in the breeze —

which was thereupon altered to

*Fluttering and* dancing in the breeze.

The inserted stanza contains the line

*Along* the margin of a bay.

The penultimate line of the original first stanza was

*Along* the lake, beneath the trees —



This evidence falls in, it is obvious, with other considerations, based on the larger structural changes in the poem, which have been presented elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> In this paper, however, I am confining myself to the implications of the actual *joiner's work* involved in the transposed passages, and the evidence just adduced seems to be conclusive, even independently of other indications looking the same way. For there is nothing whatever involved in the changes just pointed out beyond the ordinary, mechanical processes of revision. Their very unimportance enhances their evidential value.

But the results of the application of our test are not yet exhausted. Let us assume this time that A is the original, and that, accordingly, the paragraph A 71-80 is to be set forward a hundred lines or more. In the first place, lines 71-72 of A constitute as they stand a complete couplet, rhyming in *undertake-make*. It would be a perfectly simple and obvious procedure, accordingly, to transfer this couplet intact to its new position, and that is certainly what we should expect to find — above all in the case of Chaucer<sup>2</sup> — if the assumption of a splitting of the paragraph in A be sound. But we do not so find it. On the other hand, at the point of its assumed insertion in B (ll. 187-188) the passage begins with the *second* line of the couplet, the *make* now rhyming with *sake* of the preceding line, which ends an entirely independent sentence. And this sentence happens to be a reminiscence of Froissart, and it grows directly out of the preceding lines, which are also suggested by the *Dittié*.<sup>3</sup> In other words, with a complete and adequate couplet ready at his hand,

which became

*Beside the lake, beneath the trees.*

An uncommonly interesting example of changes which involve still other changes is found in the first and second quartos of *Hamlet*. The reading of Q<sub>1</sub> for I, ii, 150-152 is as follows:

The Cocke, that is the trumpet to the morning,  
Doth with his earely and shrill *crowing* throate,  
Awake the god of day, and at his *sound*, etc.

Q<sub>2</sub> has become

The Cock that is the trumpet to the *morne*,  
Doth with his lofty and shrill *sounding* throat  
Awake the God of day, and at his *warning*, etc.

The change from "shrill *crowing*" to "shrill *sounding*" makes it necessary to substitute another word for *sound* in the next line. But the word actually substituted (*warning*) introduces at once a rhyme with *morning* two lines before. The further change from *morning* to *morne* accordingly becomes necessary.

<sup>1</sup> *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX, 663; Tatlock, *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (Chaucer Society, 1907), pp. 92-93; etc.

<sup>2</sup> See especially below, pp. 100-101.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 175-185 of B are clearly traceable, for their suggestion, to lines 142-171 of Froissart's *Dittié de la Flour de la Margherite* (Poésies, ed. Scheler, II, 213-214). The limits of the present article do not permit citation of the two passages, but the comparison may be readily made. The next two lines of B (186-187), which end with the *sake* referred to above, retain, with a somewhat different turn, the substance of the lines which immediately follow in the *Dittié*:

I pray to God that faire mot she falle,  
And alle that loven floures, for her sake.

Et pour l'amour d'une seule . . .  
Toutes les voeil honorer et servir (ll. 172, 175).

Chaucer actually ends the new passage which leads up to it<sup>1</sup> *with a word in the same rhyme*, and thus forces himself to a quite gratuitous remodelling of his old couplet. That is of course within the bounds of possibility, but it is (especially, as we shall see, in Chaucer's case) in the highest degree improbable.

Let us see, on the other hand, what happens if we assume the priority of B. The reminiscence of Froissart (B 175-187), now of a piece with all the other "glenings," ends in a prayer for "alle that loven floures, for hir sake," and this leads, with perfect naturalness, to a disclaimer of any intention to "preyse the flour agayn the leef." The *sake-make* rhyme, in other words, grows out of an unforced association of ideas, which bears every mark of spontaneity. But now suppose the disclaimer (B 188-196) to be brought, for the sake of greater unity, into connection with the earlier Flower and Leaf paragraph. The omission of B 83-96 leaves this paragraph ending in a complete couplet, B 81-82; the paragraph to be transposed begins with the *second* line (B 188) of a couplet. It is necessary, accordingly, either to begin again *de novo*, or to expand the second line of the broken couplet to form a new couplet. In point of fact (on our present assumption) the first line and a half (188-189) of the passage in B have been dexterously expanded into *two* lines and a half (71-73) in A by repeating in reverse order (of which more later) the "flour ageyn the leef" phrase, thus giving the complete couplet needed.<sup>2</sup> In other words, on the assumption of the priority of A, Chaucer finds a simple mode of juncture ready at his hand, and proceeds to introduce instead a very complicated one; on the assumption of the priority of B, he finds the complication already there, and resolves it skillfully. Either alternative, again, is *possible*. There can be no question, even apart from what has been already pointed out, which is *probable*.

But all this brings out another interesting fact. One of the most striking phenomena connected with the revision of the Prologue, on either hypothesis, is the scrupulous care which Chaucer takes to save himself the trouble of altering rhymes, and this invincible disinclination to touch his rhyme-words is of the utmost interest even independently of its present bearing.<sup>3</sup> But it has peculiar pertinence at just this point, and a concise statement of the essential

<sup>1</sup> And which, it may be added, makes necessary the further assumption that Chaucer returned for fresh suggestion to his French originals.

<sup>2</sup> It is of course possible to say, on general principles, that the one and a half lines of B represent a *condensation* of the two and a half lines of A, in order to avoid this very repetition. But it is a little complicated to suppose (as in this case one must) that Chaucer consciously kept one eye on Froissart's lines, which he was charmingly paraphrasing, and the other on the passage to whose insertion he was leading up, and triumphantly ended his reminiscence of Froissart with a rhyme-word which was designed to dovetail into the opening couplet of the shifted paragraph!

<sup>3</sup> I am summarizing briefly in this paragraph, for its specific pertinence to the present case, what I have discussed elsewhere at greater length and in another connection. See *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XX, 797-800.

facts will aid in making their particular application clear. What has happened is briefly this: In only eleven instances in the entire Prologue has Chaucer changed the rhyme of a couplet, and then, it would seem, usually under virtual compulsion.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in twenty-one instances he has changed an entire line *except the last word*.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, in nine lines the last *two* words alone remain unchanged;<sup>3</sup> while in two lines the last *three* only,<sup>4</sup> and in three lines the last *four* only<sup>5</sup> are left untouched. That is to say, in thirty-five instances more than half the line has been altered, and the rhyme carefully preserved. To these thirty-five cases, furthermore, there should be added the nine lines<sup>6</sup> in which a single new rhyme-word is substituted for an old without, however, changing the rhyme itself. It is clear, then, that the *vis inertiae* to be overcome before Chaucer could bring himself to sacrifice a rhyme already at his hand was by no means inconsiderable. And this notable reluctance finds significant illustration in the paragraph we are examining.

For if A is the original version, a moment's consideration shows that line 72 —

For trusteth wel, I ne have nat undertake  
As of the leef, ageyn the flour, to make —

is curiously illogical. To write in praise of the *leaf*, as against the *flower*, is neither what Chaucer has done, nor what he intends to do, and to put the leaf first is a clear *hysteron proteron*. It is scarcely conceivable that Chaucer, if he were writing spontaneously — as he would be doing if A were the original — should have fallen into so manifest (and so gratuitous) an inconsequence. It is a disclaimer of any intention to put the *flower* before the leaf that we should expect to find emphasized — *as, indeed, we actually find it in B 189*.<sup>7</sup> But if A is the *revision*, the discrepancy is readily accounted for.<sup>8</sup> For Chaucer, in making the transfer, obviously desires to keep the *leef-sheef* rhyme of B 189–190, precisely as we have seen him retaining, instead

<sup>1</sup> The couplets are the following: A 13–14 = B 13–14; A 49–50 = B 49–50; A 53–54 = B 63–64; A 91–92 = B 181–182; A 224–225 = B 270–271; A 264–265 = B 332–333; A 266–267 = B 334–335; A 312–313 = B 338–339; A 330–331 = B 354–355; A 332–333 = B 356–357; A 526–527 = B 538–539. All but three of these changes in the rhyme of couplets belong to the more thoroughgoing portions of the revision, where measures which for Chaucer were rather heroic were rendered necessary.

<sup>2</sup> A 28 = B 28; 51 = 61; 58 = 56; 59 = 67; 60 = 68; 69 = 81; 70 = 82; 72 = 188; 78 = 194; 83 = 99; 84 = 100; 107 = 120; 127 = 139; 146 = 214; 160 = 228; 165 = 233; 179 = 276; 227 = 300; 348 = 368; 402 = 414; 532 = 543. Cf. 106 = 202; 108 = 119.

<sup>3</sup> A 33 = B 33; 36 = 36; 52 = 62; 68 = 80; 89 = 108; 117 = 129; 136 = 150; 144 = 212; 242 = 316; 341 = 363. <sup>4</sup> A 73 = B 189; 98 = 204. <sup>5</sup> A 94 = B 198; 166 = 234; 533 = 542.

<sup>6</sup> A 39 = B 39; 138 = 152; 143 = 211; 164 = 231; 234 = 308; 247 = 321; 317 = 341; 364 = 380; 544 = 578.

<sup>7</sup> It should be noticed that the precedence of the *leaf* in B 71–72, on the other hand, is entirely logical. "Even if you hold with the *leaf*, there is still reason why you should further me in my labor. *For*" — and so on.

<sup>8</sup> It is really a case where, as Tatlock puts it with reference to another passage, "the superiority of B actually suggests that A is the later" (*Development and Chronology*, p. 97).



of recasting, his other rhymes. But to keep *leef*, when the line becomes A 73, makes it necessary, in this line, to throw *flour* first, with the inevitable consequence that *leef* must come first in A 72, which in turn (as we have seen) forms part of the expansion of B 188 into a couplet.<sup>1</sup> The discrepancy in A, that is, which is extremely difficult to understand if in that version Chaucer was writing with a free hand, becomes explicable enough when we bring it into relation with Chaucer's sharply marked conservation, in his revision, of existing rhymes, and consider it as a result of his remodelling of B.

Our examination of the implications of the shifted passage A 71-80 = B 188-196 has shown, it may be hoped, that point after point which is obscure or inconsistent on the assumption that the paragraph has been transferred from an original position in A to its present place in B becomes clear and consistent on the alternative hypothesis. There are, however, two other paragraphs (A 93-106 = B 197-211; A 179-202 = B 276-299) which have been similarly transposed. A briefer analysis must suffice for these.

The shift represented by A 93-106 = B 197-211 involves, like the first, a structural change in the poem as a whole, the significance of which I am not here concerned with.<sup>2</sup> It is again the mechanical changes involved in the actual transfer to which I desire to call attention here. I shall not append the two versions of the paragraph, as they are readily accessible.

Assume for the moment that A is the earlier version. In that case, what has Chaucer done? In the first place, he has retained (now as B 211) the second line (A 106) of the closing couplet (after striking out the reference to the lark in A 139-143), and has changed its last half in order to introduce the rhyme needed to effect a junction with its new context — i.e. the "mede" of A 144. That is easy enough to understand. But he has not stopped with that. For he has also taken this same closing couplet (A 105-106) *entire*, modifying its wording, and inserted it (now as B 201-202) between lines 96 and 97, where there is no need of it whatever. And in doing this he has brought about a mass of repetitions. Not only has he unnecessarily repeated himself so far as the *idea* is concerned, but he has also introduced a *verbal* repetition of "To seen this flour" (B 202, 211), and (through the further modification of A 94 = B 198) has *three* times repeated "this flour" itself (B 198, 202, 211). Nor is that all. For the "goon to reste" of the new B 201 now repeats the "goon to reste" of B 198. And finally, the change resulting in B 198 (= A 94) has also introduced a repetition of both "that" and "gan" of the preceding line.

<sup>1</sup> In like manner the retention of the *honour-flour* rhyme of B 81-82 throws *leef* first in A 70, although in this instance, as in the case of B 72, there is no real violation of logic.

<sup>2</sup> See Tatlock, *Development and Chronology*, p. 93. My own earlier discussion of the same point is obscured by overemphasis laid on the relations between the supposed two parts of the Prologue to the *Lay de Franchise* and the *Paradys d'amours* respectively (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX, 679-680).

Assume, now, the contrary change. The last line (B 211) in this case must give place to a complete couplet so as to connect with that represented by B 119-120 (B 109-118 having been cancelled), and at the same time the reference to seeing the flower must be kept. *Both the couplet and the reference are already at hand in B 201-202*, which, moreover, are not needed where they stand. This couplet is, accordingly, transferred, with necessary modification of the wording, to the end of the paragraph. Thus the threefold reiteration of "this flour," and the répétition of the phrases "to seen this flour" and "to goon to reste" are obviated at one stroke. Moreover, the simple change of B 198 to A 94 does away with the awkward repetition of "that" and "gan." If, then, A is the prior version, Chaucer has (while revising) *introduced* in a passage of fifteen lines the repetition of no less than five words or phrases; if B is the earlier form (in which case the repetitions are the result of rapid composition), in effecting the transposition he has at the same time *obviated* all five. The latter phenomenon is manifestly the one more characteristic of revision. And the only alternative open, I think, is the assumption that Chaucer, *while actually exercising his critical judgment in revision*, was either oblivious to or careless of the most obvious blemishes of style. In other words, the changes that are made, if A represents a revision of B, are such as may be illustrated from actual records of revision in the case of many other writers. For the phenomena that appear, if B is the revised text, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a parallel.

But another point is perhaps equally significant. Lines 119-124 of B are unmistakably inspired by Machaut's *Dit de la Marguerite*, as a comparison will render clear at once:

That was with <i>floures swote</i> enbrouded al,	Or resgardons à ceste <i>douce flour</i> :
Of swich <i>swetnesse</i> and swich <i>odour</i> over-al,	Toutes passe, ce m'est vis, en coulour ;
That, for to speke of gomme, or herbe, or tree,	<i>Et toutes ha surmonté de douçour.</i>
<i>Comparisoun may noon y-maked be ;</i>	<i>Ne comparer</i>
<i>For hit surmounteth pleyntly alle odoures,</i>	<i>Ne se porroit [nulle] à li de coulour.</i>
And eek of <i>riche</i> beautee alle <i>floures</i> .	<i>Par excellence est garnie d'odour,</i>
	<i>Et richement parée de verdour.</i> <sup>1</sup>

B 119-120, therefore, are directly reminiscent of Machaut's *Dit*, and they follow with perfect spontaneity the lines about "the smale softe swote gras." If, now, B is the earlier version, Chaucer has skillfully changed this couplet to A 107-108, in order to effect his juncture :

Fair was this medew, as thoughte me overal,  
With *floures swote* enbrowded was it al.

<sup>1</sup> *Dit*, ll. 17-23 (ed. Tarbé, p. 123). Lines 18-21 of the *Dit* were cited by Professor Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, III, xxxi) as parallel with B 53-55, which they resemble, however, very slightly. I called attention in my earlier discussion (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX, 628, n. 2) to the fact that they were closer to B 123-124, but I failed even then to see the full extent of the parallel.

The "fair was this medew" carries over "the medew" of B 210 (= A 104); "me thoughte" takes up "me mette" of the same line. In other words, Chaucer is dealing freely with his own lines, quite independently of their suggestion in Machaut. But if the change is the other way about, in making his connection with what are now the newly inserted lines B 115-118, he has at the same time increased the closeness of his paraphrase of the *Dit*.<sup>1</sup> That, to be sure, is possible, but it is not probable. In a word, an actual test of what is involved in the two alternatives presented by the transposition of A 93-106 = B 197-211 again throws light on the *order* of revision.

Nor is the case of A 179-202 = B 276-299 without suggestion. In B the lines rehearsing Alceste's comfort as against "the drede of Loves wordes and his chere" (B 278-281) are separated by forty lines, including the ballad, from the actual account (B 239-240) of the God of Love's "stern loking," to which they refer; in A the two passages are together. As in the parallel case of the Flower and Leaf passages, it is difficult to see a reason why, originally united, the two paragraphs should be separated; there is excellent reason why, originally separated, but later seen to belong together, they should be joined. But it is the further consequences of this junction to which I wish to direct attention. For suppose that Chaucer, having observed the connection between the two separated paragraphs, actually begins the transfer. B 276 (with a change which does not concern us here) will now follow B 246. When Chaucer comes, in his copying of B 276-299, to the last two couplets, these four lines (B 296-299) are brought into immediate juxtaposition with B 247-248 — *a situation which would instantly afford the suggestion for the transfer of the ballad itself from Chaucer to the attendant ladies*. The shift of the paragraph from its place in B to its place in A, that is, not only puts together lines which logically belong together, but it also contains an almost inevitable suggestion for the extremely important change in the treatment of the ballad. The transfer in the opposite direction not only effects none of this, but actually breaks the logical unity and weakens the dramatic situation.

It would be easy to carry farther this minute analysis of details, but it is perhaps neither necessary nor advisable. *Sat patriae Priamoque datum*. Even within the rigid limitations to which we have confined ourselves, excluding all but the one sort of evidence, the case seems to be clear.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the parallel situation in the case of B 187-188. See above, p. 100. Since Wordsworth's "I wandered lonely as a cloud" has already been twice referred to, it may not be out of place to observe that it also illustrates the familiar tendency in revision to move *away* from whatever source may have suggested the details of the original. The fourth line of the present third stanza originally read "In such a *laughing* company," where the "*laughing*" is clearly suggested by Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journal* (ed. Knight, I, 106). In 1815 the line became "In such a *jocund* company." The point is noted, because sufficient attention has not been paid to the similarity between Chaucer's procedure in revision, and that of other poets. For Chaucer's procedure as illustrated in the *Troilus*, see Tatlock, *Development and Chronology*, pp. 3-5.



# CAIPHAS AS A PALM-SUNDAY PROPHET

CARLETON BROWN

The piece of Middle-English verse which forms the subject of the present paper occurs in Sloane MS. 2478, a vellum manuscript of the early fourteenth century, fol. 43<sup>a</sup> to fol. 44<sup>b</sup>. The volume in question is a miscellany consisting of religious tales, extracts from the Fathers, sermons, lists of Church Festivals, and similar material. A complete list of the contents is given by Mr. J. A. Herbert in Vol. III of the *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 512. With the exception of the Caiphas poem the contents of the MS. are entirely in Latin. Though wholly distinct from their environment in the MS., the English verses were written by the same hand, and formed a part of the original contents of the volume. Ending the life of St. Alexius at the middle of fol. 42<sup>b</sup>, the scribe left the lower half of the page blank, in order, it would appear, that he might begin "Cayphas" at the top of a new page; and having completed the English poem he drew a line across the foot of the page and proceeded, at the top of fol. 45<sup>a</sup>, with a miracle from the life of St. Patrick.

The Caiphas poem was printed by Thomas Wright in 1843 in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, II, 241-245, though with the omission of a few lines at the end where the MS. was illegible. For the recovery of these lines I am under obligations to Mr. Gilson, Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, who permitted the use of reagents on the lower portion of fol. 44<sup>b</sup>, with the result that the lines were brought out distinctly. The text as printed below is based throughout upon an independent collation of the MS.

## CAYPHAS

Alle haȝle and wel ȝ-met<sup>1</sup>  
Alle ȝee schulleþ beo þe bet  
Nou icham ȝ-come  
4 Blysful and blȝpe ȝee mowe boe  
Such a prelat her ȝ-soe  
I-tolled to þis trome

<sup>1</sup> The *t* of *ȝ-met* is followed by a loop or flourish which appears repeatedly after words ending in *f*, *g*, *k*, or *t*. In a few cases these loops may have been intended by the scribe to represent final *e*, but for the most part they are without significance. In ll. 160 and 161 these loops have been expanded as *-es*, but elsewhere they have been disregarded. Since it is not practicable to reproduce them in printing, I give here a list of the words where they occur: *folk*, l. 59; *uolk*, l. 24; *ȝ-met*, l. 1; *ȝif*, l. 14; *ȝif*, ll. 89, 124, 131; *lyf*, l. 90; *long*, l. 17; *menamonk*, l. 161; *nohȝng*, l. 17; *of*, ll. 27, 30, 41, 70, 79, 91, 114, 144; *olȝif*, l. 115; *song*, ll. 16, 110, 117; *þonk*, l. 160.

- 3e boep wel wery aboute y-go  
 8 So icham my sulf al so  
 Ich bysschop Cayface  
 Ich moste her sone syng  
 þe prophecye of heuene kyng  
 12 Pat whyle ich seyde by grace  
 þy stondeþ a stounde and bloweþ breþ  
 And 3if icham as 3ee soeþ  
 Ichulle bere me bolde  
 16 And syng 3ou sone a lytel song  
 Ha schal boe schort and noþyng long  
 Pat rap<sup>er</sup> ichadd y-tolde  
 Ich was bysschop of þe lawe  
 20 Þ<sup>t</sup> 3er þ<sup>t</sup> crist for 3ou was slawe  
 3e mowe boe glade þefore  
 Hit com to soþe þ<sup>t</sup> ich þo seyde  
 Betere hit were þ<sup>t</sup> o man deýde  
 24 Pan al uolk were y-lore  
 ¶ expedit et c[etera].  
 Ichot 3e mowe nouzt longe dwelle  
 þy: are 3e go ichow wol telle  
 of crist ane litel tale  
 28 And of 3our palm 3e bereþ an honde  
 Ich schal habbe leue ichonder stonde  
 of grete men & smale  
 A welsoop sawe soplich ys seyde  
 32 Ech god game ys god y-pleyd  
 Louelych & lýzt ys leue  
 þe Denes leue and alle manne  
 To rede and syng ar ich go hanne  
 36 Ich bydde þ<sup>t</sup> 3ou ne greue  
 O: Decane reuerende  
 In adiutorium meum intend[e]  
 Ad informandum hic astantes  
 Michi scitis fauorante  
 Si placet bone domine  
 Iube benedicere

*Karissimi: hodie cantatur quidam cantus, Occur[r]unt turbe cum floribus et palmis redemptori obuiam et c'. Et nos similiter<sup>1</sup> debemus ei occurrere cum floribus virtutum et palmis victoriarum. palma enim victoriam significat, vnde scribitur: Iustus vt palma florebit, et secundum gregorium<sup>2</sup>: Ex qualitate palmarum designatur proficiens vita iustorum. ad no-<sup>3</sup> quod omnem a crucifixo habemus, vnde ipse*

<sup>1</sup> fol. 43<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Moralium* Lib. XIX, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, LXXVI, col. 130.

<sup>3</sup> *At this point the scribe evidently skipped several lines.*

dicit: *Si mundi*<sup>1</sup> *hoc faciunt in arido quid fiet.* In summa ergo dum processionem facimus, *christum* ad nos venientem suscipimus cum pueris obuimus. si innocenciam seruamus oliuas gerimus; si pacis et misericordie operibus indulgemus, palmas portamus; si de viciis et diabolo victoriam optinemus, virentes flores et frondes gestamus; si virtutibus exornamur, vestimenta sternimus carnem mortificantes, ramos carpinus, *sanctorum* vestigia imitantes. De istis aliqua *pro* laicis intendo pertractare, et sic in breui expeditiam vos.

- Wolcome boe 3ee: þat stondeþ aboute  
 þat habbeþ ý-siwed þis grete route  
 Sone ychulle 3ou sýnge  
 40 3ou alle today i<sup>c</sup> mot ý-mete  
 Ichabbe leue of þe grete  
 Wýsdom for to wrýnge  
 A býsschop ich was in cristes týme  
 44 þo gýwýs vawe wolde do bý me  
 What i<sup>c</sup> ham euere radde  
 [Iu]das to ous Ihesus solde  
 þo annas and ich panes tolde  
 48 Our bý3ete was badde  
 ¶ pontifex anni illius qui consilium dederat iudeis.  
 Whar fore ich & annas  
 To fonge Ihesus of Iudas  
 Vor þrýtty panes to paye  
 52 We were wel faste to helle ý-wronge  
 Vor hym þ<sup>t</sup> for 3ou was ý-stonge  
 In rode a gode fridaýe  
 ¶ tamen expedit vnum hominem mori &c.  
 þat latýn þat i<sup>c</sup> lascht out nourý3t  
 56 To 3oure Ihesus hit was ý-dý3t  
 & is þus moche to telle  
 Hit is betere þat o man deýe  
 þan al folk euere boe in eye  
 60 In þe pýne of helle  
 þe pröphecie þ<sup>t</sup> ich seyde þar  
 Ich hit seyde þo as a star<sup>2</sup>  
 Ich nuste what ich mende  
 [fol. 44] 64 Ich wende falslyche jangli þo  
 Of me þat wýt naddych no  
 bote as Ihesu sende  
 Man: at fullo3t as chabbe ý-rad  
 68 þý saule<sup>3</sup> ýs godes hous ý-mad  
 & tar<sup>4</sup> ýs wassche al clene

<sup>1</sup> Read viridi; cf. *Luke*, xxiii, 31.    <sup>2</sup> Starling (Ang.-Sax. *stær*).    <sup>3</sup> MS. corrected from soule.

<sup>4</sup> = & þar; cf. And tou, *St. Eustas*, v. 147 (Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg. N.F.*, p. 214).



Ac after fullouȝt þoruȝ fulpe of sýnne  
Sone is mad wel horý wyþ inne

72 Al daȝ hit is ý-sene

Man! þou hast þroe wel grete fon  
þat fondeþ euere hou mo don  
To foule godes hous

76 þat is þi flechs wyþ lecherýe  
þe world wýþ coueytise & enuye  
þerto hi buþ wel vous<sup>1</sup>

þe þrýdde fo is þe deuel of helle  
80 þat fondeþ in þi saule<sup>2</sup> dwelle  
And holde crýst þar oute  
Wýþ prude and wrethe he wole com ýn  
þi! of hym and hys engýn  
84 Ȝee scholde habbe doute

Laste your soule boe fuld aȝee  
Wýþ þoes<sup>3</sup> þroe foon sýker ȝe boe  
Ȝee mote boe wel clybbe  
88 To floe ham! and þe sunnes seuene  
Wýlneþ schryft ȝýf ȝe wol heuene  
Good lýf ȝe mote lybb[e]

Wýþ sorwpe of herte! & schryft of mouþe  
92 Doþ deedbote þis týme nouþ  
Ȝyf ȝe wolle god awyn[ne]  
& lokeþ hys hous boe wel clene  
þat non hore þarýn boe sene  
96 Ȝý[f] he schal come þar ynne

& hwanne ȝe habbeþ ouercome þanne<sup>4</sup> voend  
þanne ý-meteþ crýst ȝour froend  
Wyþ palm & bowes grene  
100 þat ýs a tokne! þat alle & some  
Habbeþ þe deueles al ouercome  
Ham to sorwe and toene

To ierusalem as to daȝ  
104 Ihesus rood hýs rýȝte way  
Vpane slowe asse  
Vale þar were þ<sup>t</sup> on hým lýfde  
þ<sup>t</sup> louede hým & faste hym sywede  
108 More men & lasse

<sup>1</sup> Ready (Ang.-Sax. *fús*).

<sup>3</sup> Above the o an i has been written in different ink.

<sup>2</sup> MS. corrected from *soule*.

<sup>4</sup> MS. corrected from *þonne*.

Chýldren of hebreys hým ý-mette  
 Meklÿche wýþ song hý hým grette  
 & knoold to har kynge  
 [fol. 44<sup>2</sup>] 112 Wýþ hare cloþes hý spradd ýs waý  
 In gret worschepe of hým to day  
 & blessede hym sýngýnge

Hý bere bowes of olýf troe  
 116 & floures þe vaýriste hy mýzte ý-soe  
 Wý murý song & game  
 Anon as hý mýzte hým ý-soe  
 Hý seyde blessed mot ha boe  
 120 þat comeþ in godes name  
 ¶ benedictus qui venit in nomine domini etc<sup>1</sup>.

Crýst com as moeklych as a lom  
 To habbe for 3ou deþes dom  
 To deþe a wolde hým pulte  
 124 Ȝyf he ne deyde ne blod ne bledde  
 Euere yn helle 3e hadde ba wedde  
 ffor Adames gulte

Nou 3ee þ<sup>t</sup> bereþ today 3our palm  
 128 Wel au3te 3e queme such a qualm  
 To críst 3our herte al 3yue  
 As dude þe chýldren of polde lawe  
 Ȝyf 3e hým louede 3e scholde wel wawe  
 132 boe bý týme schryue

<sup>1</sup> Lewede þ<sup>t</sup> bereþ palm an honde  
 þat nuteþ what palm ýs tonderstonde  
 Anon ichulle 3ou telle  
 136 Hit is a tokne þ<sup>t</sup> alle & some  
 þ<sup>t</sup> buþ ý-schryue habbeþ ouercome  
 Alle þe deueles of helle

Ȝyf ený habbeþ braunches ý-brozt  
 140 & buþ vnschryue har bost nýs nozt  
 A3ee þe fend to fyzte

<sup>1</sup> With this explanation of the significance of the palm may be compared vv. 1-30 of the metrical version of the Assumption in the Auchinleck MS. (ed. Max Schwarz, *Engl. Stud.*, VIII, 448), and also the following passage in Mirk's homily for Palm Sunday: "Wherfor ych cristyn man and woman schall þys day bere palmes yn processyon, schewyng þat he haþe foghten wyth þe fend, an haþe þe vycctory of hym by clene schryft of mowþe and repentans of hert, and mekely don his penance, and in þis wyse ouercome his enemy" (*Mirk's Festial*, EETS., p. 116). The Palm Sunday symbolism is also interpreted by theological writers in very similar terms: cf. Bp. Hildebert of Le Mans (Migne, *Patrol.*, CLXXI, col. 503) and Hugh of St. Victor (Migne, *Patrol.*, CLXXVI, col. 473).

- Hȳ makeþ ham holȳ as ȳ-were<sup>1</sup>  
 Vort<sup>2</sup> hy boe schryue hȳ schulleþ boe skere  
 144 Of loem of heuene lýȝte  
 Ich moste sȳnge & ba go  
 Schewe me þe bok þ<sup>t</sup> ic haddydo  
 þe song schal wel an heȳȝ  
 148 Ich may noȝt sȳnge hȳm al bi rote  
 Vorto tele eche note  
 Hȳ boep ȳ-nome wel neȳȝ  
 ¶ Cantat expedit.  
 Ich warnȳ alle schrewen vnschryue  
 152 To sȳmon Cumpaȳngnou<sup>n</sup> ic habbe ȳ-ȝyue  
 power of disciplȳne  
 He wol boe redȳ ase ȝe  
 ich rede þar come non to me  
 156 Anaunter last ha whyne  
 Nou gawe hom hit is fordaȳs<sup>3</sup>  
 Lengere ne tȳd ȝou here no pays<sup>4</sup>  
 þe belle wol sone rȳnge  
 160 Doþ so þ<sup>t</sup> ich cunne ȝou þonkes  
 Wȳþ bordoun hauteȳn menamonkes<sup>5</sup>  
 lat me hure ȝou sȳnge.

The date to which Mr. Herbert assigns the MS. on palæographical grounds agrees fairly well with the linguistic evidence presented by the text before us; though so far as its language is concerned the poem may easily have been composed as early as the year 1300.<sup>6</sup> The occurrence of the instrumental *þy* (vv. 13, 26, and 83), for example, is extremely rare after the beginning of the fourteenth century, except in the combination *forþy*. Moreover, the inflectional forms when compared with those in the thirteenth-century *Owl and Nightingale* show but few modifications.

A more difficult problem is that of fixing the place of composition. In dealing with this question it will be convenient to consider, first, the dialectical

<sup>1</sup> Everywhere (Ang.-Sax. *ge-hwær*).

<sup>2</sup> Until; cf. *Leg. of Holy Rood*, EETS., p. 26, line 101; p. 28, line 114.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. late in the day; cf. *ferdayes*, *Knight of LaT. Landry*, EETS., p. 45, and *A Gest of Robyn Hode*, stanza 16; also *far day*, "Examination of William of Thorpe," ed. A. W. Pollard, *Fifteenth Cent. Prose and Verse*, p. 160, line 26.

<sup>4</sup> O.Fr. *pas*; here used of time as in "Lystyn a lytyl pas" (*Pol. Rel. and Love Poems*, EETS., p. 272, line 45).

<sup>5</sup> Monks would have no place in such a procession. Possibly the word is a half-playful designation of the choir-boys: "minnow-monks"; cf. the etymology of "minnow" in the *New Eng. Dict.* Altar-boys were often referred to as "monachuli."

<sup>6</sup> The date of composition cannot, of course, be fixed by the date of the MS. In the case of *Caiphas* evidence that the scribe was not the author but merely a copyist is seen in the blundering omission of a portion of the Latin text (see above, p. 106, note 3).



characteristics which appear in the text itself and, second, such evidence as may be afforded by liturgical usage.

A casual inspection of the text is sufficient to establish the fact that the dialect is consistently Southern. Moreover, the complete absence of Kentish *e*, and of the breaking *ea*, as well as of the initial *æ* makes it clear that the poem does not belong to the Southeast. In attempting to narrow the field still further it will be necessary to scrutinize the forms in our text with special reference to the linguistic distinctions between the Middle-Southern district and the Southwest.

The most important of these, as Morsbach defines them, consists in the treatment of Anglo-Saxon *æ* (including shortened Anglo-Saxon *ǣ*). Whereas documents of the Middle-South normally represent Anglo-Saxon *æ* by *e*,<sup>1</sup> those of the Southwest as regularly show the vowel *a*.<sup>2</sup> Applying this test, now, to our text, we see that it ranges itself decisively on the side of the Southwest.

1. Anglo-Saxon *æ* > *a*:

after 70.  
at 67.  
badde 48.  
faste 52, 107.  
glade 21.  
habbe 29, 41, 84, 122; chabbe 67, 152.  
hadde 125, 146; ichadd 18; naddych 65.  
smale 30.  
star 62.  
bat 18 *et passim*.  
was 19, 43, 48, 53, 56.  
what 45, 63, 134.

2. Anglo-Saxon *ǣ* shortened > *a*:

lasse 108.  
laste (Ang.-Sax. *by lǣs be*) 85, 156.  
radde 45; y-rad 67.  
spradd 112.  
lat 162.  
wharfore 49.  
þar 61, 106, 155; tar 69; þar-oute 81; þar-ynne 95, 96.  
are (Ang.-Sax. *ǣr*) 26; ar 35.

3. Exceptions:

wrethe 82.  
flechs 76.  
eny 139  
berfore 21; ber-to 78.

<sup>1</sup> In later documents, such as *St. Editha* (ed. C. Horstmann, Heilbronn, 1883; composed about 1420), this distinction is lost, for the Middle-Southern *e* has yielded to *a*, but the distinction was certainly preserved as late as 1300.

<sup>2</sup> Morsbach, *Mittelengl. Gram.*, §§ 95, 97.

Another distinction between Southwestern and Middle-Southern documents is found in the treatment of Anglo-Saxon *a* before nasals. In the Southwest this vowel before nasals regularly remains *a*, while Middle-Southern documents waver between *a* and *o*.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted, however, that where the original short vowel has been lengthened by following consonant combinations,<sup>2</sup> this distinction has been lost, for in these cases Middle-Southern and Southwestern texts alike show *o*. The following instances of Anglo-Saxon *a* before nasals occur in *Caiphas*:

1. Followed by lengthening consonant combinations Ang.-Sax. *a* becomes *o*:  
     fondeþ 74, 80.  
     honde 28, 133.  
     lom 121.  
     long 17, 25.  
     song 16, 110, 117, 147.  
     stondeþ 13, 37; (onder)stonde 29.  
     þonkes 160.
2. Otherwise Ang.-Sax. *a* remains:  
     an (prep.) 28, 133, 147.  
     and 1, etc.  
     game 32, 117.  
     man 23, 58, 67; manne 34.  
     name 120.  
     þan (conj.) 24.  
     þanne (adv.) 98.  
     þanne (dem.) 97.  
     hwanne 97.

Somewhat noteworthy is the frequent (though by no means regular) appearance in our text of voiced *f* in initial position. Thus:

vale (Ang.-Sax. *fela*) 106.  
 vawe (Ang.-Sax. *fægen*) 44, 131.  
 vayriste 116.  
 voend 97.  
 volk 24.  
 vor (prep.) 51, 53, 149.  
 vort 143.  
 vous (Ang.-Sax. *fūs*) 78.

In older Southern texts, such as *Ancren Riwe* and *Owl and Nightingale*, the voicing of initial *f* is carried much further than in *Caiphas*, as it is also in Robert of Gloucester. In *St. Katharine*, on the other hand, initial *f* is preserved,<sup>3</sup> as it is in almost every case in the poems of MSS. Laud 108, Harl. 2277, and Harl. 2253. In the homilies in MS. Lamb. 487, *f* occurs more commonly than *v* in initial position.<sup>4</sup> It will be seen, therefore, that

<sup>1</sup> Morsbach, §§ 88, 93.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Morsbach, §§ 55, 93.

<sup>3</sup> Einkenel, EETS., 13, p. xlii.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. O. Cohn, *Die Sprache in der mittellengl. Predigtsammlung der Hs. Lamb. 487*, 1880, p. 22.

the initial *v*'s in our poem, though they do not afford any definite indication as to the place of its composition, are quite consistent with the neighborhood of Gloucestershire.

The evidence thus far points distinctly toward the Southwest as the home of *Caiphās*. Some of the pronominal forms, on the other hand, look toward the Middle-South.

1. The masculine third personal pronoun nominative singular shows not only the regular form *he* (vv. 82, 96, 124, 154) but also the unaccented *ha* (vv. 17, 119, 156). The latter form is one which occurs most frequently in Kentish documents.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, it is to be noted that in Robert of Gloucester (v. 3826) the form *a* (= *he*) occurs.

2. The dative and accusative plural of the third personal pronoun is regularly *ham* (vv. 45, 88, 102, 142), which is the characteristic form in documents of the Middle-South.<sup>2</sup> Robert of Gloucester, on the other hand, invariably writes *hom*; in the Homilies of Lamb. MS. 487 the usual form is *heom*, though *ham* occurs occasionally.<sup>3</sup> The only Southwestern text in which *ham* (or *zam*) appears regularly is *Lazamon B.*<sup>4</sup>

3. The possessive pronoun third person plural is *har* (vv. 111, 140), *hare* (v. 112), as in the Middle-Southern documents (cf. Diehn, p. 21). Robert of Gloucester, on the other hand, writes *hor* or *her*; in the *Life of Thomas a Becket* one finds in every case *here*; in *Owl and Nightingale* and Lamb. MS. 487 the forms are *hore* or *heore*, although in the latter *hare* sometimes occurs.<sup>5</sup>

One of the most striking peculiarities in the *Caiphās* text is the use of *oe* for Anglo-Saxon *éo*, though it is never employed for the short *eo*. Thus:

boe (14 times); beo 2; ba 125, 145.

boeþ 7, 150; buþ 78, 137, 140.

floe 88.

voend 97; fend 141.

froend 98.

loem 144.

moeklych 121; meklych 110.

soeþ 14; y-soe 5, 116, 118.

þoes (plu.) 86 (cf. Diehn, *Die Pron. im Frühmittelengl.*, p. 34, B. γ).

þroe 73, 86.

toene 102.

troe 115.

The regularity with which *oe* appears for Anglo-Saxon *éo* is surprising—the single exception,<sup>6</sup> *knooled* (v. 111), being probably a mere scribal slip.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Diehr, *Die Pronomina im Frühmittelenglischen*, 1901, p. 29.      <sup>2</sup> Cf. Diehn, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Old English Homilies*, EETS., I, p. 31, line 19; p. 43, lines 15, 19; p. 45, line 16.

<sup>4</sup> On the dialect of this MS. cf. A. Luhmann, *Die Überlieferung von Lazamons Brut*, 1906, p. 10, note.      <sup>5</sup> *Old Eng. Hom.*, I, p. 43, line 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Deuel* (79, etc.) and *lyzt* (v. 33) are not really exceptions for the reason that in these words the original long vowel had been shortened. Cf. Morsbach, p. 79.



Unfortunately, however, this occurrence of *oe* offers but little assistance toward fixing the home of our poem. Morsbach notes the frequent occurrence of *ue*, *u*, and *oe* for Anglo-Saxon *éo* in Southern and West-Midland documents.<sup>1</sup> The spelling *ue* appears to be specially characteristic of Herefordshire; at least in Harl. MS. 2253, which was written probably at Leominster in that county, one finds *ue* almost regularly.<sup>2</sup> The spelling *oe*, on the other hand, appears with great frequency in the well-known Digby MS. 86, a Southern text whose exact home has not been determined. The form *boe* occurs once in the *Owl and Nightingale* (Cott. Text, v. 1303), written in Dorsetshire, and is to be found as far east as Chichester.<sup>3</sup>

The results gained from this examination of dialectical forms, although not definite enough to fix the home of the poem with precision, suggest that it belongs to the Southwestern district, but not to the extreme west of this territory. Or, to put the matter in geographical terms, one would say that the text before us could hardly have been written east of Wiltshire or west of Eastern Somersetshire.

Turning now from linguistic evidence to liturgical usage, we may note at the outset an important clue afforded in the poem itself by the reference to the "Dene" (v. 34). This mention of the Dean appears unquestionably to connect the *Caiphas* verses with a cathedral church.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the office of Dean is never found in the organization of the monastic cathedrals, but was peculiar to the secular cathedrals. The authority of the Dean was second only to that of the Bishop, and in the government of affairs within the cathedral church he took a more direct and active part than the Bishop himself; for he presided over all the canons and vicars "cum animarum regimine et morum correctione,"<sup>5</sup> and, unlike the Bishop, he was required to be in residence at the cathedral.<sup>6</sup> Again, one observes that the lines of invocation spoken by Caiphas ("O Decane reuerende," etc.) imply that the Dean was actually present. In this connection it is interesting to note the explicit direction in the *Consuetudinary* at Salisbury (and doubtless at other cathedrals also) that on Palm Sunday, if the Bishop be absent, the Dean is to officiate in person.<sup>7</sup>

We shall not be mistaken, then, I think, in assuming that the verses of Caiphas were spoken in some one of the secular cathedrals, and the only

<sup>1</sup> *Mittelengl. Gram.*, p. 16, note 1. Cf. also K. D. Bülbring, *Über Erhaltung des altengl. kurzen und langen æ-Lautes im Mittelengl.*, Bonner Beiträge, XV, 114-115.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.*, p. 10, and Jos. Hall, *King Horn*, p. xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the description of Emmanuel Coll. Camb. MS. 27, fol. 162, in James's Catalogue.

<sup>4</sup> There were, to be sure, also "decani rurales" who presided over chapters of the parish clergy, at which all manner of offenses and misdemeanors of the laity as well as of clerks were considered and corrected (cf. W. W. Capes, *Hist. of the Engl. Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 241). But I think it wholly improbable that Caiphas referred to one of these.

<sup>5</sup> *Consuetudinary of St. Osmund*, in the *Register of St. Osmund*, Rolls Ser., I, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 4.

secular cathedrals within the entire area of the Southern dialect were Chichester, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, and Hereford. Of these Salisbury and Wells alone fall within the probable limits fixed for the poem on linguistic grounds. Manifestly, therefore, we are called upon to make particular inquiry in regard to the Palm Sunday customs in these two cathedrals.

At Salisbury the ritual of Palm Sunday is carefully prescribed in the *Consuetudinary of St. Osmund*, a document composed in the second half of the twelfth century and edited from a MS. of the early thirteenth century by Canon W. H. R. Jones in the Rolls Series. Expanded versions of the Palm Sunday ritual occur also in early printed editions of the *Sarum Missale* (first printed in 1487), of which a modern edition, with painstaking collations from the numerous early prints, has been prepared by F. H. Dickinson,<sup>1</sup> and also in the *Sarum Processionale* (first printed in 1508), edited with collation of other sixteenth-century prints by W. G. Henderson, Leeds, 1882.

As to the route of the procession and the location of the three "stations" the *Missale* and *Processionale* agree with the earlier *Consuetudinary*, though in the later texts the ritual has been elaborated by the introduction of several additional antiphons.

After the palms had been blessed and distributed to clergy and laity, the procession began its march, issuing from the church through the west door, then turning to the left and entering the cloister by the Porta Canonicorum. Proceeding round the cloister to the east side, the procession continued its easterly course through the Cimiterium Canonicorum, and thence entered the Cimiterium Laicorum, through which it passed to the extreme eastern limit of the "close" on the north side of the church. This was the place appointed for the first "station." Here the procession was met by other clerks who issued from the north door of the church bearing the sacred relics and the Host suspended in a "pyx." From the first station the whole procession returned by the same route to the second station, on the south side of the church, where seven choir boys "in eminenti loco" sang the antiphon: "Gloria, laus et honor." From the second station the procession re-entered the cloister and so made its way again to the west door of the church, where it halted for the third time. As it was here that the prophecy of Caiphas was sung, I quote the text of the *Processionale* so far as it relates to this third station:

*Hic fiat tertia statio ante prædictum ostium ecclesiæ occidentale, ubi tres clerici de superiori gradu, in ipso habitu non mutato, ad populum, simul incipiant et cantent hunc sequentem versum hoc modo quo sequitur:*

*Versus.* Unus autem ex ipsis, Caiphas nomine, cum esset pontifex anni illius, prophetavit dicens: Expedit vobis, ut unus moriatur homo pro populo, et non tota gens pereat. Ab illo ergo die cogitaverunt interficere eum dicentes: Ne [forte veniant Romani et tollant nostrum locum et gentem].

<sup>1</sup> *Missale ad usum insignis et præclaræ ecclesiæ Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861-1883.

*His finitis intrent ecclesiam per idem ostium sub feretro et capsula reliquiarum ex transverso ostii elevatis cantantes, cantore incipiente, responsorium.*

*Ingrediente Domino in sanctam civitatem, etc.*<sup>1</sup>

It is clear, then, that the recognized liturgy at Salisbury offered but little opportunity for the introduction of the rôle of Caiphas as it appears in the English verses. Caiphas is not individualized; his prophecy was sung by three clerks (or "sacerdotes" according to the *Consuetudinary*) in unison. Accordingly, if *Caiphas* belongs to Salisbury, it supplies a somewhat surprising instance of the power of the "Denes leue."

Information in regard to the ritual at Wells is less accessible, owing to the fact that the mediæval "Ordinale" and Statutes of this cathedral are still unprinted.<sup>2</sup> The usage at Wells was modeled for the most part upon that of Salisbury. Indeed, Mr. Chambers goes so far as to declare, after giving an abridged account of the Palm-Sunday procession at Salisbury: "This Procession was precisely the same at Sarum, Wells, Exeter, Canterbury (Lanfranc's Works), and, as it would seem, at Rouen (*De Moleon*, 338; *Migne*, CXLVII, 48, 118) in the eleventh and twelfth centuries."<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, there is reason to suspect that, so far as the prophecy of Caiphas is concerned, Wells varied in some important particulars from Salisbury. In the "Kalendarium de Coloribus Vestimentorum Utendis et Variandis pro ut Festa et Tempora Totius Anni Requirunt in Ecclesia Wellensi" one finds the following significant direction as to the copes to be worn on Palm Sunday:

*Dominica in Ramis palmarum omnia in rubeis excepto una capa de nigris ad opus cayphe.*<sup>4</sup>

At Wells, therefore, the prophecy of Caiphas was sung by one person,<sup>5</sup> conspicuously distinguished from the other clergy by the color of his cope. Here was an opportunity for just such a piece of impersonation as we find in the Sloane MS. Ordinarily, no doubt, the part of Caiphas consisted merely in

<sup>1</sup> *Processionale*, p. 53. The directions in the *Consuetudinary* (*Register of St. Osmund*, Rolls Ser., I, 122) are for the most part verbally identical, including even the cautionary "habitu non mutato."

<sup>2</sup> The *Ordinale et Statuta* of Wells "appear to have been compiled about 1240. . . . There is a transcript (A.D. 1634) at Lambeth (MS. 729). An earlier though mutilated copy (*cir.* 1500), which came to be known afterwards as the 'Creyghton MS.' . . . was restored to the Dean and Chapter of Wells by Admiral Ryder about fifteen years ago" (C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, *Old Service-Books of the English Church*, 1904, p. 186, note). I regret that I have not been able to examine either of these volumes.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, London, 1877, p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> *Wells Cathed., its Foundation, Constit. Hist. and Statutes*, ed. H. E. Reynolds, 1881, pp. 95, 96. I am under obligations to Professor F. N. Robinson for kindly identifying this reference.

<sup>5</sup> In all probability Wells found precedent for this usage in Continental liturgies. Cf. the twelfth century *Ordo in die Palmarum* quoted by M. Sepet (*Les Prophètes du Christ*, 1878, p. 11), according to which the Cantores sang the introductory *Unus autem*, etc., while the words of Caiphas, *Expedit*, etc., were assigned to "Unus de choro."



the singing of the *Expedit*; but it would be an easy matter to extend his rôle (with the gracious consent of the Dean) to include a short sermon to the laity, explaining the significance of the procession in which they had just taken part.

Finally, it is interesting to note that at Salisbury also a "prophet" figured in the Palm-Sunday procession. The prophet's part is clearly an addition to the earlier ritual, though the date of its introduction is not known; it is found only in the 1508 and 1517 editions of the *Processionale*. In these texts the following passage occurs directly after the Gospel at the first "station."

*Finito evangelio, unus puer ad modum prophetæ indutus, stans in aliquo eminenti loco, cantet lectionem propheticam modo quo sequitur:*

Hierusalem, respice ad orientem, et vide: leva, Hierusalem, oculos et vide potentiam regis.<sup>1</sup>

Although the prophet's name is not expressly stated, his appearance immediately before the singing of "En rex venit mansuetus," etc. (*Zeck.* ix, 9), appears to identify him as Zechariah the son of Barechiah, who, it will be remembered, is also one of the figures in the Rouen Prophet play.<sup>2</sup> Again, it is to be observed that the Salisbury prophet was introduced at the first "station," whereas Caiphas belonged to the third station, just before the procession reëntered the church.

The appearance of Zechariah in the Palm-Sunday procession at Salisbury makes it still more unlikely that the Caiphas verses were connected with this cathedral. It also warns us against too hastily identifying Caiphas with the Palm-Sunday Prophet frequently mentioned in Church-wardens' Accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> In matters of liturgical usage no other church in England compared in influence with Salisbury, so that it might fairly be supposed that the presentation of a "prophet" in these parish churches was directly connected with the custom recorded in the Salisbury *Processionale*. In the absence of any direct evidence identifying the "prophets" of the Church-wardens' Accounts with Caiphas, we are left wholly without a parallel for the rôle given to Caiphas in the Sloane MS., and it is very possible that the usage on which these verses were based was peculiar to Wells.

In conclusion, I must content myself, for lack of space, with merely calling attention to the distinctly dramatic character of the Caiphas poem and the relationship in which it stands to the liturgical "Prophetæ." As an example of lively impersonation introduced into a liturgical Office it marks an interesting stage in the development of the early drama, although, so far as I am aware, it has escaped the notice of students in this field.

<sup>1</sup> *Processionale*, ed. Henderson, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Sepet, *Les Prophètes*, p. 44, and E. K. Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II, 55.

<sup>3</sup> A number of these entries have been collected by H. J. Feasey, *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, 1897, pp. 75, 76. Cf. also the reference to "the Prophete upon Palme Sondag" in a list of garments for players dated in the seventh year of Henry VIII (Collier, *Annals of the Stage*, ed. 1879, I, 82).



## MERLIN AND AMBROSIUS

GUSTAVUS HOWARD MAYNADIER

Though *Merlin* was one of the romances of the Round Table cycle most liked by our mediæval ancestors, nowadays we are inclined to think of it as less important than three or four other legends of that cycle, as those of Arthur himself, and of Lancelot, Percival, and Tristram and Iseult. One reason is that, in its very early and close association with the great central Arthur-legend, it has lost its individuality more than these others, with the possible exception of *Lancelot*. Merlin's achievements are frequently of more consequence to his royal masters, Uther and Arthur, than to himself. Another reason is that the manifold adventures of the romance, loosely strung together, are of a nature to appeal more than those of the other chief Round Table stories to a simple, not to say childlike, audience. Take, for instance, Arthur's fight with the Great Cat by the "Lak de Losane." It is interesting in its ingenuous account of the origin of the cat, which, drawn up by an avaricious fisherman in his net from the bottom of the Lake, only a "litill kyton as blakke as eny cool," grew so great and horrible that it was "merveile hym to se"; and so the beast strangled the fisherman for his sins, and his wife and children, and fled to a mountain near the Lake, where he destroyed all that came near him. What with gnashing his teeth, howling, growling, scratching, biting, and finally attempting to jump at the king, even after the loss of all four legs, the cat put up such a strong fight that Arthur casually remarked, after it was all over, that he had "never so grete doute" of himself in any fight, save only in the one with the giant that he slew the "other day on the mountain."<sup>1</sup> But stirring contest as this is, it has not the human interest of Lancelot's struggle between love and duty, of the religious mysteries of the Grail, and of the devoted love of Tristram and Iseult. The idea of sage Merlin's inexhaustible knowledge, however, has made more impression on nineteenth-century imagination. Tennyson tried to emphasize this allegorically, but never very distinctly, in the *Idylls* and later in *Merlin and the Gleam*; and Edgar Quinet in France and Immermann in Germany tried, but without conspicuous success, to give Merlin some of the aspirations of Faust.

And yet one incident in the history of the great seer has so much human nature in it and has so strongly impressed the imagination of poets in the last hundred years that it is as much alive to-day as it was when mediæval

<sup>1</sup> Prose *Merlin*, Early English Text Society, London, 1899, pp. 665 ff.



romancers first told it, with exquisite poetry — his enchantment by the Lady of the Lake, Vivien, in that forest of wonders, Broceliande. When the wily fay had persuaded the amorous old man to reveal the secrets of his magic, having got out of him at last all the information she desired, she lulled him to sleep under a flowering hawthorn-tree, with his head in her lap. Then she softly rose, and nine times paced in a circle round him, and nine times repeated the spells that he had taught her. So Merlin was locked fast within that magic circle forever.

" But she herself whither she will can rove —  
For she was passing weary of his love." <sup>1</sup>

As the weeks passed and Merlin came no more to Caerleon and Camelot, Arthur and his courtiers lamented his loss sorely. Gawain and thirty other knights set out in search of him, and once Gawain got speech with him in the forest of Broceliande, but none of them ever looked on the sage more.

Yet, though apparently thus shut up forever by enchantment, Merlin may be found in almost every city of the United States to-day. He no longer passes for a seer, but he is a wealthy, highly respected business or professional man, an old gentleman generally reputed wise till he meets Vivien. She often insinuates herself into his good graces by coming to work in his office, and she is apt to have chemically blonde hair. Marriage is the magic captivity in which he is "lost to life and use and name and fame." Instead of Arthur and his courtiers to lament him, there are his old friends and relatives — most of all, the children of the first wife, who ultimately make public their lamentations in the probate court.

Mediæval students are generally agreed that this Merlin, who in his tragically ignoble end at least is a character of fiction of all time, is a combination of an actual Welsh bard of the sixth century, Myrddin, and a boy with supernatural powers, one Ambrosius, who is mentioned in Nennius's *Historia Britonum* of the early ninth century. Now this boy Ambrosius is probably no other than an actual leader of the Britons against the Saxons in the wars of the fifth century. If this is so, we have in Merlin as good an example as that of his king, Arthur, of an historical character's undergoing a complete change as his fame was perpetuated in romance.

In the confusion of British history of the fifth and sixth centuries no characters stand out clearly, and only a few even dimly. Most important of these are Vortigern, a British king or prince who was friendly to the first German settlers, the leaders of these same Germans, and two British warriors who

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Arnold, *Tristram and Iseult*. Arnold, in telling his story, followed the mediæval version of the enchantment of Merlin, which is found in that continuation of the original *Merlin*, known as the *Merlin Ordinaire*. Another account, which is in the continuation commonly called *Suite de Merlin*, has the sage enchanted in a subterranean chamber or cave in the same forest of Broceliande. Cf. Malory, Book iv, chap. 1.

fought bravely against them, Ambrosius in the fifth century and Arthur in the sixth. It often happens that more recent historical events obscure the importance of those more remote. Partly for this reason and partly because the wars of Arthur seem actually to have been more important than those of Ambrosius, Arthur, magnified and glorified by legend and romance, lives as the most splendid king of mediæval fiction, while Ambrosius (at least by his own name) is known to few except those who try to throw light on the darkest years in the history of England.

All the information about Ambrosius that can possibly be deemed authentic is found in the works of those two early British chroniclers, Gildas and Nennius. Gildas, who wrote in the middle of the sixth century the work called *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, prefaces the main part of it — a denunciation of his countrymen for their vices and an exhortation to reform — with a brief historical sketch of Britain. After the Saxon invaders began their attacks on the island they were generally successful till Ambrosius Aurelianus, rallying his countrymen, led them several times to victory. This was the greatest success of British arms until greater successes, some years after the death of Ambrosius, culminated in Arthur's victory at Mt. Badon. Ambrosius Aurelianus, as his name implies, was a Roman, the only one in Britain "then in the confusion of this troubled period by chance left alive." From this account of Gildas, there seems no reason to doubt that there was a general named Ambrosius, of Roman blood, who was the first after the Germanic invasion to win victories for the Britons over the strangers.

Next after Gildas to give information about these early times is Nennius, whose *Historia Britonum* is between two hundred and fifty and three hundred years later than the *De Excidio*. It is pretty well established, however, that the *Historia*, in its account of the Saxon wars, is a transcript of a much earlier history. Therefore Nennius's mention of Ambrosius, as well as that of the more famous Arthur, may be only little more than a century later than Gildas's work. However that may be, Nennius's mention of Ambrosius is much less clear than Gildas's.

According to the later chronicler, Vortigern, the British prince, was at first glad to see the Saxons coming to Britain, because of aid which he might get from them not only against the harrying Picts and Scots but also against the Romans and the Briton Ambrosius, of whom he stood in fear. After Vortigern's death, one of his sons became ruler of two principalities with the consent of Ambrosius, who was the chief king of the Britons. A few years later, Ambrosius was at feud with one Guitolinus, or Vitolin, evidently from his name a Briton and presumably a person of some consequence. This strife between Ambrosius and Guitolinus is mentioned also in the *Annales Cambriae* of the tenth century. Nennius makes no mention of Ambrosius as the leader of the British against the Saxons. Instead, he has Vortimer, a son of Vortigern,

lead them in their only successful campaigns before the more glorious ones of Arthur. These three are the sole references to Ambrosius by Nennius that point to anything like accurate history. Probably the second one at least, mentioning Ambrosius as chief king of Britain, is not so accurate as it seems.

For the disagreement between Nennius and Gildas in their account of Ambrosius is one of the signs that they represent the traditions of two different parties among the Britons during the first Saxon wars. One, pro-Roman, was made up of the descendants of Roman colonists and of Celtic Britons with Roman sympathies. They regretted sorely the withdrawal of the legions. The other, a "home-rule" party, rejoiced at this withdrawal. Now Gildas makes clear everywhere that his sympathies are with the Romans. Nennius, on the other hand, suggests that he is expressing, three hundred years later, traditions that have come down from the patriot, or anti-Roman, party. Otherwise, why should he suppress all mention of Ambrosius as a successful general in the campaigns against the Saxons, and replace him with one with the British name of Vortimer? But Ambrosius was too big an historical figure to suppress entirely. And so Nennius shows him to us first inspiring fear in Vortigern, and later on not only fighting with Vitelin but also, as a sort of overlord, permitting Vortigern's son to reign in two principalities.

All this points clearly to an Ambrosius who was a fighter of great fame and probable ability among the Britons in the Saxon wars. But was he ever, as Nennius makes him out, — at least after Vortigern's death, — chief among the petty kings who then ruled in Britain? Probably not; if he had enjoyed this honor, Gildas, the admirer of Ambrosius, would have been likely to mention it. Rather the mention of it by Nennius points to popular story adding to the fame of Ambrosius, as it has done to that of nearly every national hero. And this brings us to a fourth mention of him in the *Historia Britonum* — one which presents the worthy in such a different light from other references to him in Gildas and Nennius, that some commentators have thought him quite a different man. But more have judged him rightly to be still the doughty fighter against the Saxons, only now strangely disguised.

This fourth reference of Nennius to Ambrosius is found in the part of his *Historia* which deals with that well-known tower that Vortigern tried to build; but without success, because the materials for it unaccountably disappeared night after night. Vortigern, questioning his wise men, was informed that the only way to stop this disappearance was to sprinkle the foundations of the tower with the blood of a child who had had no father. Then Vortigern sent out men to find such a child; and they did find one in the region Gleguissing, which commentators agree is in the southernmost part of Wales. For there was a boy there, Ambrosius, whose mother declared under oath that she did not know how he was conceived, since she had never had intercourse with any man. Brought before Vortigern, this boy confuted the king's advisers



by showing their ignorance of a pond which was under the ground on which the tower was to be built; and their further ignorance of what he knew very well, that in the pond were two vases; in them, a folded tent; and in that, two serpents, one white, one red. From the immediate fight of these serpents, Ambrosius was able to prophesy concerning the wars between Britons and Saxons.

Then Vortigern asked the youth — the term is *adolescens* now, though it has generally been *puer* before — who he was; and he replied, "Ambrosius." "Id est," Nennius explains, "Embreis Guletic ipse videbatur." That is, "he seemed to be Ambrosius, the high king, himself." And Vortigern asked him of what race he came. "My father was a consul of the Roman race," he replied. Then Vortigern gave Ambrosius the tower, and the lands of western Britain for a kingdom, and went himself into another part of the island, where he built a town called after him *Caer Vortigern*.

At first sight this mysterious youth, by common report conceived without a father, seems a very different person from the Ambrosius of whom Nennius says that Vortigern was afraid, and also from the Ambrosius Aurelianus of Gildas, "a worthy man . . . of the Roman nation" fortunately left alive to teach the Britons how to fight the Saxons. And yet have we here anything more than the exaggeration usual among simple, credulous people of the mighty deeds of a national hero? Just as the fame of Arthur grew by the attachment to him of various popular stories, some of mythological origin, so the fame grew of the earlier and lesser British hero. In Gildas's so-called chronicle, written perhaps only half a century after the death of Ambrosius, he appears much as he really was — a Briton of Roman descent and sympathies, but loyal to the land of his birth, a leader of men, and a good fighter against the Saxons. Already in the years between Gildas's work and the original of Nennius's *Historia* — not more than a century and a half — the fame of Ambrosius had grown. From a general he had been raised to the rank of chief king of Britain, who, after the death of Vortigern, allotted certain lands for Vortigern's son to rule. And just as wonders were connected at this time with Arthur,<sup>1</sup> so they were with Ambrosius. Thus he was able to appear before Vortigern in a form not his own, apparently a boy without a father, found by Vortigern's men in South Wales. But when it suited his pleasure, "Embreis Guletic ipse videbatur." Have we not here that well-known attribute of change of shape, which is seen in Geoffrey's Merlin and still more in the Merlin of the later romances? Naturally Vortigern, hardly believing his own eyes, questioned the man before him further as to who he was. The answer that his father was a Roman consul leaves no doubt that he is the historical Ambrosius of Gildas.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nennius's *Mirabilia Britanniae* for the marvellous cairn to Arthur's hunting-dog, Cabal, and the tomb of Arthur's son, Anir.

Still, the transformed — and also self-transforming — Ambrosius of Nennius is far from being the Merlin of Geoffrey of Monmouth. We may see without much difficulty how he became so.

There is little doubt that there lived in Wales, in the sixth century, a famous bard named Myrddin. Of several Welsh poems ascribed to him few, if any, are authentic. In fact, Ferdinand Lot believes that only one, the *Dialogue of Myrddin and Taliesin*,<sup>1</sup> is as old as the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth, or possibly older. Still, mediæval testimony seems to prove that a Myrddin lived and that he was famous. Beyond this, we can only conjecture. He may have been so famous as to have had supernatural properties bestowed on him in popular story, to have passed from a bard to a seer, even to an enchanter, but we do not know. At any rate, his fame, whatever it may have been, was confined, so far as we can see to-day, to popular tradition, till the twelfth century fixed it in literature.

In the thirties of that century, Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote his *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and there Myrddin appeared, with his name altered to Merlin, in substantially the character in which the world has known him since. Just why Geoffrey changed *Myrddin*, pronounced *Merthin*, into *Merlinus*, it is impossible to say. Gaston Paris conjectured that it was because the natural Latin equivalent of *Myrddin*, — or *Merdin*, — *Merdinus*, was objectionable.<sup>2</sup> The soft Welsh sound *dd* is not remote from *l*,<sup>3</sup> and might have been represented by *l* in Latin. Anyway, that Geoffrey's *Merlinus* came from the Welsh *Myrddin* is established beyond doubt, for he says that Merlin was found at the city which afterwards, evidently from this fact, was called Caermarthen. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Itinerarium Cambriae*,<sup>4</sup> confirms this explanation of the name of the town. Of course the explanation is meaningless, unless we take the name of the sage to have been *Merdin* or *Myrddin*. Needless to say, Geoffrey's etymology is false. Caermarthen comes from the name by which the Romans knew it, Maridunum. But Geoffrey is fond of such etymologies; throughout his "History," may be found instances of his explaining names of places by their association with supposedly distinguished men. And in the chance resemblance in sound of Caermarthen and Myrddin is perhaps to be found the reason for Geoffrey's association of Merlin, or Myrddin, and Ambrosius. For he first introduces Merlin as playing the part of Ambrosius in the tale of Myrddin's tower. The two are identical in being discovered by Vortigern's messengers seeking for a boy who had had no father, in confuting the king's wise men, and in prophesying the future of Britain after the fight of the two snakes or dragons that are found at the bottom of the pond. That Geoffrey was the first to make the identification, seems to be proved by his calling the sage twice, in the early part of the story, *Ambrosius*

<sup>1</sup> "Études sur Merlin," *Annales de Bretagne*, XV (1899-1900), pp. 325, 505.

<sup>2</sup> *Romania*, XII, p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> So Professor Robinson tells me.

<sup>4</sup> I, 10; II, 8.

*Merlinus*,<sup>1</sup> and by his explanation that Merlin "was also called Ambrosius":<sup>2</sup> "Merlinus, qui et Ambrosius dicebatur." Later on, Geoffrey drops the Ambrosius and uses the name Merlin only.

Several reasons may be imagined why Geoffrey made this identification. It is possible that the fame of the bard Myrddin may have grown in the same way as that of Ambrosius; that he, too, may have taken on the attributes of a seer and necromancer. In fact such a reputation in the case of a great bard would be almost likely, for the Welsh were inclined to look on their bards as supernaturally gifted. A more cogent reason is the name Myrddin. We have seen that Geoffrey liked to explain place-names by the names of people. Therefore, as he was constructing his *Historia*, the resemblance between Caermarthen and Myrddin would at once strike him. Now Caermarthen was as important as any town in South Wales west of Caerleon. There is no doubt that Geoffrey was familiar with Nennius's *Historia Britonum*, so far as is known to-day, the principal literary source of Geoffrey's chronicle. Nennius has Ambrosius (that is, Geoffrey's Merlin) found in the region Gleguissing. As to the extent of this, there is difference of opinion. Some scholars take it to have covered virtually all southern Wales; others take it to have been limited to country between the rivers Usk and Towy. But whatever the extent of the region, whether it included the vale of the Towy or not, it was in the neighborhood of that stream, on whose banks, near the head of tidewater, Caermarthen was pleasantly situated. So there we have a plausible explanation of Merlin. Ambrosius, of legendary fame, fixed by Nennius in a region near the Towy. Myrddin, perhaps also of considerable legendary fame, connected by Geoffrey's imagination with Caermarthen on the banks of the Towy. Nothing would be more natural than for Geoffrey to combine the two men.

Geoffrey was not content that his newly created character should figure only in the story of Vortigern's tower. He makes Merlin highly important in the reigns of the kings who followed Vortigern — Aurelius Ambrosius, who seems to have been taken mostly from the historical Ambrosius Aurelianus, and Uther Pendragon, Ambrosius's brother and Arthur's father, who seems to be chiefly a character of Welsh tradition. For the former, Merlin brought Stonehenge, or the Giants' Dance, from Ireland to England; for the latter, he employed his magic so successfully that Uther assumed the shape of Gorlois, Duke of Cornwall, and accompanied by Merlin, who assumed the shape of a follower of Gorlois, had access to Gorlois's wife, Igera, in her castle, and so begot Arthur. After this service to Uther, Merlin virtually disappears from Geoffrey's story. But a few years later, Geoffrey made him the central character of *Vita Merlini*, that deals largely with various attacks of insanity,

<sup>1</sup> Book vi, chap. 19; vii, chap. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Book vi, chap. 19. Cf. also R. H. Fletcher, "Arthurian Material in Chronicles," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, X, p. 92.



during which Merlin lived a wild man in the woods, only from time to time showing enough reason to utter prophecies. Here he is made king of South Wales, perhaps a reminiscence both of the promotion of Ambrosius to kingship in Nennius and of his being found as a boy in the region Gleguissing.

In time Merlin became too prominent for the romancers to be content to lose sight of him at Arthur's birth. A metrical romance of Merlin of about the year 1200, ascribed to Robert de Boron, and a prose romance, based apparently on Boron's verse, added to the history of Merlin many incidents taken from Celtic folklore and other popular sources. Merlin here became such a devoted guardian of Arthur that ever since his fame has been particularly associated with that of the Great King. And so story-tellers soon felt dissatisfied that Robert de Boron had not traced Merlin's career beyond his seeing Arthur recognized as Uther's son, "rightwise king born of all England," and as such securely crowned. Weaving together other stories taken from the great mass of poetic legend then accessible, they prolonged Merlin's adventures beyond Arthur's incestuous love for his half-sister, — whence the birth of Mordred, who was to prove Arthur's ruin, — beyond Arthur's marriage with Guinevere and his acquisition of the Round Table, to his triumphant campaign against the Emperor of Rome, on which Merlin accompanied him, ever ready to help Arthur with his great wisdom. Then, when Arthur had returned to Britain, came at last the seer's own enchantment by false Vivien.

Much of which study is not new. Geoffrey made the identity of Merlin and Ambrosius quite plain. But so far as I am aware, no one has tried before me to trace the steps which led Geoffrey to his identification. Nor are quite different explanations of the identification by any means impossible. Professor Rhys accounts for it entirely on mythological grounds, seeing in Ambrosius and Merlin both, attributes of a Celtic Zeus.<sup>1</sup> It seems unnecessary, however, to make this the explanation. It is simpler to conjecture that the actual Ambrosius, something of a national hero, was transformed into a character of romance by the workings of popular story, just as the greater national hero, Arthur, was transformed; and there is no innate improbability in such a conjecture. In the process of transformation, Ambrosius may have, either before or after his association with Myrddin, been endowed with some mythological attributes. But it seems likely that the first origin of the Merlin of romance is the historical Ambrosius, rather than a god of the Celtic Pantheon.

Strange distortion of history, which Ambrosius, even had he possessed all the powers of prophecy ever attributed to him, could hardly have foreseen! That warlike Roman-British worthy, with both name and character changed, is known best to-day as a pitiable old man whose great gifts, after years of useful service, came to naught because he allowed himself to be tricked by a designing young woman.

<sup>1</sup> *Celtic Heathendom* (Hibbert Lectures, 1886), pp. 144 ff.

# THE EPICEDIA OF STATIUS

CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE

The epicedia of Statius represent to us the final and complete development of a literary type which was first recognized as a distinct form in the Hellenistic age. Originally ἐπικήδειος ᾠδή signified only a song of mourning for the dead.<sup>1</sup> The Trojan Women of Euripides call on the Muse in Ilium's day of sorrow,<sup>2</sup>

Ἄμφι μοι Ἴλιον, ὦ  
Μοῦσα, καινῶν ὕμνων  
ἄεισον ἐν δακρύοις  
ᾧδαν ἐπικήδειον·  
νῦν γὰρ μέλος ἐς Τροίαν  
ἰαχίσσω, κτλ.

As such a song it is simply defined by Hesychius — ἐπικήδειον· ἐπιθανάτιον, and by Suidas likewise — ἐπιτάφιον, ἐπιθανάτιον, although Proclus attempted a more elaborate definition to distinguish it from other literary forms (p. 352 G), τὸ ἐπικήδειον παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ κῆδος ἔτι τοῦ σώματος προκειμένου.<sup>3</sup> The close relation of the epicedion with the θρήνος and other songs of mourning is indicated by the remark of Dionysius, *Ars Rhetorica*, 6, 1, καὶ τὰ ποιήματα μεστὰ τούτων, οἱ ἐπικήδαιοι (sc. λόγοι) οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενοι θρήνοί τε, and by the words which Suidas adds to his definition quoted above, καὶ ἐπικήδειος θρήνος ὁμοίως. The ἐπικήδειον which Euripides wrote over the Athenians who fell at Syracuse, of which Plutarch, *Nic.* 17, quotes two verses, was probably an ἐπιτάφιος, as Bergk<sup>4</sup> would have it,

οἷδε Συρακοσίους ὀκτὼ νίκας ἐκράτησαν  
ἄνδρες, ὅτ' ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις.

Yet the name ἐπικήδειον is appropriate to it, as it is to the other ἐπικήδειον to which Plutarch refers, *Pelop.* 1, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ ζῆν ἡδέως καὶ θνήσκειν ἀμφοτέρα ἀρετῇ παρείχον, ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπικήδειον· οἷδε γάρ φησιν ἔθανον,

οὐ τὸ ζῆν θέμενοι καλὸν οὐδὲ τὸ θνήσκειν,  
ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφοτέρ' ἐκτελέσαι.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plato uses the term apparently in a general sense, *Laws*, 800 E, καὶ δὴ καὶ στολή γέ που ταῖς ἐπικήδειοις ᾠδαῖς οὐ στέφανοι πρόποιεν ἂν οὐδ' ἐπίχρυσοι κόσμοι, πᾶν δὲ τούναντιον.

<sup>2</sup> *Troades*, ll. 511 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This definition is repeated by Servius, *Ecl.* 5, 14, nam epicedion est quod dicitur cadavere non sepulto.

<sup>4</sup> *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, II<sup>4</sup>, 265.

<sup>5</sup> This is apparently from a sepulchral inscription. Cf. p. 128, n. 5.

But, as was said above, the development of the epicedion as a literary type belongs to the Hellenistic age. Aratus of Soli and Euphoriion of Chalcis composed *ἐπικήδεια*, now unhappily lost to us. It was Parthenius of Nicea, brought to Rome as a captive in the war with Mithradates to become later the teacher of Virgil and the friend of Cornelius Gallus, who introduced this form of composition to the capital. There his epicedia on Bias, Archelais, Auxithemis, and his wife Arete, enjoyed a high reputation and must have influenced the Latin writers. The fact that he had his poem about his wife cut on her tomb<sup>1</sup> is significant for the relationship between the sepulchral epigram and one form, at least, of the epicedion at this time. Of a similar epigrammatical character is the pathetic address which Catullus makes to his brother, buried in the Troad (101),

Multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus  
advenio has miseras, frater, ad inferias, etc.

Yet we cannot determine the exact character of Parthenius' epicedia, nor can we trace with certainty the full history of this form of composition in Latin. Propertius' elegies on Marcellus (3, 18) and Cornelia (4, 11), Ovid's on Tibullus (*Am.* 3, 9), as well as the two anonymous elegies on Mæcenas<sup>2</sup> approach the epicedion and the philosophic consolatio, as we find them developed during the first century of the Empire. But the *τόποι* are not yet established, although Ovid's work shows greater obedience to rhetorical rules than any of the other elegies which I have named. It is, however, in the anonymous *Consolatio ad Liviam* that we find the epicedion in its new and final form:<sup>3</sup> the verse is the prevailing hexameter in place of the elegiac distich, and practically all the *τόποι* which presently appear almost fixed are here employed.

Now it is natural that any song of mourning, any *μέλος ἐπικήδειον*, should aim not only to express the sorrow of the living but also to rehearse the virtues of the dead and to console those left behind; we should expect the epicedion therefore to have much in common with the *λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι, παραμυθητικοί*, the *μονοδίαί* of the rhetoricians, the Latin laudationes funebres,<sup>4</sup> and, since epitaphs are frequently either laudatory or consolatory, or both, with sepulchral epigrams.<sup>5</sup> A superficial reading of the *Consolatio ad Liviam*

<sup>1</sup> Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.* 1089. It is worth remembering in this connection that Ausonius tells us that he had his Epicedion in Patrem (ed. Peiper, pp. 21 ff.) placed beneath his father's portrait.

<sup>2</sup> Riese, *Anth. Lat.*, 779, 780; *PLM.*, I, pp. 125 ff.

<sup>3</sup> According to the common view this consolatio was composed not long after Drusus' death in 9 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fr. Vollmer, *Laudationum Funebrum Romanorum Historia et Reliquiarum Editio, Jahrb. für class. Philologie*, Suppl. XVIII, 447-527, especially 475-477.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bruno Lier, *Topica Carminum Sepulchralium Latinorum, Philologus*, LXII (1903), 445-477, 563-603; LXIII (1904), 54-65. I here make general acknowledgment of my indebtedness to this excellent work.



is sufficient to show the unknown writer's dependence on the rhetoricians. The same thing is true of the epicedia of Statius (*Silvae* 2, 1.6; 3, 3; 5, 1.3.5),<sup>1</sup> some features of which I now propose to set forth so far as I can within the allotted space.<sup>2</sup> The main divisions are well stated by Vollmer in his edition of the *Silvae*:<sup>3</sup> (1) introduction, (2) laudatio of the dead, (3) last sickness and death, (4) funeral, (5) reception of the dead in Hades, (6) consolations offered the living. Statius employs all these in an order which is almost fixed, as we might expect of one who wrote as rapidly as he,<sup>4</sup> yet within the divisions he often shows great skill and variety of expression, although certain motifs constantly reappear.

Statius varies his introductions according to the subject or the person addressed, employing many themes.<sup>5</sup> These are such as require little invention on the poet's part, and it must be confessed that they are at times handled in a conventional way. On the other hand, they touch emotions which are genuinely human, and if we will accept, as we must, the standards of the poet's day, they often have the merit of sincerity.

One epicedion only, that on the loss of the poet's young favorite (5, 5), opens with a moan,

Me miserum — neque enim uerbis sollemnibus ulla  
incipiam nec Castaliae uocalibus undis,  
inuissus Phoeboque grauis!

But when Statius celebrates his own father's death (5, 3), he begins with a prayer for strength and inspiration for his sad song,

Ipsae malas uires et lamentabile carmen  
Elysio de fonte mihi pulsumque sinistrae  
da, genitor praedocte, lyrae!

<sup>1</sup> I speak of all these poems as epicedia, but it should be observed that this specific name was not attached to all by their author or by the manuscript tradition. In his prefatory epistle Statius speaks of 2, 1 — recens uulnus *epicedio* prosecutus sum; but in the same place he refers to 2, 6, identical with the first in theme, as *consolatio*, with which the traditional title agrees. Of 3, 3 he says in his letter to Pollius Felix — merebatur et Claudii Etrusci mei pietas aliquod ex studiis nostris *solacium*. The manuscript tradition calls 5, 1.3 and 5 "epicedia," a name which may well come from the author. (Cf. Ausonius' borrowing, pp. 21 ff. P., from Statius 5, 3: Epicedion in Patrem, and the poet's certain use of the word noted above.) It appears therefore that four of the six poems are designated "epicedia," the other two are called by the poet "consolatio" and "solacium." Perhaps we should speak of the "epicedia and consolationes" of Statius. Yet, apparently, Statius uses the names without any intention of making a sharp distinction. I intentionally omit 2, 4 from consideration.

<sup>2</sup> I was unable to examine Lohrlich, *De Papinii Statii Silvarum Poetae Studiis Rhetoricis*, Diss., Halle, 1895, until after this paper was in the printer's hands.

<sup>3</sup> Teubner, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 316 f. I take this opportunity to acknowledge my debt to Vollmer's elaborate commentary.

<sup>4</sup> Praefatio, l. 1, hos libellos, qui mihi subito calore et quadam festinandi uoluptate fluxerunt, — nullum enim ex illis biduo longius tractum, quaedam et in singulis diebus effusa.

<sup>5</sup> A method recognized and recommended by the rhetoricians. Cf. Nicolaus Sophistes, Sp. III, 479, 28 f.

He goes on to declare that he owes all his former poetic skill to his father, but he fears that now his sorrow has quenched his song, that Apollo and the Muses have withdrawn their favor and left him dumb, unless his father's spirit from the heavens or from Lethe's grassy plain give him voice and power to express his pain. The *consolatio ad Claudium Etruscum* (3, 3) opens appropriately with a prayer to *Pietas* to come back to earth and gaze upon the son's grief for his aged sire. To *Abascantus* (5, 1) Statius declares that if he were painter or sculptor, he would have tried to reproduce the features of the beloved *Priscilla*, for she deserved the art of an *Apelles* or a *Phidias*; but as it is, he will strive to give her a memorial of enduring song,

longa nec obscurum finem latura perenni  
temptamus dare iusta lyra.<sup>1</sup>

The first lines of the consolation addressed to *Flavius Ursus* (2, 6) declare the cruelty of one who would check tears and grief; and of *Atedius Melior* he asks (2, 1, 1 ff.) what solace his unseasonable song can bring. Yet Statius knows that his verses can give comfort, for he has consoled others before; and, besides, he too has suffered (2, 1, 30 ff.),

me fulmine in ipso  
audiuere patres, ego iuxta busta profusis  
matribus atque piis cecini solatia natis  
et mihi, cum proprios gemerem defectus ad ignes  
(quem, Natura!) patrem.<sup>2</sup>

Again he reminds his friend that he shares his grief and has taken part with him in the last rites (2, 6, 14),

heu mihi! subdo  
ipse faces.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most natural themes is the sorrow of the bereaved. The intensity of *Melior's* mourning for his beloved *Glaucias* was such that he would not listen to the poet's song (2, 1, 6 ff.),

tu planctus lamentaque fortia maui  
odistique chelyn surdaque auerteris aure.  
.  
.  
nec si tergeminum *Sicula* de uirgine carmen  
affluat aut siluis chelys intellecta ferisque,  
mulceat insanos gemitus.

It is true that here the poet is offering his consolation too early, while the wound is still too new.<sup>4</sup> To *Abascantus*, however, he dared offer his consolation

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 3, 3, 37-39. This concept is as old as *Pindar's* fifth *Nemean* ode, and was repeated too many times by the classic poets to enumerate here; but hackneyed though it be, it is especially appropriate in *Statius' poem*. <sup>2</sup> Cf. 3, 3, 31 ff. <sup>3</sup> Cf. 2, 1, 19 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Such precipitate consolation was expressly forbidden by the expert: *Cicero, Tusc.* 4, 63, vetat *Chrysippus* ad recentis quasi tumores animi remedium adhibere; *Seneca, ad Helv.* 1, 2; *ad Marc.* 4, 1; *Pliny, Epist.* 5, 16, 11; 8, 5, 3.

only when the second year after Priscilla's death had come; before that time any comfort would have been premature, so great was his friend's grief (5, 1, 16 ff.). Indeed, the poet declares that not even Orpheus or the Muses, that no priest of Apollo or of Bacchus, could have quieted the groans of the mourning husband or soothed his sorrow before; nay, even now at these strains his wound opens and tears flood his heavy eyes. Not so wept Niobe, Aurora, or Thetis for their loved ones. In the case of Statius' grief for his own father three months passed before he could resume his lyre, and then only to offer his moans and tears (5, 3, 29-46). Even the loss of his little favorite overwhelmed the poet for thrice ten days (5, 5, 24 ff.).

Again, the sorrow is said to be so great that the bereaved one doubts the justice of the gods and complains against fate, as did Abascantus (5, 1, 22),

Fataque et iniustos rabidis pulsare querelis  
caelicolas solamen erat.<sup>1</sup>

Statius also, in his grief for his father, attacked the gods above and below alike (5, 3, 69 f.); and in anguish cried out against them at the loss of his favorite (5, 5, 77 ff.). Such accusation is a habit of mankind. So Priam excused Helen (*Il.* 3, 164),

οὐ τι μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί, θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν.

In sepulchral inscriptions expressions such as *crudelis Pluton*, *δακρυχῆς Πλούτων*, *crudeles Parcae*, *crudeles divi*, etc. are common;<sup>2</sup> and Catullus' execration will occur to all (3, 13 f.),

at vobis male sit, malae tenebrae  
Orci, quae omnia bella devoratis.

Of the topics which make up the body of the poems, the laudatio of the dead is the most important and receives the most elaborate attention. It corresponds to the *ἔπαινος* of the *λόγος ἐπιτάφιος*, which is practically identical with the *ἐγκώμιον*; its *τόποι* are *πατρίς*, *γένος*, *φύσις*, *ἀγωγὴ*, *ἐπιτηδεύματα*, *πράξεις*.<sup>3</sup>

Statius employs all these, but naturally adapts his treatment to his subject. Three of those whom he celebrates were young favorites, slaves by birth; another was the aged father of Claudius Etruscus, who rose from the slavery into which he was born to the position of imperial secretary and to knighthood,

<sup>1</sup> At Drusus' death Livia was moved to exclaim (*Cons. ad L.* 130),

Iam dubito magnos an rear esse deos.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. Buecheler, *Carm. Epig.* 971, 1156, 1204, 1212, 1549; Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.* 566, 575-578, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Dionysius, *Ars Rhet.* 6, 2, *συνελόντι μὲν οὖν ὁ ἐπιτάφιος ἔπαινός ἐστι τῶν κατοικομένων· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, δῆλόν πον ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τόπων ληπτέον, ἀφ' ὧν περ καὶ τὰ ἐγκώμια· πατρίδος, γένους, φύσεως, ἀγωγῆς, πράξεως.* Menander, *Sp.* III, 413, 9 ff., *χρῆ δὲ εἰδέναι ὅτι συνίσταται ἡ μονωδία ἐκ τῶν ἐγκωμιαστικῶν γένους, φύσεως, ἀνατροφῆς, παιδείας, ἐπιτηδεύματων, πράξεων*; cf. also *Sp.* III, 420, 10 ff.



serving every Emperor from Tiberius to Domitian ; a fifth was the poet's own father, well born and endowed with poetic gifts, but forced by poverty to adopt the profession of teaching, in which he won distinction ; and the last was Priscilla, the faithful and lovely wife of Abascantus.

In his laudations of the three favorite boys we find various devices employed to conceal or minimize the awkward fact of servile birth. In the case of Glaucias, the favorite of Atedius Melior, Statius masks his origin by dwelling through some thirty-five verses on the child's charms and his loving relation to Melior. True to the teaching of rhetoric,<sup>1</sup> the poet declares that he is at a loss how to begin his praises (2, 1, 36 ff. ; cf. 2, 6, 50). Glaucias' youth — anni stantes in limine vitae, his beauty of person and of character,<sup>2</sup> his pretty ways, his devotion to his master, Melior's hopes for the boy's future — now alas! gone to ashes, all claim expression. At this point the *γένος* is introduced. We are told that the child was not bought in the slave market, but was born in his master's home (2, 1, 72 ff.). The same thing is said of the poet's own favorite (5, 5, 66 ff.),

non ego mercatus Pharia de puppe loquaces  
delicias doctumque sui conuicia Nili  
infantem, lingua nimium salibusque proteruum.

And the favorite of Flavius Ursus is represented as of unknown parentage, yet showing a spirit and a character too noble for servile stock. By comparisons with Theseus, Paris, Achilles, and Troilus the possibility is suggested that the boy, too, is a king's son (2, 6, 21-33).<sup>3</sup> In the two latter cases, however, Statius touches on the *γένος* first and quickly passes on to other themes ; he recites at length the charms of person and of mind which Ursus' favorite possessed, his precocity, his devotion and fidelity, which recalled these same qualities in Patroclus, Theseus, and Eumæus, even as his beauty reminded the beholder of Parthenopæus or some Spartan youth ready to test his prowess for the first time in the Olympic games (2, 6, 34-57 ; cf. 2, 1, 106 ff.). The humble origin of his own foster child Statius blots out with the cry — dilexi, meus ille, meus, and declares that from the moment of the child's birth he cared for him with all a parent's love ; he set the babe free and adopted him while he was still at the nurse's breast. All the poet's desire for children was satisfied so long as this child lived ; he taught the babe to walk, lulled him to sleep, and with joy heard the child's first word — his own name (5, 5, 66 ff.). In the epicedion on Glaucias we find similar motifs employed after the brief mention of the *γένος*. Melior's affection is said to have begun with the child's birth (2, 1, 78 ff.). Statius holds that such a relationship may be closer than

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Doxopater, in Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, II, 449, 26 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Menander, Sp. III, 420, 12 f., *τεμείς δὲ τὴν φύσιν δίχα, εἰς τε τὸ τοῦ σώματος κάλλος, ὅπερ πρῶτον ἐρεῖς, εἰς τε τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς εὐφύαν*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps such suggestion was a commonplace. Cf. Horace's banter, *C.* 2, 4, 13 ff.

the natural bond, adding the commonplace — *natos genuisse necesse est, elegisse iuvat*.<sup>1</sup> This he supports in the learned fashion with mythological lore: Chiron was closer to Achilles than was Peleus, and it was Phoenix who went with the young hero to Troy; Acœtes looked on Pallas's battles while Evander waited at home for his son's return; and Dictys was the one who cared for Perseus. Ino and Bacchus, Acca and Romulus, close the learned list (2, 1, 88-100). From the *γένος* Statius turns to the *ἀγωγή*, *ἐπιτηδεύματα*, and *πράξεις*, which naturally run into each other in the case of the young. Notwithstanding all Glaucias' promise in palæstra and in school, Lachesis, alas! had already doomed him (2, 1, 120 ff.),

scilicet infausta Lachesis cunabula dextra  
attigit et gremio puerum complexa fouebat  
inuidia; illa genas et adultum comere crinem,  
et monstrare artes et uerba infigere, quae nunc  
plangimus.

When Statius celebrates those who came to maturity, he can tell at length of accomplishment and tried character, and is not forced to dwell on hope and promise only. Claudius Etruscus, he acknowledges, was born a slave, but Fortune supplied his lack of birth; his masters were not of common stock, but lords of the whole world. "There can be no shame in serving a Cæsar when all the world serves him as well; even the stars and the moon are subject to higher powers, and Hercules and Apollo once served masters." Furthermore, he was born in no mean city, but in Smyrna, rich and famous. Of Etruscus' *ἀγωγή* there was nothing to say, but the history of his rise, his accomplishments, and his character gave the poet abundant material. Under Tiberius Etruscus received his liberty; his practical wisdom carried him through the reign of Caligula — *immitis quamquam et Furiis agitatus*; he was advanced under Claudius, and by Nero he was raised to the most responsible post in the imperial administration, that of financial secretary, *a rationibus*. The importance of this position Statius emphasizes by enumerating the imperial income and expenses under Etruscus' control in a passage of considerable length, where he handles his prosaic material with no slight skill (3, 3, 85-105). Etruscus' absorption in his duties, his frugal life, the honor shown him by Vespasian at the time of the triumph over the Jews, his elevation to the order of the equites — all the eighty years which he had spent without a cloud, generous and kind, are duly recorded. But then the blow fell and Etruscus was banished. As a courtier Statius glosses over Domitian's act and represents the banishment as a pleasant retirement — *hospes, non exul erat* —

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Galba's address to Piso, in Tacitus, *Hist.* 1, 16, *nam generari et nasci a principibus fortuitum, nec ultra aestimatur; adoptandi iudicium integrum, et si velis eligere, consensu monstratur*; Pliny, *Epist.* 4, 15, 10; *Paneg.* 7, 89, 94; Dio Cassius LXIX, 20, 2. The expression seems a commonplace.

not long continued. Etruscus' restoration is attributed to the clemency of the kindest of rulers — ductor placidissime — Domitian !

This praise of the father contains also a laudatio of the mother, Etrusca, introduced at the proper place (3, 3, 108–137). She possessed great beauty and high birth, and thus she supplied the home with what the father lacked. She bore Etruscus two children and then suddenly drooped and died. For all their exuberance of expression Statius' verses here deserve to be quoted in full<sup>1</sup> (3, 3, 126 ff.),

sed media cecidere abrupta iuuenta  
gaudia florentesque manu scidit Atropos/annos,  
qualia pallentes declinant lilia culmos  
pubentesque rosae primos moriuntur ad austros,  
130 aut ubi uerna nouis expirat purpura pratis.  
illa sagittiferi circumuolitastis Amores  
funera maternoque rogos unxistis amomo,  
nec modus aut pennis laceris aut crinibus ignem  
spargere collectaeque pyram struxere pharetræ.

Statius gives the greater part of his laudatio of his own father also to the *ἐπιτηδεύματα* and *πράξεις* (5, 3, 116–252). He was of good birth but poor ; the Muses smiled on the child and Apollo touched his lips with water from his sacred fountain. Velia and Naples contended for the right to call him citizen, even as of old many cities claimed the son of Mæonia. He early entered poetic contests, far beyond his years, but he was laudum festinus et audax ingenii. Not satisfied with victories at home he contended successfully in the great festivals in Greece. Then he opened a school in Naples. Here he not only expounded the great Greek poets from Homer and Hesiod to Callimachus and Lycophron, but showed himself a master in the art of paraphrasis (5, 3, 159 ff.),

tu par adsuetus Homero  
ferre iugum senosque pedes aequare solutis  
uersibus et numquam passu breuiore relinqui.

To profit by such a teacher youth came from all southern Italy and even from Rome, so that the son could proudly say (185 ff.),

et nunc ex illo forsán grege gentibus alter  
iura dat Eois, alter compescit Hiberos,  
alter Achaemenium secludit Zeugmate Persen,  
hi dices Asiae populos, hi Pontica frenant,  
hi fora pacificis emendant fascibus, illi  
castra pia statione tenent, — tu laudis origo.

Neither Nestor nor Phœnix nor Chiron could have rivalled this teacher.

As a poet the father won praise from Cæsar and Jove himself by a poem on the burning of the Capitol in the year 69 A.D. ; another on the outbreak

<sup>1</sup> Verses 128–130 are repeated in an epitaph in Africa. Buecheler, *Carm. Epig.* 1787.



of Vesuvius was never completed, but is duly named. Then Statius dwells on his debt of piety, for all his poetic power he owed to his father (211 ff.),

nec enim mihi sidera tantum  
aequoraque et terras, quae mos debere parenti,  
sed decus hoc quodcumque lyrae primusque dedisti  
non uulgare loqui et famam sperare sepulcro.

The father attended the son's public appearances filled with an anxious joy; and to the *Thebais* he gave much.

The same loyalty and love marked the relation of the elder Statius to his wife, whose answering affection was such that she had thought only for her dead husband (240 ff.),

una tibi cognita taeda  
conubia, unus amor, certe seiungere matrem  
iam gelidis nequeo bustis; te sentit habetque,  
te uidet et tumulos ortuque obituque salutat.

Serious, loyal, upright, with mind untouched, the gods granted the aged teacher reputation and happiness. Death came too soon, but gently like sleep (260 f.),

sed te torpor iners et mors imitata quietem  
explicuit falsoque tulit sub Tartara somno.

In the laudatio of Priscilla (5, 1, 43-134) Statius dwells throughout upon her great devotion to Abascantus. He speaks of her high birth, her loveliness, and absolute fidelity such that no Paris, nor Dulichian suitors, nor a Thyestes would have tried to harm. She preferred honorable marriage to all the wealth of the Orient. She was not stern by nature, but frank, cheerful, and modest; brave enough to face any danger for her husband's sake. His advancement was due to her influence. With change of station she showed no change of spirit, but still helped and cared for her husband with all the simple fidelity of an Apulian or sunburned Sabine wife; with him she would have gone to the very ends of the world and boldly taken part in battle.

This praise of the faithful Priscilla, however, is marred by some lines of intolerable flattery of the Emperor. To us the brutal Domitian is far removed from the wise ruler whom Statius describes (5, 1, 81 ff.). But we must remember that the alternative to flattery was that silence which men like Tacitus maintained.

In these ways Statius varies his laudationes according to the age and position of his subject. I have allowed myself to go into greater detail here because of the importance of this division. The remaining topics can be handled more summarily.

The suddenness with which a premature fate struck down the young, the gentle coming of death to the old, the rapidity of the fatal disease, the anxiety and appeals of those who feared the loss of their loved ones, are all themes

which Statius uses in his description of the last sickness and death.<sup>1</sup> The only comfort that the poet knows how to offer here, apart from the thought that Glaucias entered Hades with his youthful beauty still unwasted (2, 1, 154 ff.), is the memory that the dying recognized his loved one and breathed out to him his last breath.<sup>2</sup> So Priscilla's last look was fixed on her husband's face, and with her last words she endeavored to console him (5, 1, 172 ff.).

The funeral is treated in more conventional fashion. The wealth of silk and purple hangings, the masses of Oriental incense and perfume burned on the pyre, the sorrow of the bereaved as the flames mounted, driving him to try to throw himself into the fire and to perish with his love, are almost constant elements.<sup>3</sup> The efforts of Abascantus to keep the form of his loved one by recourse to the Egyptian art of mummification, to counterfeit her appearance in bronze and marble as Ceres, Gnosis, Maia, and Venus (5, 1, 225 ff.), are matched by Etruscus' promise in his address to his father's ashes (3, 3, 200 ff.),

te lucida saxa,  
te similem doctae referet mihi linea cerae,  
nunc ebur et fuluum uultus imitabitur aurum.

In all the topics thus far considered Statius has been employing chiefly the arts of narration and description, for which his training had well fitted him; and although in singing the praises of the dead, in reviewing their characters and deeds, and in dwelling on all the evidences of love and grief which the bereaved could show, he had many opportunities to offer comfort, the *consolatio* proper must come at the end.

The thought of the shade entering Hades and there encountering all the dangers and terrors which tradition and the poets knew, might well sadden the mourner. But Statius assures his friends that rude Charon will give ready and quick passage, that Cerberus will not threaten, no Fury wave her torch, no Hydra, Centaurs, or Scyllas terrify.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the poet can offer a positive consolation in the promise that the loved ones will recognize in the happy fields, among the shades of the great and famous, friendly spirits who will welcome them.<sup>5</sup> Glaucias will love and be loved by the shade of Melior's friend Blaesus (2, 1, 189 ff.); Flavius' favorite may find his parents (2, 6, 98 ff.);

<sup>1</sup> 2, 1, 137-157; 2, 6, 58-80; 5, 1, 135-208; and 5, 3, 252-261. For the rhetoricians' directions, see Hermogenes, Sp. II, 12; and Menander, III, 435, 18 ff., μάλλον γὰρ ὁ λόγος κινητικώτερος εἴη ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπ' ὕψιν καὶ τῶν νῦν συμβάντων, οἰκτίζων τε εἰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ θανάτου λέγοι τις, εἰ μακρῇ νόσῳ περιπεπωκώς εἴη, εἰ ὀξὺς ὁ θάνατος κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> This too was apparently a favorite commonplace. Cf. *Consolatio ad Liviam*, 90 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 2, 1, 157 ff. (cf. 23-25); 2, 6, 82 ff.; 3, 3, 31-37, 176 ff.; 5, 1, 210 ff.; 5, 3, 41-44, 262 ff.

<sup>4</sup> 2, 1, 183 ff.; 5, 1, 249 ff.; 3, 3, 22 ff. In this last case the *τόπος* is placed in the introduction in the form of a prayer, and is supplemented by 205-207.

<sup>5</sup> This was the prospect which cheered Socrates (Plato, *Apol.* 32), and it became a commonplace. Cf. Menander, Sp. III, 414, 16 ff., εἴτα ὅτι πείθομαι τὸν μεταστάντα τὸ ἡλύσιον πεδὶον οἰκεῖν, ὅπου Ῥαδάμανθους, ὅπου Μενέλεως, ὅπου παῖς ὁ Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος, ὅπου Μέμνων; 421, 16 f., πολυτεύεται γὰρ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν ἢ τὸ ἡλύσιον ἔχει πεδῖον.

Etruscus will relate to Etrusca all their son's fidelity (3, 3, 205 ff.); and for his father's shade Statius craves honor from the bards of Greece (5, 3, 284 ff.),

ite, pii manes Graiumque examina uatum,  
illustremque animam Letheis spargite sertis  
et monstrate nemus, quo nulla inrupit Erinys,  
in quo falsa dies caeloque simillimus aer.

Other consolatory *τόποι* are the universality of death (2, 1, 209 ff.), the thought that death is a happy escape from ills which make the living the proper objects of pity (2, 1, 220 ff.; 5, 1, 220 ff.),<sup>1</sup> and the appearance of the dead in a dream, which is a warrant that the spirit still lives. Etruscus closes his address to his father's ashes with the words (3, 3, 204), *monitura somnia poscam*; Glaucias is besought to return and bring comfort (2, 1, 227 ff.); and Statius prays his father's shade (5, 3, 288 ff.),

inde tamen venias, melior qua porta malignum  
cornea uincit ebur, somnique in imagine monstra  
quae solitus.

This running review of the main features of Statius' epicedia is sufficient, I trust, to show their character, although I have been forced to omit much that is not insignificant. By observing the attention which the poet gives to rhetorical rules and by noting his frequently repeated phrases and verbal combinations it is easy to do him injustice, for in spite of all, he shows much skill in treating his themes and in handling his verse. In the epicedia, as in other poems of his *Silvae*, he borrowed much of his material from earlier poets but gave it a new and stricter form; and he endeavored throughout his work to enhance the value of his borrowings by expansion and exaggeration. Most of the *Silvae* he wrote for his friends or the Emperor, only occasionally choosing a theme for himself. His flattery of the *dominus et deus Domitian* offends us, as does his willingness to treat so trivial a theme as the *Capilli Flavi Earini* (3, 4), but for both he could quote good precedents, and more than one poet of a later age has done as ill. He is always the *doctus poeta*: his large use of mythology, personification, and learned reference, his conscious devotion to the schools often burden his verses, and his very skill sometimes betrays his lack of high poetic imagination. If he had left us a few more poems like his appeal to Sleep (5, 4), we could almost call him the poet of a new era; as it is, we must regard him as one of the two chief representatives of an artificial and timorous age, when art endeavored to conceal the want of greater things. His epicedia are valuable as representing the final development of a poetic form. With all their evident conventions, they at times show Statius in his most sincere moods, and they contain certain passages which deserve the renewed existence given them by Poggio's happy discovery.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dionys., *Ars Rhet.* 6, 5; Menander, *Sp.* III, p. 413, 23 ff. These themes are frequent on tombstones. Lier, *Philologus*, LXII, 563 ff.





# THE SEA-BATTLE IN CHAUCER'S "LEGEND OF CLEOPATRA"

WILLIAM HENRY SCHOFIELD

"At Cleopatre I wol that thou beginne," said the god of love to Chaucer, when he bade the poet write

a glorious Legende  
Of Gode Wommen, maidenés and wyves,  
That weren trewe in loveing al hir lyves.

And Chaucer straightway took his books and started on the task. His command was merely to rehearse "the grete" in the stories of certain faithful lovers of the past, "after thise olde auctours listen to trete"; but he did not hesitate to embellish their narratives with new details calculated to heighten interest in his work. By far the most striking part of Chaucer's first legend, the graphic description of Antony's sea-battle at Actium, is unparalleled in any "old author" from Plutarch to Boccaccio. My present object is to show that its peculiarly stimulating effect is due to the fact that the poet here pictured an ancient scene with the color of recent events.

It may be well to remark at the outset that Chaucer does not refrain from "mediæval touches" in other parts of the *Legend of Good Women*. Thisbe, for example, wears a "wimple," and she and Pyramus speak "with a soun as softe as any shrifte"; Dido "seketh halwes"; Philomela knew how to "weven in her stole the radevore" (*ras de Vaur*, serge of La Vaur, in Languedoc); Lucrece is canonized a "saint"; Hypermnestra's fate, decreed by the "Wirdes," is stated in terms of astrology; when the poet writes of Demophon, he is reminded of "the fox Renard"; when about to relate the misfortunes of Medea, he exclaims (with a figure taken from the chase): "Have at thee, Jasoun! now thyn horn is blowe!" And of his long account of Dido's feast, Skeat justly wrote: "This passage is practically original. Chaucer here tells the story in his own language, and gives it a wholly mediæval cast." Moreover, in the particular legend before us, Antony is pictured as a "knight," who had sought "honour" in Egypt, and become famous for his "chivalry" and "gentillesse." Though "a ful worthy gentil werreyour," Antony was also a "lover" of a courtly type.

Him thoughte, nas to him no thing so due  
As Cleopataras for to love and serve;  
Him roghte nat in armes for to sterve  
In the defence of hir and of hir right.

And Cleopatra took towards him the attitude of a gentle lady, faithful and true, like Dorigen.

If, as scholars now seem agreed, Chaucer produced his *Legend of Good Women* some time between 1385 and 1387, he wrote when all his countrymen were engrossed with naval proceedings. One has only to read such an account of the events of those years as is easily accessible in Nicolas's *History of the Royal Navy*<sup>1</sup> to realize that there has seldom been a time when Englishmen were more excited over maritime affairs. In many sea-conflicts, great and small, prominent knights and humble shipmen were engaged, while the whole nation anxiously feared a French invasion, which had been prepared on a vast scale. Froissart, who described this extraordinary armament with particular zest, went so far as to declare that no one had ever seen a fleet like that gathered at Sluys to destroy England "since God created the world." When, for various reasons, the invasion was abandoned, in the autumn of 1386, the relief of the English was intense. Early in 1387, they made great efforts to fit out a strong fleet, which set sail about the middle of March and soon after won a signal victory over a large number of foreign vessels under the command of the Flemish admiral Sir John de Bucq, who had previously done them much mischief at sea. According to Walsingham, the prizes were sent to Orwell; and Lord Arundel, the English admiral, refused to sell the great quantity of wine on board, even to the friendly merchants of Middelburgh, who offered to purchase what they had lost. It belonged, he said, to the commons of England, who had equipped the expedition.

No one will doubt that Chaucer took a keen interest in all these happenings. He had had business relations with many a man like his Merchant, who

wolde the see were kept<sup>2</sup> for any thing  
Bitwixe Middelburgh and Orewelle.

He had seen many a "good fellow" of the west like his Shipman,<sup>3</sup> who

knew wel alle the havenes, as they were,  
From Gootland to the cape of Finistere,  
And every cryke in Britayne and in Spayne.

<sup>1</sup> London, 1847, II, 296 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Gold nobles were then in circulation which showed Edward III in a large ship, asserting his right to sovereignty of the sea. See Nicolas, II, 222 ff. The author of *Mare Clausum*, in the time of Henry VI, remarked:

For foure things our noble sheweth to me,  
King, ship, and sword, and power of the sea. . . .  
But King Edward made a siege royall,  
And wanne the town; and in speciall  
*The see was kept*, and thereof he was lord.  
Thus made he nobles coined of record (Bk. ii, ch. xxv).

<sup>3</sup> "For aught I woot, he was of Dertemouthe," said Chaucer of his Shipman. One wonders if he had in mind the exploit of the sailors of Dartmouth and Portsmouth in 1385, of which Walsingham tells. "'Hired by none, bought by none, but spurred on by their own valour and innate courage,' these gallant mariners proceeded to the Seine with a small force, where they captured four, and sank the same number of French vessels. Among the prizes was the barge of the Sire de Clisson, which was worth 20,000 florins, and had no equal in size or beauty either in England or France" (Nicolas, II, 298).



He was intimately acquainted with actual combatants in recent struggles<sup>1</sup> (far more, probably, than documents can ever be made to show), as well as with participants in similar struggles of an earlier date;<sup>2</sup> and it would have been miraculous if he had not heard first-hand accounts of sea-fights from some of his numerous acquaintances in London, where such engagements were matter of common talk.

Furthermore, his thoughts, like theirs, must have run back to the great naval conflicts of the past fifty years, which had filled English hearts with pride. In 1386 he was chosen a knight of the shire for Kent, and sat in the parliament that was held in Westminster from October 1 to November 1, when much discussion took place of the defense of the realm and the protection of merchandise at sea. Discontented members then complained, as had been done in Parliament before, of the contrast between the past and present. "What is now become," they demanded, "of our grand enterprises and our valiant captains? Would that our gallant King Edward and his son, the Prince of Wales, were now alive! We used to invade France and rebuff our enemies so that they were afraid to shew themselves or venture to engage us, and, when they did so, they were defeated. . . . We have seen the time when, if such a fleet had been known to have collected at Sluys, the good King and his sons would have hastened to take it."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Philipot, collector of customs from 1378 to 1384, fitted out a fleet at his own expense in 1379, and won a signal victory over the French led by the notorious Mercer; to judge from Walsingham's account, he participated in the fight himself. Sir Lewis Clifford was one of those who, at Carlisle, opposed Sir John de Vienne, admiral of the French fleet which was sent to assist the Scots in 1385. In the same year, Sir William de Beauchamp, then Captain of Calais, captured many French vessels in a spirited engagement. Sir Thomas de Percy was then, as at previous times, an admiral of the English fleet. Henry Scogan was in the employ of Simon de Burley, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Governor of Dover Castle, and Justice of the Peace for Kent, this last a position which Chaucer also occupied in 1385. (For the poet's relations with the above-mentioned persons, see T. R. Hulbert, *Chaucer's Official Life*, Univ. of Chicago, 1912; and on their public activities, see Nicolas, II, *passim*.) Chaucer, of course, had many other possible sources of direct and indirect information on the naval affairs of his time.

<sup>2</sup> Edward III was probably not reticent about his exploits. Regarding the battle of Sluys, Froissart says: "There were in this fleet a great many ladies from England, countesses, baronesses, and knights' and gentlemen's wives, who were going to attend on the Queen at Ghent." Here was another means of making the combat well known in the circle in which Chaucer was to move. His father had recently been connected with the court. Froissart says that four hundred knights accompanied the King at Espagnols-sur-Mer. "The Prince of Wales and John Earl of Richmond [John of Gaunt] were likewise on board the fleet. The last was too young to bear arms, but he had him on board because he much loved him." Froissart dwells on the return of the King and his companions to Queen Philippa, who was waiting anxiously for them on the shore. They "passed the night in revelry with the ladies, conversing of arms and amours." At La Rochelle the English fleet was under the command of the Earl of Pembroke (whose lands Chaucer was later to have in custody), and one of the admiral's most valiant supporters was Sir Otho de Graunson, "flour of hem that make in France."

<sup>3</sup> Froissart, translated by Thomas Johnes, 3d ed., 1808, VIII, 227; cf. Nicolas, II, 264 f.

"The name of Edward the Third is more identified with the naval glory of England than that of any other of her sovereigns; for, though the sagacious Alfred and the chivalrous Richard commanded fleets and defeated the enemy at sea, Edward gained in his own person two signal victories, fighting on one occasion until his ship actually sunk under him, and was rewarded by his subjects with the proudest title ever conferred upon a British monarch, 'King of the Sea.' . . . Like the Nile, Camperdown, and Trafalgar, the battles of Sluys and Les Espagnols-sur-Mer led the English to imagine that they were always to command the sea."<sup>1</sup>

Froissart's vivid descriptions of the great victories of Sluys (1340) and Espagnols-sur-Mer (1350) provide us with authentic pictures of sea-conflicts in the fourteenth century. When we add to these his account of the unfortunate encounter of the English fleet with the Spaniards off La Rochelle (1372), we find ourselves in possession of sufficient parallels to the sort of description that Chaucer undertook to write, and quickly recognize that he depicts the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) as if it had happened in his own age.<sup>2</sup>

His account is as follows :

Octovian, that wood was of this dede,  
 Shoop him an ost on Antony to lede  
 Al-outerly for his destruccioun,  
 With stoute Romaines, cruel as leoun;  
 To ship they wente, and thus I let him saile.  
 Antonius was war, and wol nat faile  
 To meten with thise Romaines, if he may;  
 Took eek his reed, and bothe, upon a day,  
 His wyf and he, and al his ost, forth wente  
 To shippe anoon, no longer they ne stente;  
 And in the see hit happed hem to mete —  
 Up goth the trompe — and for to shoute and shete,  
 And peynen hem to sette on with the sonne.  
 With grisly soun out goth the grete gonne,  
 And heterly they hurtlen al at ones,  
 And fro the top down cometh the grete stones.  
 In goth the grapenel so ful of crokes  
 Among the ropes, and the shering-hokes,  
 In with the polax presseth he and he;  
 Behind the mast beginneth he to flee,

<sup>1</sup> Nicôlas, II, 1. Laurence Minot commemorated these sea-battles in vigorous poems; see Joseph Hall's edition, with notes, Oxford, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> This article was written before I observed that Professor Ker, in his admirable essay on Froissart (*Essays on Medieval Literature*, 1905, p. 231), had incidentally noted a likeness between Chaucer's description and Froissart's account of the battle off La Rochelle; but he did not pursue the matter, and apparently did not consider the more striking resemblances with Froissart's accounts of Sluys and Espagnols-sur-Mer, or the circumstances which may have stimulated Chaucer's particular interest in sea-fights when the *Legend* was composed.

And out agayn, and dryveth him overbord ;  
 He stingeth him upon his speres ord ;  
 He rent the sail with hokes lyke a sythe ;  
 He bringeth the cuppe, and biddeth hem be blythe ;  
 He poureth pesen upon the haches slider ;  
 With pottes ful of lym they goon togider ;  
 And thus the longe day in fight they spende  
 Til, at the laste, as everything hath ende,  
 Antony is shent, and put him to the flighte,  
 And al his folk to-go, that best go mighte.

Here we have a general situation not unlike that when Edward III set out to meet the stout Spaniards in the fight of Espagnols-sur-Mer.

"About this period," says Froissart, "there was much ill will between the King of England and the Spaniards, on account of some infractions and pillages committed at sea by the latter. It happened at this season that the Spaniards, who had been in Flanders with their merchandise, were informed they would not be able to return home without meeting the English fleet. The Spaniards did not pay much attention to this intelligence. However, after they had disposed of their goods, they amply provided their ships from Sluys with arms and artillery, and all such archers, cross-bowmen and soldiers as were willing to receive pay.

"*The King of England hated these Spaniards greatly, and said publicly : 'We have for a long time spared these people ; for which they have done us much harm, without amending their conduct : on the contrary, they grow more arrogant ; for which reason they must be chastised as they repass our coasts.'* His lords readily assented to this proposal, and were eager to engage the Spaniards. The King therefore issued a special summons to all gentlemen who at that time might be in England and left London.

"He went to the coast of Sussex, between Southampton and Dover, which lies opposite to Ponthieu and Dieppe, and kept his court in a monastery, whither the Queen also came. . . . *On finding that he was not too late to meet the Spaniards on their return, the King, with his nobles and knights, embarked on board his fleet ;* and he was never attended by so numerous a company in any of his former expeditions at sea. . . . The King kept the sea with his vessels ready prepared for action, and to wait for the enemy, who was not long before he appeared. He kept cruising for three days between Dover and Calais.

"When the Spaniards had completed their cargoes . . . they embarked on board their fleet at Sluys. They knew they should *meet* the English, but were indifferent about it. . . . If the English had a great desire to *meet* them, it seemed as if the Spaniards were still more eager for it. . . . Intending to engage the English fleet, they advanced with a favourable wind until they came opposite to Calais. The King of England, being at sea, had very



distinctly explained to all his knights the order of battle he would have them follow. . . . The King posted himself in the forepart of his own ship: he was dressed in a black velvet jacket, and wore on his head a small hat of beaver,<sup>1</sup> which became him much. He was that day, *as I was told by those who were present*, as joyous as he ever was in his life, and ordered his minstrels to play before him a German dance<sup>2</sup> which Sir John Chandos had lately introduced. For his amusement, he made the same knight sing with his minstrels, which delighted him greatly. From time to time, he looked up to the castle on his mast, where he had placed a watch to inform him when the Spaniards were in sight. Whilst the King was thus amusing himself with his knights, who were happy in seeing him so gay, the watch, who had observed a fleet, cried out, 'Ho, I spy a ship, and it appears to me to be a Spaniard.' The minstrels were silenced; and he was asked if there were more than one. Soon after he replied, 'Yes: I see two, three, four, and so many that, God help me, I cannot count them.' The King and his knights then knew that they must be the Spaniards. *The trumpets were ordered to sound*, and the ships to form a line of battle for the combat."

We may now take up Chaucer's account line by line and indicate such parallels as are afforded by Froissart's chronicle, and certain other mediæval works.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Up goth the trompe — and for to shoute and shete.*

Sluys: "The battle then began very fiercely; archers and cross-bowmen *shot* with all their might at each other. . . . There were then great *shouts* and cries. . . . There were great noises with *trumpets* and all kinds of other instruments" (I, 209).

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer's Merchant wore "a Flaundrish bever hat."

<sup>2</sup> We read in the "House of Fame," 1233 ff.:

Ther saugh I famous, olde and yonge,  
Pyperis of the Duche tonge.

Among the minstrels at the court of Edward III was one Rynald le pyper. Others were Nicolas de Prague and Jean de Metz. See Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Œuvres de Froissart*, I, ch. vi. The author of *Morte Arthure* (l. 2030) represents "dauncesyng of Duche-mene, and dynnyng of pypez" at a feast of the "Roman" opponents of Arthur.

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted here that the author of the alliterative *Morte Arthure* (ed. Brock, *E. E. T. S.*, 1871) did exactly the same thing as Chaucer, namely, revived a scene of ancient story by the introduction of modern incident and equipment. The sea-battle which he represents Arthur as waging against the Danes when the King set out from Flanders to punish Modred (ll. 3588-3711) is extremely interesting from our present point of view, showing various features in common with Chaucer's narrative. Indeed, as Mr. George Neilson has made clear (*Huchown of the Awle Ryale*, Glasgow, 1902, pp. 60 ff.), the author had the fight of Espagnols-sur-Mer definitely in mind. He even mentions "Spanyolis" as the King's enemies.

When ledys of out-londys leppyne in waters,  
Alle oure lordes one lowde laughene at ones!  
Be thane speris whare spronngene, spaldydd chippys,  
*Spanyolis* spedily sprentyde ouer burdez;  
Alle the kene men of kampe, knyghtes and other,  
Killyd are colde dede, and castyne ouer burdez! (3697 ff.)

La Rochelle : "When the English and the Poitevins saw the Spaniards thus posted . . . they made preparations for an immediate combat, posting their archers on the bows of the ships. They advanced with *shoutings* and with great noise. . . . At this commencement great were the *shouts* and cries on both sides" (IV, 156). "When it was day, and the tide had flowed full, the Spaniards weighed their anchors, and, *with a great noise of trumpets* and drums, formed a line of battle" (IV, 160; cf. 163).

2. *And peynen hem to sette on with the sonne.*

Sluys : "When the King of England and his marshals had properly divided the fleet, they hoisted their sails to have the wind on their quarter, *as the sun shone full in their faces, which they considered might be of disadvantage to them*. The Normans, who saw them tack, could not help wondering why they did so, and said they took good care to turn about, for they were afraid of meddling with them" (I, 209).

This feature of the battle, mentioned by Walsingham and other chroniclers, was long remembered, as will be seen by Holinshed's account (*Anno* 1340) : "*The King of England stayed till the sun, which at first was in his face, came somewhat westward, and so had it upon his back, that it should not hinder the sight of his people, and so therewith did set upon his enemies with great manhood, who likewise very stoutly encountered him, by reason whereof ensued a sore and deadly fight betwixt them.*"

3. *With grisly soun out goth the grete gonne.*

Espagnols : The Spaniards "had marvellously provided themselves with all sorts of warlike ammunition ; such as bolts for cross-bows, *cannons*, and bars of forged iron to throw on the enemy" (II, 254).

La Rochelle : "The Spaniards were well-equipped with men at arms and foot soldiers, who had cross-bows and *cannons* . . . to make their attack with" (IV, 156).

Of the conflict with Sir John de Bucq in 1387, we read : "The gunners made ready their bows and *cannons*. . . . Their *cannons* shot balls of such weight that great mischief was done" (VIII, 158-159).

Nicolas, after discussing the evidence regarding the use of cannons and gunpowder in the fourteenth century, concludes :<sup>1</sup> "It is manifest from these records that cannon formed part of the armament of many ships as early, and probably a few years before, 1338 ; that, about 1372, guns and gunpowder were commonly used ; that some guns were made of iron, some of brass, and others of copper ; that there was a kind of hand-gun as well as large cannon ; and that gunpowder was formed of the same elements, and made in nearly the same manner, as at present."

<sup>1</sup> II, 185; cf. II, 296, note *b*.

Skeat, in a note on Chaucer's line,<sup>1</sup> takes Bell severely to task for thinking the poet's mention of the guns "a ludicrous anachronism." He maintains that "gonne" is here used merely for "missile" hurled from one of the "engines of battery" which Plutarch says Antony used. That view would certainly be tenable if Chaucer were not so obviously modernizing his narrative; but under the circumstances there can be little doubt that he had regular cannons in mind. These were being used in all important sea-fights of his day, and, as Skeat himself remembered, the poet elsewhere used "gonne" for cannon, evincing great interest in the new instruments of war. The sound of the trumpet of Slander went, he says,

As swift as pelet out of gonne,  
Whan fyr is in the poudre ronne.  
And swiche a smoke gan out wende  
Out of his foule trumpes ende,  
Blak, blo, grenish, swartish reed,  
As doth wher that men melte leed,  
Lo, al on high fro the tuel! . . .  
And hit stank as the pit of helle.<sup>2</sup>

4. *And heterly they hurtlen al at ones* — (And fiercely they dash together all at once).

Espagnols: "When the King of England saw from his ship their order of battle, he ordered the person who managed his vessel, saying, 'Lay me alongside the Spaniard who is bearing down on us; for I will have a tilt with him.' The master dared not disobey the King's order, but laid his ship ready for the Spaniard, who was coming full sail. The King's ship was large and stiff; otherwise she would have been sunk, for that of the enemy was a great one, and *the shock of their meeting* was more like the crash of a torrent or tempest. The rebound caused the castle in the King's ship to encounter that of the Spaniard; so that the mast of the latter was broken, and all in the castle fell with it into the sea, when they were drowned. . . . The fight now began in earnest. . . . The battle was not in one place, but in ten or twelve *at a time*. Whenever either party found themselves equal to the enemy, or

<sup>1</sup> *Works of Chaucer*, III, 312. Shakspeare, we may note, pictures Angiers as threatened with cannons in the time of King John.

The cannons have their bowels full of wrath  
And ready mounted are they, to spit forth  
Their iron indignation 'gainst your walls (II, 1, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> *House of Fame*, ll. 1643-1654. In a recipe for gunpowder given in the MSS. of Dr. John Arderne of Newark, who began to practise as a surgeon before 1350, we read: "Cest poudre vault à gettere pelottes de fer, ou de plom, ou d'areyne, oue vn instrument que l'em appelle *gonne*." See H. W. L. Hime, *Gunpowder and Ammunition*, 1904, p. 177. "The accounts of John de Sleaford, clerk of the King's Privy Wardrobe, prove that in 1372-1374 workmen were employed in the Tower in making leaden 'pelottes' for guns" (*ibid.*, p. 203). In *Piers Plowman*, C Text, xxi, 293, we find:

Setteth bowes of brake and *brasene gones*,  
And sheteth out shot enowh hus shultrum to blende.



superior, they instantly grappled, when grand deeds of arms were performed " (II, 256 ff.).

5. *And fro the top down cometh the grete stones.*

Espagnols : The Spaniards were "in hopes, with the assistance of *great stones*," to sink the English boats. "Near *the top* of their masts were small castles [topcastles], full of flints and *stones*" (II, 254). "The English had not any advantage; and the Spanish ships were much larger and higher than their opponents, which gave them a great superiority in shooting and *casting stones* and iron bars on board their enemy, which annoyed them exceedingly" (II, 257).

La Rochelle : "The Spaniards, who were in large vessels, had great bars of iron and *huge stones*, which they launched and flung from their ships in order to sink those of the English." "The *showers of stones* . . . annoyed them exceedingly." "The Spaniards had too much the advantage, as their vessels were larger and higher above the water than those of the English, from which *they flung down stones*, bars of iron and lead, that much annoyed their adversaries" (IV, 156, 158, 160).

6. *In goth the grapnel so ful of crokes  
Among the ropes, and the shering-hokes.*

Sluys : "In order to be more successful, they had large *grapnels*, and *iron hooks with chains*, which they flung from ship to ship, to moor them to each other" (I, 209).

Espagnols : "Another large ship bore down, and *grappled with chains and hooks* to that of the King" (II, 257; cf. 258, 259).

La Rochelle : "When they came to close quarters, the Spaniards flung out *grappling hooks* with chains of iron, lashed the English to their vessels, so that they could not separate, and thus, as it were, held them close" (IV, 160; cf. 161).

Nicolas notes that one of the King's ships was provided in 1338 with a grape-iron with a chain, an iron "myke-hoke," and a "sherehoke" (II, 171, 475).

7. *In with the polax presseth he and he;  
Behind the mast beginneth he to flee,  
And out agayn, and dryveth him overbord. . . .  
He rent the sail with hokes lyke a sythe.*

In the account of Espagnols-sur-Mer, we read of a noteworthy exploit by an individual : "The Spaniards would have carried away with ease this prize [the King's ship] if it had not been for a gallant act of one Hanequin, a servant to the Lord Robert [de Namur], who, *with his drawn sword on his wrist, leaped on board the enemy, ran to the mast, and cut the large cable which held the mainsail*, by which it became unmanageable; and with great agility, he cut other four principal ropes, so that *the sails fell on the deck*, and the

course of the ship was stopped. Lord Robert, seeing this, advanced with his men, and, boarding the Spaniard, sword in hand, *attacked the crew so vigorously that all were slain or thrown overboard*, and the vessel won" (II, 260). "The knights on board the King's ship were in danger of sinking, for the leak still admitted water. This made them more eager to conquer the vessel they were grappled to; and at last they gained the ship, and *flung all they found in it overboard*"<sup>1</sup> (II, 258).

In a great battle between the English and French in 1217, certain English sailors were instructed to take axes and when they could board the enemy's ships, to climb up the masts and cut down the banners. "The English then rushed on board; and cutting away the rigging and haulyards with *axes*, the sails fell over the French, to use the expression of the chronicler [Matthew Paris] 'like a net upon ensnared small birds.' Thus hampered, the enemy could make but a feeble resistance; and, after an immense slaughter, were completely defeated. . . . Though the French fought with great bravery, very few among them were accustomed to naval tactics; and they fell rapidly under the lances, *axes*, and swords of their assailants" (Nicolas, I, 177-181).

8. *He stingeth him upon his speres orde.*

In the account of a sea-engagement off Guernsey, between Lord Robert d'Artois and Lord Lewis of Spain, we find: "*When the barons, knights and squires were able to come to close combat, and could reach each other with their lances*, then the battle raged, and they made good trial of each other's courage. The Countess of Montfort was equal to a man, for *she had the heart of a lion*; and, with a rusty sharp sword in her hand, she combated bravely. The Genoese and Spaniards, who were in those large vessels, threw down upon their enemies great bars of iron, and *annoyed them much with very long lances*" (II, 22 ff.).

La Rochelle: The English and Poitevins "handled their *spears*, which were well steeled, so briskly and gave such terrible strokes, that none dared to come near unless he were well armed and shielded" (IV, 157-158).

9. *He bringeth the cuppe, and biddeth hem be blythe.*

Espagnols: "The King ordered wine to be brought, which he and his knights drank" (II, 256).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Morte Arthure*, ll. 3665 ff. (above, p. 144), and Minot's accounts of Sluys and Espagnols-sur-Mer (ed. Hall, pp. 16, 33-34). For example:

Fone left þai olive bot did þam to lepe.  
To wade war þo wretches casten in þe brim;  
þe kaitefs come out of France at lere þam to swim.

Chaucer says of his Shipman:

Of nyce conscience took he no keep,  
If that he faught, and hadde the hyer hond,  
By water he sente hem hoom to every lond.

It is said in the romance of *Richard Cœur de Lion*<sup>1</sup> that after a naval exploit in the harbor of Acre (1194):

For joye off this dede,  
The cuppes fast abouten yede,  
With good wyn, pyement, and clarré.

10. *He poureth pesen upon the hacches slider.*

Regarding this line, Skeat wrote as follows: "By pouring hard peas upon the hatches, they became so slippery that the boarders could not stand." But there is no likelihood in this explanation. We have no evidence that peas were ever used thus in naval warfare, and the device would surely have been of very doubtful advantage, since it would work harm to both sides. The "pesen" were evidently poured upon *the enemy's* hatches, and Chaucer does not say that this was to *make* the hatches "slider," but only that these *were* "slider." Perhaps we have here a confused reference to what was a striking feature of sea-battles in the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, the use of "Greek (or wild) fire." A passage near the close of Jean de Meun's translation of Vegetius' *De Re Militari*<sup>2</sup> seems to throw light on the situation. Speaking of naval tactics, he says: "Envolepent saietes d'estoupes et de *pois* et de oyle ardant que on apele fu grijois,<sup>3</sup> et les getent ardans par ars et par arbalestes et les fichent es nés de lor anemis et ardent soudainement *les tables des nés ointes de cire et de pois resine* et d'autres norrissemens as feus." Apparently, "pois" here means 'pitch,' which was poured on the decks of the enemy's ships (*ointes de cire* — therefore "slider") to nourish and spread "wild fire." But since "pois" also means 'peas,' confusion might easily have arisen in the mind of one who merely *read* of the practice described. As Chaucer seems to have known Jean de Meun's translations of Boethius and Albertano of Brescia, as well as the *Roman de la Rose*, it would not be strange if he also consulted Jean's *Art de Chevalerie*.

<sup>1</sup> Dating in its English form from the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Ed. Weber, *Metrical Romances*, 1810, II, ll. 2623 ff. The whole of this description should be compared, since it contains many features like Chaucer's — trumpets (2631), stones from the topcastle (2539), axes (2555), spears (2547), leaping overboard (2567), hooked arrows (2577), etc. Of the mariners it is said:

They rowede hard, and sunged ther too:  
"With hevelow and rumbeloo" (2521-2522).

It is interesting to observe that this refrain was in use quite recently by boatmen on the Mississippi; see Thomas Bailey Aldrich, *Story of a Bad Boy*, ch. iii. Cf. Schofield, *Eng. Lit. from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 364, and Marlowe's *Edward II*, Act II, Sc. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Art de Chevalerie*, ed. Ulysse Robert, *S.A.T.F.*, 1897, pp. 173-174; cf. pp. xxxi, 142, 148. The translation was made in 1284, and the verse rendering of it by Priorat between 1286 and 1290.

<sup>3</sup> There is, of course, no mention of Greek fire in Vegetius. The Latin runs: "oleo incendiario, stuppa, sulphure et bitumine obvolutae et ardentes sagittae" . . . "in hosticarum navium alveos." On page 142 of Jean de Meun, we read: "On doit apparailier ciment [bitumen], souffre, *poys clere*, oyle ardant que on appelle feu grijois [oleum, quod incendiarium vocant], pour ardoir les engiens as anemis."



In an interesting account of a sea-fight with the Saracens in 1190,<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey de Vinsauf wrote: "Soon the battle became general; the oars were entangled; they fought hand to hand; they grappled the ships with alternate casts, and set the decks [*tabulata*] on fire with the burning oil commonly called the Greek fire. This fire, with a deadly stench and livid flames, consumes flint and iron; and, unquenchable by water, can only be extinguished by sand or vinegar." In the romance of *Richard Cœur de Lion*, we read:

Kyng Richard, oute of his galye,  
Caste wylde-fyr into the skeye,  
And fyr Gregeys into the see,  
And al on fyr wer the (ll. 2627 ff.).

The line we are discussing should be considered in its connection with that which immediately follows. In writing these two lines Chaucer seems to have recalled famous tactics that were used in English sea-battles of a somewhat earlier period than his own.

11. *With pottes ful of lym they goon to-gider.*

Skeat notes:<sup>2</sup> "Some carried pots full of quicklime, which they threw into the eyes of their enemies. See *Notes and Queries*, 5 S., X, 188. The English did this very thing, when attacking a French fleet, in the time of Henry III. Strutt (*Manners and Customs*, 1774, II, 11) quotes from Matthew Paris to this effect: 'Calcem quoque vivam et in pulverem subtilem reductam, in altum projicientes, vento illam ferente, Francorum oculos excaecaverunt.' Cf. *Aen.* viii, 694."

The battle above mentioned was that in which Eustace the Monk was captured. In the romance concerning him, we read:

Dont commenchièrent à ruer  
Caus bien molue en grans *pos*  
Kil depéchoient a lor bors.  
La pourrière molt grans leva:  
Che fu chou que plus les greva  
Dont ne se porent plus desfendre;  
Car lor oel furent plain de cendre.  
Cil estoient desor le vent  
Ki lor faisoient le torment.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi et aliorum in Terram Hierosolymorum," in Gale, *Hist. Britann., Sax., Anglo-Dan. Scriptores*, II, 274. In 1194, or 1195, the King of England paid for carrying "Greek fire" ("targiis et quarellis et pilettis et igne Græco") from London to Nottingham for the use of an engineer named Urric. (See Nicolas, I, 80 ff.) The "pellets" here spoken of, and Vinsauf's description of the fire (with its "deadly stench and livid flames"), remind one of Chaucer's words in the *House of Fame*. Vinsauf was an author whom Chaucer knew.

<sup>2</sup> *Works of Chaucer*, III, 312 f. See also Nicolas, I, 179.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Michel, p. 82.

Hime writes :<sup>1</sup> " Cameniata tells us that at the storming of Salonika in 904 the Moslems threw 'pitch and torches and quicklime' over the walls. By 'quicklime' he probably meant the earthenware hand grenades, filled with wet quicklime, described by the Emperor Leo, who then sat on the throne (886-911). 'The vapour of the quicklime,' he says, 'when the pots are broken, stifles and chokes the enemy and disturbs the soldiers.' " Chaucer's "pots full of lime" seem to have been more definite instruments of war than has usually been supposed.

12. *And thus the longe day in fight they spende  
Til, at the laste, as everything hath ende,  
Antony is shent, and put him to the flighte,  
And al his folk to-go, that best go mighte.*

Edward III wrote in a letter to his son, the Black Prince, after Espagnols-sur-Mer, that the enemy made a noble defense "all that day and the night after" (Nicolas, II, 502).

Froissart says : "I cannot speak of every particular circumstance of this engagement. *It lasted a considerable time* ; and the Spaniards gave the King of England and his fleet enough to do. However, *at last*, victory declared for the English. The Spaniards lost fourteen ships ; *the others saved themselves by flight*" (II, 269).

From the foregoing study it should appear that Chaucer's sea-battle is of an almost wholly mediæval sort. The methods of naval warfare that he depicts correspond in the main to those actually used by mariners of his own land when he wrote his poem ; and some of the tactics that he mentions had been employed to advantage by English kings on celebrated occasions. It is likely that the poet was influenced by what he had read of sea-battles, and perhaps had Jean de Meun's *Art de Chevalerie* before him, but he probably gained most of his information from oral accounts of recent conflicts<sup>2</sup> and discussions with navy men. He did not undertake to describe any particular event, but simply to paint a vivid struggle between two fleets, which he knew would appeal to his readers the more if it seemed to them lifelike, and answered to their preconception of what such a picture should present. This procedure was fully in accord with Chaucer's practice. I have dwelt elsewhere upon the realism of the description of the tournament in the Knight's Tale.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gunpowder and Ammunition*, p. 40. For the use of "wild fire" down to the siege of Paris in 1870, see pp. 50 ff. It was employed by the Flemish engineer Crab in the defense of Berwick when besieged by Edward II in 1319. Barbour says in the *Bruce* (Bk. xvii) :

And pyk (*pitch*) and ter (*tar*) als haiff they tane,  
And lynt (*flax*) and herdes (*refuse of flax*) and brymstane,  
And dry treyis (*trees or wood*) that wele wald brin (*burn*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Froissart's "as I was told by those who were present" (above, p. 144).

<sup>3</sup> *Chivalry in English Literature* (*Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature*, Vol. II). Cambridge, 1912, pp. 38 ff.

The sea-battle in the "Legend of Cleopatra" is another witness to the contemporaneousness of his work. Indeed, one may even go so far as to suggest that the widespread interest in naval affairs in England while Chaucer was fashioning the *Legend of Good Women* may have led him to include Cleopatra among the "Saints of Cupid," though she had not previously been famed as "trewe in lovinge al hir lyve": it gave him an opportunity to describe one of the decisive sea-battles of the world in a way that must have stirred all his associates. The author of the *Morte Arthure* wrote his poem which reflects historical conditions of the reign of Edward III, in a similar spirit.



# THE RENDERING OF THE HOMERIC HYMNS

CHARLES BURTON GULICK

Since the time when Wolf expounded his theory of the composition of the Homeric poems, scholars have accepted with unusual unanimity his opinion concerning the origin and the purpose of the hymns to various deities which ancient citations and the manuscripts agree in calling "Homeric," or "Homer's," or the "poet's." This opinion<sup>1</sup> is to the effect that all the shorter hymns were composed by rhapsodes for various local celebrations and chanted as preludes to longer passages selected from the epos. Such preludes, it is said, were called *προοίμια* and were rendered at contests between rhapsodes, a custom which Hesiod mentions when he tells how he and Homer sang at Delos, and how at another time he went to Chalcis and won the tripod for a hymn.<sup>2</sup> He, however, calls his work a *ῥυμος*, not a *προοίμιον*. Wolf's definition has proved useful, to say the least of the most fruitful book ever produced in the field of literary criticism; but the practical application of it has led to such diversity of conception, not to say misconception, among scholars who have dealt with the details of the hymns, that it may be worth while to reconsider the evidence, in order to determine more precisely the nature of this *genre* in Greek poetry, and whether its purpose can be regarded as uniform throughout.

An invocation to a divinity was an essential preliminary to every act the Greek undertook, from a public festival to a private drinking bout, and the duty applied with peculiar force to an act so abundantly reflecting popular religious aspirations and theological conceptions as the recital of an epic. Accordingly, we find such an invocation as early as *Odyssey* θ, 499,<sup>3</sup> where Demodocus, urged by Odysseus to sing of the wooden horse at Troy, 'began with the god, and voiced his lay.' And since the lays of the bard have been called *οἶμαι* just before,<sup>4</sup> it seemed to Wolf and others clear that *προοίμιον*

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Wolf, *Prolegomena*, pp. cvi-cvii. Baumeister, *Hymni Homerici*, larger edition, pp. 102 ff. Reisch, *De Musicis Graecorum Certaminibus*, p. 3: constat enim inter homines doctos hymnos illos ad deorum sollemnia celebranda compositos esse ita ut maiores in certaminibus musicis recitarentur, minores carminibus epicis prooemiorum loco praemitterentur.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, frag. 244 Rzach; *Works and Days*, 650.

<sup>3</sup> *ὡς πάθ', ὃ δ' ὀρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἀρχετο, φαῖνε δ' αἰοδῆν*. This eighth book of the *Odyssey* is, as Croiset (*Histoire de la littérature grecque*,<sup>2</sup> I, 89) has pointed out, the *locus classicus* on the origin and method of the epic.

<sup>4</sup> Verse 481; cf. χ, 347, and *οἶμος αἰοδῆς* in *Hymn to Hermes*, 451. The first lines of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, sometimes cited in illustration, stand for something different, namely, a convention due to literary instinct and not to religious practice. The invocation to the Muse (Calliope in 31, 1) occurs in nine of the hymns.

is the natural designation of such an invocation. The earliest occurrence of the word lends support to this view, for Pindar<sup>1</sup> expressly connects a *προοίμιον* to Zeus with a Homeric lay: ὅθεν περ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων τὰ πόλλ' αἰδοὶ ἄρχονται Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου. But the word, like so many other terms in music and literature in all languages, lost its strict etymological application soon after Pindar, as is shown by the tragedians and all the prose writers of the fifth century who employ it. With them it means 'prelude,' without any implication of something to follow. Even Thucydides is not to be excepted. In the well-known passage<sup>2</sup> in which he quotes the hymn to Apollo, he speaks of it, to be sure, as a *προοίμιον*, but in the face of contemporary usage there is no need to infer that he regarded the hymn as an introduction to an epic recital. Alcæus and Empedocles, neither of whom was a rhapsodist, wrote a *προοίμιον* εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα;<sup>3</sup> and the case of Socrates, occupying his hours in prison with an address to the same god,<sup>4</sup> likewise called a *προοίμιον*, illustrates the same free use of the word. The scholiast on the Thucydidean passage understood it in this broader way. On ἐκ προοιμίου he remarks: ἐξ ὕμνου· τοὺς γὰρ ὕμνους προοίμια ἐκάλουν. In fact, in the fifth and fourth centuries the term was equated with ὕμνος generally, whether the rhapsodic, that is hexameter, hymn is meant, or the lyric. Plato,<sup>5</sup> accordingly, speaks of πάσης μούσης προοίμια, 'proems (or introductions) to every kind of lyric poetry,' in connection with the lyre, and the proper commentary on this is a remark of a late rhetorician<sup>6</sup>: προοίμια ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ τῶν κιθαρωδῶν. The *προοίμιον*, properly so called, was sung with a harp accompaniment, and its singers (αἰδοί) are coupled with harpists (κιθαρισταί) in the hymn to the Muses and Apollo.<sup>7</sup> One might be tempted to think, with Welcker<sup>8</sup> and Gruppe,<sup>9</sup> that *προοίμιον* was the peculiar designation of an Apollinic hymn, were it not for Pindar's Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου just cited.

There are other facts which lead to the conclusion that *προοίμιον* was not the inevitable or stereotyped name for a hymn to Apollo or any other god. The oldest hymn-writer of all, according to Pausanias,<sup>10</sup> was the Lycian Olen, who wrote for the divinities worshipped in Delos, and bore in fact the title of "prophet of Apollo." Yet Herodotus<sup>11</sup> calls his song a ὕμνος. It was undoubtedly in hexameters, which he is said to have invented.<sup>12</sup> More important is the disappearance of the word *προοίμιον* as a description of Homeric

<sup>1</sup> *Nemean Odes*, 2, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides, 3, 104.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, 10, 8, 10. Diogenes Laertius, 8, 57.

<sup>4</sup> Plato, *Phaedo*, 60 D. <sup>5</sup> *Laws*, 722.

<sup>6</sup> *Rhetores anon.*, Spengel, I, 427, 6, cited by Christ, *Geschichte d. griech. Literatur*,<sup>4</sup> p. 74.

<sup>7</sup> Hymn 25, 3. The "lyrical" hymn—the English word shows how unsafe a guide is etymology pressed too far—was frequently performed to a flute accompaniment, in which case the term *προαύλιον* (Plato, *Cratylus*, 417 E) might be applied to it. — Cf. also on the hymn Proclus, *Chrestom.*, 244: ὁ κυρίως ὕμνος πρὸς κιθάραν ᾗδετο ἐστῶτων, i.e., the performers did not dance, but stood still.

<sup>8</sup> *Der epische Cyclus*, I, 328.

<sup>9</sup> *Griechische Culte und Mythen*, p. 523.

<sup>10</sup> 9, 27, 2.

<sup>11</sup> 4, 35.

<sup>12</sup> Pausanias, 10, 5, 8.

hymns in all the quotations of them after the age of Thucydides, with the single exception of the rhetor Aristides,<sup>1</sup> who is evidently quoting Thucydides. There are not many of these,<sup>2</sup> but they are sufficiently numerous and authoritative to show that ὕμνος was the normal term, as in all the manuscripts. They often reflect good Alexandrian opinion, as in the learned note on the Ὀμηρίδαι and the ῥαψωδοί in the scholia to Pindar.<sup>3</sup> Further the word ὕμνος has the advantage of being general in its scope, since the extant hymns vary so greatly in length, and sometimes in matter, as to betray a difference of purpose, and we are not committed to the belief that all were intended to precede an epic recitation. Pindar, then, is the sole authority for προοίμιον meaning such a prelude. He uses the word again<sup>4</sup> in addressing his golden lyre: πείθονται δ' αἰδοὶ σάμασιν, ἀγησιχόρων ὅπότεν προοιμίων ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς ἐλελιζόμενα, 'the bards are ready to obey the cue whenever thy quivering note makes prelude for the choruses.' Here ἀμβολὰς προοιμίων, 'the striking up of the preludes,' is a periphrasis for προοίμια meaning the opening strains and words of a hymn, and used just as one might employ the term for the beginning of a Terpandrian nome<sup>5</sup> — obviously a different thing from what concerns us here.

It is necessary to insist on the virtual uniqueness of Pindar's testimony in the passage first quoted, in order that we may approach the question of how the hymns were rendered without prejudice derived from the word προοίμιον, at least in its etymological sense. On the other hand, to seek to avoid the difficulty by following Gruppe's suggestion<sup>6</sup> that Thucydides has reference to some other hymn to Apollo than that handed down to us would be fantastic. For although Thucydides's quotations — there are really two of them — depart in several grave particulars from the text of the manuscripts, they are, in fact, close enough to that text to establish identity. The discrepancies prove merely that the poems had not yet been canonized in form by the written authority of a vulgate, as had fortunately happened to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* a century before under Pisistratus. They were still the oral property of the rhapsodists, not of a large public, and consequently were in a more or less fluid state. This point we may now consider more fully.

<sup>1</sup> *Orat.*, L, Dindorf, II, 558.

<sup>2</sup> The list is conveniently given in Allen and Sikes's edition (1904), pp. xlv–liii. To it should be added the important citations from the long hymn to Demeter in the papyrus from Abusir el mälāq, published in 1907 in *Berliner Klassikertexte*, I, 7–18. Cf. below, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Pind. *Nem.*, 2, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Pyth.*, 1, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Such seems to be the intention of the passage in Plutarch, *De Musica*, 6: τὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς βούλονται ἀφοσιωσάμενοι ('discharging their duty') ἐξέβαινον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ὀμήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποίησιν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν Τερπάνδρου προοιμίων. This was cited by Wolf to illustrate the practice of the rhapsodes, but Allen and Sikes (p. lxii) rightly object that Plutarch is talking about nomes, not rhapsodes. The seven parts of the Terpandrian nome were headed by an ἀρχά, apparently identified by Plutarch with προοίμιον.

<sup>6</sup> *Griech. Culte u. Mythen*, p. 538.



The question, When were the hymns reduced to writing? cannot, of course, be answered with precision. The complete silence of the Homeric scholia, which never cite the hymns, is interpreted by Gruppe to mean that they did not exist in written form in Alexandrian times. The more probable explanation is that the Alexandrian critics, especially Aristarchus, did not regard them as Homeric.<sup>1</sup> According to Aristarchus Homer was an Athenian, whereas the hymns betray divers local origins and could not have been cited into court in illustration of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Moreover the scholiast to Pindar,<sup>2</sup> whose note almost certainly goes back ultimately to an Alexandrian source, accepts a tradition which he had discovered to the effect that the hymn to Apollo was composed by a rhapsodist, Cynæthus of Chios, the first to recite Homer in Syracuse.<sup>3</sup> This tradition of special authorship could hardly be based on anything else than a written book containing the hymn, which does not mean, of course, that many copies of the book existed. We have, besides, fairly early testimony that the hymn to Apollo was inscribed on an *album* (λένκωμα) and kept in the temple of Artemis at Delos.<sup>4</sup> Desultory and transitory as the materials for preservation undoubtedly were, they nevertheless existed. The papyrus mentioned above (p. 155, n. 2), which dates from the second or first century B.C., proves the existence of a written book. It is a popular, not a scholarly work, even ascribing to Orpheus the hymn to Demeter; but the correspondence of its tradition with that of Pausanias at one point<sup>5</sup> indicates with some clearness the use of a written text.<sup>6</sup> While, therefore, the oral transmission of the hymns remained in vogue much later than that of the epos, we may confidently assume that copies of them existed by 300 B.C.

Nevertheless, the poor state of the text is notorious, and is a proof, as was asserted above (p. 155), that the hymns were committed to writing late and hastily. The one existing papyrus which cites the few lines from the hymn to Demeter stands out in singular contrast to the great number of papyri of the *Iliad*, and the fairly large number of the *Odyssey*. The hymns were little read for seven hundred years at least; but they may have been heard occasionally down to the time when the last notes of the rhapsodic ἀοιδὴ ceased. This happened presumably at the end of the fourth century of our era, when

<sup>1</sup> So Wolf, *Prolegomena*, p. cclxvi.

<sup>2</sup> On *Nem.*, 2, 1.

<sup>3</sup> The last statement, to which is added a wrong date, is given on the authority of Hippostratus, who flourished before Hadrian, and whose source must have been Didymus. Cf. Christ, *Geschichte d. griech. Literatur*<sup>4</sup>, p. 707. An interesting explanation of the way in which such authorship became obscured is given by T. W. Allen in *The Classical Quarterly*, VII, p. 42 (January 1913).

<sup>4</sup> *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, 310, a work which is apparently based on a book by the rhetor Alcidas, a pupil of Gorgias.

<sup>5</sup> In the citation of the *Hymn to Demeter*, vss. 418–423, where it agrees with Pausanias in omitting vs. 419.

<sup>6</sup> In the generation following Aristarchus we have his pupil Apollodorus apparently citing from a hymn the word *φεισβιος* (Geneva Scholia on *Φ* 319, quoted in Allen and Sikes, p. 1).

the edict of Theodosius put a stop to the great pagan gatherings in centres like Olympia, Eleusis, and Athens. In Byzantine times interest in them revived, extending over wide areas of the Eastern Empire, if we may judge from the respectable number of manuscripts and the double, if not triple, tradition which they represent. It is in this age, perhaps as late as the ninth century, that the editing of them was prosecuted with results now to be noted.

The text has been handed down in two ways. Either it is contained in a Homeric corpus, bound up with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and the minor "Homeric" poems, or, in the great majority of cases, it forms part of a small collection of hymns, including those of "Orpheus," Proculus, Callimachus, and a few others. Either method of transmission implies a relatively late date for the compilation. The collection into a book of hymns may possibly be the older way, since it accords better with the Alexandrian view of non-Homeric authorship, supposing that that view might have had influence still; and it is in accord with the old practice of listing and editing works according to classifications based on subject matter. But it is in precisely such a work that most "editing" is required, with attention paid to titles, to transitional lines, and in a less degree to the text, which in this case did not enjoy the benefit of any scholiastic material for its correction or elucidation. The glosses are few in number and banal in quality.<sup>1</sup>

Editorial activity, at times eager, at times again lapsing in interest, may be discerned in the titles. The Leyden codex (M), with a half-hearted industry, prefixes τοῦ αὐτοῦ, 'by the same author,' to the titles of eight hymns, dropping it from the remaining ten.<sup>2</sup> The other manuscripts, much more closely related to one another than to M, exhibit the same diversity and arbitrariness, sometimes prefixing ὁμήρου ὕμνοι, more often neglecting it; sometimes using the article before the name of the divinity, or again discarding it. In one case a supplement is certainly due to a Byzantine editor. It occurs in the title to Hymn 15, εἰς Ἡρακλέα, to which the Leyden and Ambrosian manuscripts (M and D) and the editio princeps, based on a codex now lost, add Λεοντόθυμον. This is a Byzantine word, a substitute for the classical θυμολέοντα.

As to the text, it is impossible here to consider all the passages which have been revised or altered in later times. Two instances will suffice. Of the harp improvised by Hermes we read,<sup>3</sup>

ἐπτά δὲ συμφώνους δίῳ ἐτανύσσατο χορδὰς.

<sup>1</sup> I hesitate to take issue with such an expert palaeographer as Mr. T. W. Allen, who (in his note to the *Hymn to Apollo*, 162) says that βαμβαλιαστὴν can hardly be a graphical error for κρεμβαλιαστὴν. But in the latter word in K (Laur. 31, 32) I found the β written in the *u* form, and opposite the word stands β in the margin, obviously due to a scribe who knew that β, and not κ, was to be read. Might not the *u* form of κ explain the error? John of Scutari unintelligently copies it into Riccardianus 52 (R<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> It concludes abruptly at Hymn 18, 4, its archetype having been truncated at that point.

<sup>3</sup> *Hymn to Hermes*, 51.

But the rhapsodes were in the habit of chanting the verse,

ἐπὰ δὲ θηλυτέρων οἴων ἐτανύσσατο χορδὰς,

because, as Antigonus of Carystus<sup>1</sup> explains, the guts of ewes were deemed better than those of rams for making harpstrings. Long after the rhapsodes, the more intelligible word *συμφώνους* was substituted.<sup>2</sup>

Again, in the hymn to Heracles,<sup>3</sup> which is of excellent workmanship, and not at all Byzantine, as has been thought on account of its Byzantine title, we have three lines in two incompatible versions. The Lejdensis gives them thus :

ὅς ῥα ἦμὲν κατὰ γαῖαν ἀθέσφατον ἦδὲ θάλασσαν  
πλαζόμενος πημῆ<sup>α</sup>ίνετ' ἀεθλεύων <δὲ> κραταιῶς  
πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔρεξεν ἀτάσθαλα, ἔξοχα ἔργα.

The other manuscripts have :

ὅς πρὶν μὲν κατὰ γαῖαν ἀθέσφατον ἦδὲ θάλασσαν  
πλαζόμενος πομπῇσιν ὕπ' Εὐρυσθέως ἄνακτος  
πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔρεξεν ἀτάσθαλα, πολλὰ δ' ἀνέτλη.

We can explain the difficulty here by assuming that some sciolist wished to point an antithesis between *πολλὰ μὲν ἔρεξεν* and an imagined *πολλὰ δ' ἀνέτλη*, and since corruption lurked in the preceding verse, he recast that entirely. In view of the shortness of the poem, which elsewhere observes digamma, we cannot lay stress on the fact that *ϝ* is disregarded in *Εὐρυσθέως ἄνακτος*, which is taken from *Iliad* O 639. But that we here have a late alteration designed to make the text easier nobody can doubt.

With the presumption thus established of late, and probably Byzantine, alterations in titles and text, we may be permitted a certain degree of scepticism regarding the last lines of the hymns and the propriety of citing them in all cases to prove what followed them. The diversity of phrasing in the last lines is sometimes accounted for by the individual purpose of the hymn, to be considered presently ; but in several cases we have to note the same indolence or ignorance or pernicious activity that characterizes the treatment of the titles.

1. Omissions.—Hymn 14, to the Mother of the Gods, closes with the line :

καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, θεαὶ θ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀοιδῇ.

But *μὲν* has no antithesis, and the proper supplement must be sought in Hymn 9, to Artemis :

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σε πρῶτα καὶ ἐκ σέθεν ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν,  
σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον.

Similarly Hymn 16, to Asklepios, ends with

καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε ἄναξ· λίτομαι δέ σ' ἀοιδῇ.

<sup>1</sup> Ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή, 7. He was born about 295 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Allen and Sikes (p. xlv) point out that this is the earliest occurrence of the word *συμφώνους*.

<sup>3</sup> 15, 4-6.



The proper balance, however, is not between  $\sigma\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  and  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ . On the contrary,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  is parenthetical, a kind of weak  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ . This is the only short hymn quoted by any authority which may be regarded as remotely Alexandrian,<sup>1</sup> and the importance of Asklepios after the fifth century B.C. — we recall that Ion the rhapsodist made Asklepios his theme<sup>2</sup> — establishes a strong probability that we have here only a fragment, the original hymn having been much longer.<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, impossible to restore the ending with certainty; but the true antithesis to  $\sigma\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  appears in the finale to the hymn to Pan:

$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\ \chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\acute{\xi},\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \sigma'\ \acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\eta\cdot$   
 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma\ \mu\eta\gamma\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omicron\mu'\ \acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\eta\varsigma.$

This is borne out by Hymn 28, to Athena; also by the hymns to Aphrodite, to Hestia, and to Gê (nos. 10, 29, and 30), where  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  does not occur in the first member. In Hymn 10 we have the parenthetical  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  despite the absence of  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ . The same unintelligent curtailment is found in Hymn 21, to Apollo. In this, as also in the hymn to Pan, the word  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ , not  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , is the proper ritual term,<sup>4</sup> and by  $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\eta$  is meant the prayer just uttered, not an epic lay to follow. Hymn and prayer, of course, are often synonymous.<sup>5</sup> Another example of omission occurs in the first hymn to the Dioscuri (no. 17). The full form of the close is seen in the second hymn to them (no. 33).

2. Unwarranted additions. — If the editors have been guilty of omissions, they are also answerable for certain lines which are out of place. We catch them, as Socrates would say,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\phi\acute{\omega}\rho\phi$ , in the short hymn to Hermes (no. 18, 10–12):

$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\ \chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon,\ \Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{Μαῖαδος νιέ}.$   
 $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\ \delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\omicron\upsilon\omicron.$   
 $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\ \text{Ερμῇ χαριδῶτα, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἑάων.}$

The first two of these verses belong in the last place; nowhere else do they occupy the position in which we find them here. We have, in fact, two endings, the first suggested, like so many other verses in this cento, by the longer hymn to the same god.

There is good ground for Gruppe's suspicion that the transitional formulæ in all the long hymns are later additions. Complete certainty in such questions is, of course, unattainable in the present state of the evidence, and Gruppe

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, 3, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Ion*, 530 A. The single cantor was often replaced by choruses, and so we find a college of *παιανιστά* singing at festivals of the Munichian Asklepios about 210 A.D.; see Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 738.

<sup>3</sup> This was Groddeck's view, *De Hymnorum Homericorum Reliquiis*, 1786, p. 49, and it has not been disproved since.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Roemer in *Bayr. Gym.*, XLVII, 161.

<sup>5</sup> Hymn 21 is a direct apostrophe to the god. Other instances occur in Hymns 1, 3, 8, 10, 21, 24, 29, 30. What Gemoll (p. 334) means by saying that apostrophe is confined to 1, 24, 29, and 30 I know not.

adduces merely general considerations. But the procedure of the editor at the close of the long hymn to Demeter comes pretty near to a specific justification of the suspicion. Here we read, in a final address to Demeter and Persephone :

πρόφρονες ἀντ' ὧδῃς βίοτον θυμήρε' ὅπαζε,  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

Nowhere else do we find this last formula without a *χαίρε* or *χαίρετε* immediately preceding ; but what is more important, the singular *ὅπαζε*, here a solecism, has been copied from the much later hymn to *Gê*, where it is entirely proper :

χαίρε θεῶν μήτηρ, ἄλοχ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,  
πρόφρων δ' ἀντ' ὧδῃς βίοτον θυμήρε' ὅπαζε·  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

In view, then, of the difficulties which arise if, with Wolf and the others, we regard the long hymns to Demeter, Apollo, and Hermes as preludes to a Homeric rhapsody, any one of which would normally be shorter than any one of the hymns in question, it seems right to assume that the formulæ of transition have been added by some one who, in putting together in a book of hymns these along with the minor hymns, thought it proper to add the formula as a connecting link from one poem to another. In other words, it is a bookish device, and not truly rhapsodic, though copied from the rhapsodes' practice as disclosed in the minor hymns ; and even for these we may in some cases dismiss the notion of a *προοίμιον*.<sup>1</sup> Only for the hymn to Aphrodite, the shortest of the longer hymns, we may perhaps claim an exception. In this we have an old formula, detected in the verb *μεταβήσομαι* :

χαίρε θεὰ Κύπριου ἐνκτιμένης μεδέουσα,  
σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον.

Odysseus<sup>2</sup> with the same verb invites Demodocus to change his theme :

ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι καὶ ἵππον κόσμον ἄεισον.

In the earlier period, when rhapsodic performances constituted the sole feature of a *πανήγυρις*, a rhapsodist had more time for a long introduction to his selections from Homer and the other epic poets. When, however, other contests, musical and athletic, were introduced, the time allowed for rhapsodic competition was necessarily cut down, though its place remained at the beginning of the festival.<sup>3</sup> This explains the genesis of a shorter hymn, such as no. 6, from the longer, no. 5, both to Aphrodite. And it is this shorter hymn which contains explicit reference to the festival or the contest. Similarly the

<sup>1</sup> Allen and Sikes, p. lxii.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, θ, 492.

<sup>3</sup> This is proved by inscriptions : from Oropos, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ., III, 128, 5 ; from Orchomenos, IG., VII, 3195 ff. ; from Delphi, 270 B.C., Dittenberger<sup>2</sup>, 691.

short hymn to Demeter, no. 13, has supplanted the longer, no. 2. It is the prelude to an entire festival, and as such closes with the appropriate words:

χαῖρε θεὰ καὶ τήνδε σάου πόλιν, ἄρχε δ' αἰοδῆς.

The view of Jevons,<sup>1</sup> that the lesser hymns were intended to invoke the god in whose honor the rhapsode was going to select a passage from Homer where that deity was mentioned, has been sufficiently refuted by others<sup>2</sup> on *a priori* grounds. It is further contradicted by the fact that several of the hymns close with a mention of deities other than the one who appears in the title. A good example may be seen in Hymn 14, to the Mother of the Gods, quoted above (p. 158), in which all the goddesses are included in the call at the close. This is in accord with the *δαισινδαιμονία* of the Athenians noticed by Paul on his visit to their city,<sup>3</sup> and with the following votive inscription found on the west slope of the Areopagus:<sup>4</sup>

Εἰσίας Διοδώρου  
ἐκ Λαμπτρέων  
Μητρὶ θεῶν  
κατ' ἐπιταγήν. πάντα  
θεὸν σεμνύομεν.

Compare with this Plato, *Symposium*, 180 E: ἐπαινεῖν μὲν οὖν δεῖ πάντας θεούς. In the same spirit we find the hymn to Dionysus (no. 7) ending thus:

χαῖρε τέκος Σεμέλης εὐώπιδος· οὐδέ πη ἔστι  
σεῖό γε ληθόμενον γλυκερὴν κοσμηῆσαι αἰοιδήν.

We see how little we can trust the finale for a perfect indication of the nature of the proceedings that are to follow it. Certainly we can deduce no inference concerning the subject of the epic narrative which may have ensued, and as for the gods who appear in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in their extant form, it would be hard to find a rhapsody in honor of Dionysus, although we have three hymns addressed to him, and impossible to find any about Pan, who is unknown to Homer but is the subject of one hymn. On the other hand, Ares, who was somewhat of a favorite as a subject for the humor of the bards, — witness the exploits of Diomed and the lay of Ares and Aphrodite by Demodocus, — appears, to be sure, in one hymn (no. 8), but in a hymn which is unlike all the rest in its Orphic coloring, and which entirely lacks a transitional formula. We can, in fact, account for its intrusion in Homeric company only by supposing that an overzealous editor has made a hymn book at all costs. The only other hymns beside those considered above which contain a direct reference to rhapsodic contests are nos. 31 and 32, to Helios

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VII, 291.

<sup>2</sup> Allen and Sikes, p. lxiii, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts*, xvii, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Dittenberger<sup>2</sup>, 786.



and to Selene, which seem to show Alexandrian workmanship, corresponding with the relative lateness of their cults on Greek soil.<sup>1</sup>

Another class remains, embracing hymns which were invocations to a festival or a religious ceremony wherein the rhapsodic *ἀγών* plays no part. These are more distinctly prayers to be chanted by the singer — or the herald<sup>2</sup> — and may be recognized by such a formula as *χαῖρε θεά, δὸς δ' ἄμμι τύχην εὐδαιμονίην τε* in the hymn to Athena (no. 11). This might have been written for any one of the multifarious occasions on which the people of Athens approached their tutelary divinity. Compare also the hymns to Hephæstus (no. 20), to Hera (no. 12), and to Heracles (no. 15).<sup>3</sup> To Hestia there is a hymn of particular interest (no. 24), written for the dedication of a house or temple. In it occurs the mention of Apollo and Zeus, who, as Apollo Agyieus and Zeus Herkeios, were guardians of the entrance and the enclosure. The occasion of the poem may well have been the *Θεοξένια* at Delphi.<sup>4</sup>

The shortness of the hymn to Zeus, which besides lacks any indication of its specific purpose, may be explained by the perfunctoriness with which he figured in invocations, to judge from Pindar's dictum above quoted (p. 154). Even at his own festivals Zeus sometimes took second place; for the divine honors paid to Philopoemen<sup>5</sup> in the course of the festival of Zeus were lavish, impressing deeply the writers who mention them, and they show that the mortal, not the god, was nearer the hearts of the people. The short hymn to Dionysus (no. 26) is a vintage song and prayer, repeated as the season for gathering grapes came round;<sup>6</sup> and that to Poseidon (no. 22) is precisely such as Arion might have sung when he prepared to go overboard:

*χαῖρε Ποσείδαον γαίηοιχε κυανοχαῖτα,  
καὶ μάκαρ εὐμένεσ ἦτορ ἔχων πλώουσιν ἄρηγε.*

<sup>1</sup> They conclude thus:

31, 17-19 *χαῖρε ἄναξ, πρόφρων δὲ βίον θυμήρ' ὕπαζε·  
ἐκ σέο δ' ἀρξάμενος κλήσω μερόπων γένος ἀνδρῶν  
ἡμιθέων ὧν ἔργα θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν ἔδειξαν.*

32, 17-20 *χαῖρε ἄνασσα θεά, λευκώλενε διὰ Σελήνῃ,  
πρόφρων ἐνπλόκαμος· σέο δ' ἀρχόμενος κλέα φωτῶν  
ἄσομαι ἡμιθέων ὧν κλείουσ' ἔργματ' αἰοδοὶ  
Μουσῶν θεράποντες ἀπὸ στομάτων ἐρόεντων.*

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides, 6, 32.

<sup>3</sup> The verb *ἐρρύσατο* in 11, 4, said of Athena, may have reference to a special event. Cf. also Dittenberger<sup>2</sup>, 721, 11: *τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὕμνησεν*. Heracles was worshipped in many places, but in illustration of the motive of his hymn may be cited the festival of Heracles at Chios, Dittenberger<sup>2</sup>, 524, in which there were contests of rhapsodes, musicians, and athletes.

<sup>4</sup> See the interesting inscription which mentions this festival, Dittenberger<sup>2</sup>, 662.

<sup>5</sup> Diodorus, 29, 18, Dittenberger<sup>2</sup>, 289.

<sup>6</sup> It ends with the excellent lines:

*καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, πολυστάφυλ' ὦ Διόνυσε·  
δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας ἐς ὥρας αὐτὶς ἰκέσθαι,  
ἐκ δ' αὖθ' ὥρων εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐνιαυτούς.*

Plutarch, describing Arion's adventure,<sup>1</sup> says that he dressed himself in his best clothes and, telling the sailors who threatened him that he wanted to sing the Pythian nome for the safety of himself, the ship, and the sailors, stood at the rail by the stern and, after calling upon one of the sea gods, sang the hymn.

That the hymns have been so badly transmitted is due perhaps to another cause. They were soon supplanted by the lyric hymns, composed for special occasions in a great variety of meters and in intricate language, and with this came the substitution of the choir for the rhapsodist. These circumstances, again, contributed to the undoing of the lyric hymns in turn, so that we have less of them than of the epic type, because the elaborate music joined to words of an ephemeral character was seldom recorded for wide distribution.<sup>2</sup> The lyric hymn is mentioned as early as the epic hymn to Apollo. It was sung by Delian girls in honor of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, and introduced another hymn about the men and women of old, exactly after the manner of the rhapsodists. In it the performers imitated the 'speech of all mankind':<sup>3</sup>

πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιαστὴν  
μιμῆισθ' ἴσασιν· φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος  
φθέγγεσθ', οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν αἰοδή.

The accompaniment of the castanets suggests a likeness to the later hyporcheme, a lively dance in Apollo's honor, which Sophocles introduces with striking effect before the climax of the *Œdipus* and the *Antigone*. But most interesting here is the mention of the mimicry of the singers, by which they reproduced the various dialects of the visitors at the shrine.<sup>4</sup> Parallels to this have been suggested, such as the gift of tongues, and the international confessionals at St. Peter's. A closer analogy on Greek soil may be found in Athens to-day, where at Easter it is the practice for a priest of the Metropolitan Church, understanding not a word of what he is reading, to "preach the gospel to every creature" by reciting it in French, English, German, Italian, and other tongues, from a text transcribed in Greek letters.

From the seventh century B.C. the melic hymn grew in importance. The dithyramb to Dionysus, the paean and hyporcheme to Apollo, and the host of other types do not concern us here. Choirs of girls sing to Artemis in Magnesia;<sup>5</sup> the *mystae Bacchi*, who called themselves *βουκόλοι*, rendered hymns to Dionysus at Pergamum; and we have *ὑμνοδοί* generally in Asia Minor and Thrace. And yet, though we hear less and less of the rhapsodist,

<sup>1</sup> *Septem Sapientum Convivium*, 161 D.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the hymn to the Delphian Apollo, first published in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XVII, 569 ff.; also the chorus of women singing at the Apollonia, *ibid.*, XIV, 501 f.

<sup>3</sup> Hymn 3, 162 ff.

<sup>4</sup> That this was not always looked upon by the visitors as satisfactory is shown from the case of the Messenians, who sent their own singers along with their delegates; see Pausanias, 4, 4, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Dittenberger<sup>2</sup>, 552, second century B.C. Ziebarth, *Das griech. Vereinswesen*, pp. 90 ff. Cf. also the Peiraean *παιανισταί*, above, p. 159, n. 2.

or reciter of hexameters, the single cantor, *ὑμνητής*, occasionally appears instead of a chorus.<sup>1</sup>

We may, then, state the results of this review of the material in the following terms. Disregarding the hymn to Ares, which shows Orphic influence, three types of hymn are clearly recognizable in the collection. First, hymns which are themselves an epic recital, but which have gods, not heroes, for their theme — precisely the gods, moreover, who appealed the most to popular imagination and lent themselves most readily to epic treatment. Apollo belongs to the class of youthful heroes and dragon slayers whose name is legion. Demeter's hymn is the story of a hero — or heroine — of civilization, the 'Comer,' *ἐπίασσα*, who brings culture from distant lands; but, like such the world over, notably Prometheus, her story touches on the mystery of human sorrow. Hermes is the imp and sprite whose cleverness made him the patron saint of all who follow the inventive arts. The humor, depending as it does on the ingenuity of the hero and his skill in overreaching, is characteristically Greek, and akin to the spirit of Book 10 of the *Iliad*. Aphrodite is the fairy who marries a mortal. None of the other Olympians afford such popular motives. From all these hymns, excepting perhaps the last mentioned, the formula of transition is to be discarded as an unmeaning Byzantine device.

The second type consists of those minor hymns — seventeen in all — which are designed as preludes to an epic recital. For these alone the designation *προίμια* may be admitted. The third class includes seven which were composed for temple worship. In three others, as for example the fragmentary hymn to Dionysus, the last lines are lost, and their purpose remains indeterminate. Many of them are of excellent technique, and faithful to their epic heritage in verse and diction, so that the name "Homeric" given to them is easy to understand and to accept. But most lack any high imaginative qualities, and are sorrowful witnesses to the decay of the rhapsode's art and of the gradual decline from the high level of the *Ὀμηρίδαι* to the bathos of the *Ὀμηρισταί*.

<sup>1</sup> Dittenberger<sup>2</sup>, 739, an inscription dated 200–211 A.D., found in the Peiraeus. He sings a hymn to Euporia Belega, a foreign goddess whose origin and worship are obscure. In her train were Oraia (or *Ὀρεία*, the Magna Mater; cf. Hymn 14, which may be as old as Hesiod), Aphrodite, and the Dea Syria.



## BURNS IN ENGLISH

WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

"By his English poetry Burns in general belongs to the eighteenth century, and has little importance for us. . . . He tells us himself: 'These English songs gravel me to death. I have not the command of the language that I have of my native tongue. In fact, I think that my ideas are more barren in English than in Scotch. I have been at *Duncan Gray* to dress it in English, but all I can do is desperately stupid.' We English turn naturally, in Burns, to the poems in our own language, because we can read them easily; but in those poems we have not the real Burns. The real Burns is of course in his Scotch poems."

Thus Matthew Arnold, whose feeling for "the real Burns" left something to be desired. But in the opinion expressed in the foregoing sentences he does not stand alone. "There can be no question," says Henley, "that when Burns wrote English he wrote what, on his own confession, was practically a foreign tongue—a tongue in which he, no more than Fergusson or Ramsay, could express himself to any sufficing purpose. . . . To compare these two [*Corn Rigs* and *Green grow the Rashes*] and any two of Burns's songs in English, or pseudo-English, is to realise that the poet of these two should never have ventured outside the pale of his supremacy." And Burns's countryman, Dr. Service, speaks of "that English tongue of which he never attained any mastery in verse."

It is hardly worth while to cite further evidence of a critical opinion which has achieved almost the dignity of a dogma. The purpose of the present note is to show, first, that the case against Burns's poetical capacity in English has been greatly overstated; and, secondly, that the explanation of what truth there is in the belief that his English poems are inferior is to be found in a cause quite distinct from that usually assigned. In the face of Burns's own plea of guilty this might seem a hopeless attempt; but Burns is the last poet who should be allowed to give evidence against himself.

First, then, Burns showed, not once, but again and again, that he was capable of more than adequate poetical expression in English; and this can be proved by the judgment of critics, of other poets, and of the general public. *The Jolly Beggars*, "that splendid and puissant production," in Arnold's own phrase, consists of eight hilarious songs set in a broad dialect "recitativo." More than half of the songs are in English, almost, if not quite, pure; and

these contribute as much as the others to the poetic vitality of the piece. *McPherson's Farewell*, the favorite of Carlyle, has not three words of dialect, outside of the borrowed chorus. The lines so highly praised by Byron, and considered by Arnold to "have in them a depth of poetic quality such as resides in no verse of Byron's own,"

Had we never lov'd sae kindly,  
Had we never lov'd sae blindly,  
Never met — or never parted —  
We had ne'er been broken-hearted,

can hardly be regarded as owing their quality to the sole use of *sae* for *so*; and even this proportion of Scots is scarcely maintained through the poem. The lines from *A Bard's Epitaph* which Wordsworth called "a confession at once devout, poetical, and human," are entirely English. *Scots wha hae* owes much of its popularity outside of Scotland to the fact that it is all English except the first two lines (and in them the dialect is false). The poem *To Mary in Heaven* has no dialect, and the equally familiar *Highland Mary* only the merest shading of it. The same is true of the delicate and musical *Sweet Afton*, of *A Red, Red Rose*, a highly characteristic love song, of *My Heart's in the Highlands*, of *The Gloomy Night is gathering fast*, with its passionate melancholy. Even poems which we are apt to think of as pure Scots, *Of a' the Airts*, for example, and *The Silver Tassie*, will be found on examination to contain very little dialect, and to depend on it for their effect not at all. I do not deny that the great majority of Burns's successful poems are in his native tongue. I merely insist that he did write some of his best poetry in that southern speech which he is supposed to have been unable to master. The works I have cited seem to be sufficient proof of this, as they are at the same time sufficient to dispose of the remark that "by his English poetry Burns in general belongs to the eighteenth century," unless a disproportionate amount of saving grace be granted to "in general." Nothing could be farther from these pieces than the note of neoclassicism.

If, however, notwithstanding the evidence just given, it be granted that Burns was more frequently successful in Scots than in English, the underlying conditions will be found not simply in an imperfect mastery of a foreign tongue, but in facts much more significant for a true criticism. The root of the matter lies less in the peculiar equipment of Burns than in the nature and social history of the Scottish speech.

For two centuries or more before the Scottish Reformation, the language of the country north of the Tweed had been developing on a line that diverged from English, so that the speech of Dunbar, Douglas, and Lindsay was more remote from that of Skelton than the speech of Barbour was from that of Chaucer. Not only was Scots increasingly different from English, but it was growing independently in range and power, and it served for purposes of the

law, of the court, of the Church, of literature and learning, as well as for familiar intercourse. This growth was suddenly checked by the religious changes of the sixteenth century, and the Union of the Crowns practically stopped it altogether. The affiliation of the Scottish reformers with Protestant England rather than with Catholic France led to an interchange of preachers with the south, and so to an Anglicizing of the speech of the pulpit, which was carried farther by the fact that no translation of the Bible into the northern vernacular issued from the press, and the English of the Geneva version early became familiar to Scottish ears. Henceforth the dialect in Scottish religious expression is less and less pronounced, and as early as 1566 we may note that the language of John Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland* is northern in spelling rather than in vocabulary.

As a common Protestantism tended to subdue the differences between the religious speech of the two peoples, a common sovereign, and one who held his court in London, tended to produce the same effect on the speech of polite intercourse and public affairs. And as the bonds joining the two countries drew tighter, the influence spread to legislation, to learning, and to formal literature; until, by the eighteenth century, English — or something as near English as could be managed — had become the normal means of expression in Scotland for all cultured and ambitious people, while the native speech had withdrawn into the homes of the humbler classes and the dwellers in the country. This narrowing of use was inevitably accompanied by a shrinkage in vocabulary and a growing unfitness for the treatment of themes that are not habitually discussed by the fireside. It retained, however, its colloquial suppleness and an extraordinary capacity for the expression of intimate personal feeling, of tenderness, of conviviality, of natural description, of characterization, of humor satirical and droll. There had survived, too, a vernacular literature of song, of satire, of lament, and of description, moulded in a variety of characteristic forms, which offered Burns's generation a collection of models, limited in range, but still with very considerable possibilities.

The explanation of the nature and degree of Burns's success in his native speech will now begin to appear. It will be seen that it was neither by accident nor by premeditation that in *The Cotter's Saturday Night* the opening dedication is in pure English, since there was no Scottish tradition of this kind of writing, and it was always in English that a Scottish peasant strove to address a social superior; that the description of the landscape, of the family supper, of the rustic wooing, are all in broad dialect, since it was in such matters that the native idiom had persisted; that in the account of the family worship and in the closing pious and patriotic apostrophes English is again employed, since for two hundred years Scottish Protestantism had found the southern speech more reverent. To address the Almighty in broad Scots would have savored of blasphemous familiarity.



The discrimination illustrated by the different parts of this poem can be discerned equally in the separate poems. The love poems to Jean Armour in Mauchline are prevailingly Scots, those to Highland Mary in heaven or Clarinda in Edinburgh are English. Addresses to various country gentlemen, prayers, repentances, moralizings, odes, and other forms not found in the vernacular tradition, songs like *The Lass of Ballochmyle*, where the sense of social inferiority to the lady is patent—all show little or nothing of the peasant speech; while it is used in all its richness and force in the love songs to girls of his own class, in the satire of his contemporaries, in descriptions of local scenery and manners, in humorous narratives like *Tam o' Shanter* (but not in its literary similes), and in drinking songs.

If Burns had written all his poems in English or all in Scots, their rating according to their relative poetical merit would probably be much nearer the present one than the critics imply. It would not have been identical, for he has done things well in Scots that could not have been done by any one with precisely the same quality in English, as he has done in English things that Scots even in his hands would have spoiled. His fortunate choice of a medium is often an important factor in his success; but the more fundamental truth that I have sought to establish is that Burns's success is most frequent in his own dialect not because he was at home in that dialect only, but because the subjects which he instinctively treated in that dialect were those most suited to his poetic genius.

In the application of this view to the criticism of Burns's poems, one further consideration should be borne in mind. His native speech, like the dialect of the Scottish peasant to-day, was not a definite and fixed thing. In spite of the clear-cut contrast to be observed in poems such as *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, Burns did not habitually speak or write now Scots, now English. It would be nearer the truth to say that he always used more or less Scots, more or less English. That very shrinkage of the Scottish vocabulary of which I have spoken rendered what had once been a separate language more and more dependent on English as a source to borrow from whenever the vernacular proved inadequate, until it became little more than a dialect of English, as it had been in the days of Wallace and Bruce. Yet a native speaker of Scots retains a subtle sense of different values according as the northern accent falls more or less heavily, and this sense Burns uses with admirable skill. It was not merely that he used English, as Stevenson says, "when the rhyme jibbed"; in his finest productions there is a delicate change in modulation, in the way in which a thing is thought or felt, indicated by the shift to a more or less marked degree of dialect. In *Duncan Gray* we hear the full-throated utterance of the Ayrshire peasant, and it was surely an ill-judged attempt and one destined to failure when he tried to turn that song into English. Its situation, its atmosphere, obviously would not *go* in any other medium. It was not that

his ideas in general were "more barren in English than in Scotch," but that these particular ideas would not "voluntary move harmonious numbers," to use Milton's pregnant phrase, in any language but their own. In *O, wert Thou in the Cauld Blast* or in *My Nanie's awa* it is a matter of a subtle flavoring of dialect deepening the tenderness yet not destroying a certain elevation of tone which would have been hopelessly lost in the broader accent of *Willie brew'd a Peck o' Maut*. No foreigner can fully discern all these shadings, though many more of them could be made perceptible to the ear than to the eye, if the songs were well read or sung. The countrymen of Burns, by their idolatry and indiscriminate eulogy, have perhaps forfeited the right to be heard among cosmopolitan critics on the question of their poet's final rank; but those of them who have been born and bred to the northern speech have a heritage which may still be used for a criticism of his work more subtle and penetrating than has yet been made.





## ALISCANS, 5702: DES TORS D'ARCAISE

RAYMOND WEEKS

The name *Arcaise* in line 5702<sup>1</sup> of *Aliscans* has never been explained. It has probably been dismissed by readers as one of the numerous Saracen proper names which were invented by the fancy of the trouvères. The usual explanations of such names, however, do not apply: it is not in the rime, and does not occur in the rime anywhere in the poem, nor does the (doubtless) variant form *Arcage*, of line 8035. Again, it cannot owe its existence to the habit of the ancient poets of assigning to pagan chieftains names which were either grotesque or sinister.

Perhaps the context of the line in question may throw some light on our investigation. A Saracen hero, Margot, appears in battle:

- 5700 Es vous un roi, Margot de Bocident.  
N'ot si felon descî k'en oriënt.  
Des tors d'Arcaise tenoit le casement,  
Desor l'abisme ou desoivrent li vent.  
Illuec dist on ke Lucifer descent.  
5705 Outre cel regne n'a nus abitement.  
Fors Sajetaires et Noituns ensement.  
Onques n'i ot un seul grain de forment.  
D'espices vivent et d'odour de pieument.  
Par de cha est li grans arbres ki fent  
5710 Deus fois en l'an por rajonissement.

Some of the features in this description are found in other poems. For example, we read of those who inhabit Bocident in the *Conquête de Jérusalem*<sup>2</sup>:

- Chil mainent .x. jornees de la l'arbre qui fent.  
8135 Une fois ens en l'an, por renovelement,  
Se vait chascuns baigner el flove de jovent.<sup>3</sup>  
Onques chil ne mengerent de nul grain de froment.  
Ainc parler n'en oïrent ne n'en sevent noient.  
Trestot vivent d'espees, n'ont nul habitement,  
Et sont lait et hisdeus; de combattre ont talent.

<sup>1</sup> The edition cited is that of Wienbeck, Hartnacke and Rasch, Halle, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by C. Hippeau, Paris, 1868. In lines 2561 ss. of the same poem, there is mention of Bocident and Monuble, the latter being a country where *froment* does not exist, where the inhabitants (who are said to be blacker than soot) live on "espices, de chucre et de piment." This passage also includes mention of the "arbre qui fent."

<sup>3</sup> The fountain of youth is mentioned often in *Esclarmonde* (edited by Max Schweigel, Marburg, 1889, in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*) and is near Bocident.

Again, Brehier des Tors de Bocident is said to be "Hideus et noirs plus q'arremens froiés."<sup>1</sup> Another case: Margot is said in one passage of the *Chevalerie Vivien*<sup>2</sup> to be from Marsaine, while another hero, Mathamar (or Martamar), is said to be from the same place. We have in this chanson no description of the country of Margot, but that of Martamar is thus described (vv. 1651-1654):

Par mi l'estor est Martamars venus,  
Rois de Garise qui siet outre lou flun;  
Solaz n'i luist ne n'i prent son escôns,  
Il n'i croist bleis, ne tramois ne nus fruis.

While it is not possible to identify Bocident, Garise (which may of course be the same as Arcaise), and Arcaise, certain things in the passages here cited indicate that the poets had in mind the extreme limits of the Orient as they imagined them. The literature concerning mediæval opinions of the Orient is too vast to be cited here. Mention may be made, however, of the fact that mediæval scholars and poets say that the extreme limits towards the Orient (as indeed towards the Occident) were reached by Hercules, who set up pillars to mark the place.<sup>3</sup> With such a legend as a starting point, it is easy to see with what strange creatures the mediæval poets would people the region near the pillars of Hercules, and what a reversal of usual climatic and astronomical phenomena they would assign to it. May it not be that the *tors d'Arcaise* of line 5702 of *Aliscans* means the towers of Hercules, or, rather, of the region named after Hercules? The change of *herc-* to *arc-* is perfectly regular in French, and the alteration in the remainder of the word is not in the least remarkable in a rare proper name which figured in the songs of popular poets. It is likely that a manuscript of *Aliscans* once existed in which the *Arcaise* of line 5702 bore more resemblance to *Hercule*. The unknown fifteenth-century translator of this chanson thus renders the passage in question: "Il [Margos] estoit si puissant qu'il possedoit la terre des tours d'Arcalde jusques an habisme ou les vens dessendent. Et dist l'en que la est la gueulle d'enffer ou les deables habitent les plus souvent. Et outre celui lieu n'a royaulme, terre ne seignourie habitable si nom a bestes et oyseaux sauvages, et n'y croist pain, vin ne ble si

<sup>1</sup> *La Chevalerie Ogier*, Paris, 1842, v. 10,019. The word *arrement* occurs often in descriptions of Bocident; cf. *Conquête de Jérusalem*, 7510-7512:

La premiere eschiele est de ceus de Bocident.  
Plus sont noir c'arremens (a malfés les comment!)  
Et n'ont de blanc sor aus mais que l'oil et la dant.

In *Huon de Bordeaux*, Agrapart offers to Huon "le marche par devers Bocident" and his sister, who is "noire com arement": vv. 6519-6521.

<sup>2</sup> Edition of A. Terracher, Paris, 1909, v. 173; for the other passage, vid. v. 314 (from the text of Boulogne).

<sup>3</sup> Professor Kittredge has treated the pillars of Hercules in a masterly article in the *Putnam Anniversary Volume*, New York, G. E. Stechert, 1909, pp. 545-566. I desire to thank Professor J. Douglas Bruce for drawing my attention to this article, and for furnishing me other data.

nom d'aulcunes espices, dont on aporte aucunefois par deça."<sup>1</sup> Evidently the translator did not see in *Arcalde* (if that be the form of his original) a reference to the towers of Hercules. To be sure, he may not have been acquainted with the legend. In any event, he misunderstood the text, and translated it to mean that Margot possessed the country from the towers of *Arcalde* clear to the abyss.

In conclusion, it may not be amiss to offer a few facts showing how, in other forms, the name *Hercules* was used in Old French without, doubtless, any one's understanding that it referred to the great hero.

One of the most frequent ways of saying: "at the ends of the world," was: "as bornes (or bonnes) Artu (or Arcu)."<sup>2</sup> Scholars long since discovered that the form *Artu*, by much the more frequent, is an alteration of *Arcu*, which is derived from *Hercule*. The triumph of the form *Artu* of course attests the popularity of King Arthur.<sup>3</sup>

Although the lines 5700-5710 of *Aliscans* do not contain the words "bornes Artu" [or "Arcu"], they contain an equivalent, for, passing over the somewhat vague "desci k'en oriënt," we have, in "arbres ki fent," an expression which means "at the ends of the oriental world," as, for example: "Et le mer et le terre jusqu'a l'arbre qui fent," *Bastart de Buillon*, edited by A. Scheler, v. 587, cf. v. 2874; "N'i laissent a semondre dusc'a l'arbre qui fent," *Conquête de Jérusalem*, v. 2570; "N'a plus fier chevalier jusqu'a l'arbre qui fent," *Bauduin de Sebourc*, II, p. 284. A well-known equivalent expression in the old poems is: "jusqu'au sec arbre," as: "Desc'au sec arbre, ne tant c'on puet aler," *Huon de Bordeaux*, p. 105.

It is probable that a careful search would disclose stranger descendants of *Hercule* than *Artu* or *Arcaise*. We read in line 111 of the second redaction of the *Moniage Guillaume*: "Car fust il ore as puis de Montagu!" but one manuscript bears: "ore droit as bones Artu."<sup>4</sup> This causes us to suspect a

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Fritz Reuter, *Die Bataille d'Arleschant*, Halle, 1911, p. 123. For an attempt to explain *Arcalde* as *Arcadie*, see Leo Jordan, *Litblt. f. Germ. und Rom. Phil.*, XXXIV, 117.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. the following passages: "Querre t'ai fait jusq' as bones Artu," *Aliscans*, p. 358, v. 25; "Car il n'a en ce monde jusqu'a bonnez Artus," *Hugues Capet*, p. 211; "Que n'a si bele fame dusc'as bones Artus," *Roman d'Alixandre*, H. Michelant, Stuttgart, 1846, p. 380, v. 33; "Toie ert la terre dusc'as obes Artu," *Moniage Renoart*, MS. of Boulogne, fol. 143 v°. Sometimes another word than *bornes* is used: ".C. lieues loing outre les pors Artu," MS. of Boulogne, fol. 148 r°. Occasionally the form *Arcu* occurs: ".I. des bons c'on trovast dusqu'as bones Arcu," *Roman d'Alixandre*, p. 168, v. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. P. Paris, *Manuscrits Français*, Paris, 1840, III, pp. 92, 93, 104, 105; P. Meyer, "Etude sur les mss. du Roman d'Alixandre," *Romania*, XI, pp. 216, 323, and the same author in his *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge*, Paris, 1886, Vol. II, p. 171 and note 2; J. Runeberg, *Etudes sur la geste Rainouart*, Helsingfors, 1905, p. 97, note 1; the article by Professor Kittredge mentioned above.

<sup>4</sup> W. Cloetta, in the publications of the Société des Anciens Textes, Paris, 1906. The author gives the reading of the variant as *boues*, which is probably an error. In line 5182 of the same poem, we find: "N'a trois vilains dechi a Montagu," with *Montargu* and *Morangu* as variants.



similar alteration in many passages, such as : " Mius vous venist tous estre a Montagu," *Aliscans*, v. 7433<sup>d</sup>. Similarly, *Mont-Léu* has doubtless dispossessed occasionally *Artu* or *Arcu*. In line 846 of the *Chevalerie Ogier* we find : " Nostre iert la terre dessi a Mont-Léu," but a variant reads : " dusc'as bones Artu," an expression used again by the poet in line 12,243.

It is barely possible that a trisyllabic form of *Hercule* in *bones* or *bornes* *Hercule* found a substitute in the *Montoscure* of a passage in *Foucon de Candie*, v. 4054 of the edition of O. Schultz-Gora, Dresden, 1909: " El mont d'Oscure, ou la lande ert pleissée " (MS. 774 of the Bibliothèque Nationale has *est plesie* and *mont oscur*, fol. 106 r°; and MS. 25,518 of the same library has *mont d'oscure*, fol. 68 v°. The significant part of this line, permitting us perhaps to identify *Montoscure*, is the last word, which means apparently 'folded.' If so, the same statement is made of the earth in the *Roman d'Alixandre*, in the very passage which relates the arrival of Alexander at the *bornes Arcu*: " La mer(s) qui tiere clot a les mons si plaiés " (that is, *ploiés*), p. 316, v. 31. Another similar descendant of *bones Hercule* may perhaps be seen in one of the names of Brehier des Tors de Bocident, whom we have already mentioned. He is also called Brehier des Tors de Mont Argüe, in the *Chevalerie Ogier*, v. 10,311.

# THE OXFORD TEXT OF THE *NOIE* OF ANTONIO PUCCI

KENNETH MCKENZIE

Investigators of Florentine literature, history, and life of the fourteenth century would find their work immensely facilitated by a scholarly edition of the complete writings of Antonio Pucci, the town crier, bell-ringer, and popular poet; by a thorough study of his life and works; or by an exhaustive bibliography of manuscripts and publications. At present no one of these three much-needed works is available; and the texts of Pucci's poems, and studies of various matters connected with him, are scattered through an infinite number of books, periodicals, and pamphlets. After a few of his poems had been printed separately, the first collective edition appeared at Florence in 1772-1775;<sup>1</sup> it contains the lengthy *Centiloquio*, followed in the fourth volume by a number of shorter compositions, including the *Noie*. No subsequent editor has had the courage to reprint the *Centiloquio*. In 1909 Ferruccio Ferri, in a book with the inappropriate title *La Poesia Popolare in Antonio Pucci*,<sup>2</sup> republished most of the shorter poems which had already appeared, and for the first time made accessible a large number of others. For this service he deserves gratitude, but his book proved most disappointing; the biographical portion contains nothing new, the bibliography, while impressively long, is inaccurate and incomplete, and the texts, as we shall see presently, have been edited in a distressingly unscholarly fashion. There is ground for expecting that within a reasonable time a satisfactory work on Pucci will be brought out by a competent Italian scholar. In the meantime, we have to be content with incomplete studies and uncritical texts; the material is abundant, and minor contributions will have their importance. The present writer has recently published in the volume *Studii dedicati a Francesco Torraca* (Napoli, Perrella, 1912, pp. 179-190) the text of the *Noie* as it is found in the so-called Kirkup manuscript, recently in the Plimpton Collection at Wellesley College, but now in Florence. The object of this paper is to present the text of the same poem as preserved in modified form in a manuscript of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

<sup>1</sup> *Delle Poesie di Antonio Pucci . . . pubblicate da Fr. Ildefonso di San Luigi*, 4 volumes,—being Vols. III-VI of the series *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*.

<sup>2</sup> Bologna, Libreria Beltrami. See the review by Ghino Lazzeri in *Rassegna Bibliografica della Letteratura Italiana*, XVII, 81-106, and cf. D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, VI, 481.

The poem entitled *Le Noie*, consisting of over three hundred verses in *terza rima*, enumerates things which annoy. This type of composition was recognized as a regular form in the Middle Ages, and in Provençal was called *enuæg*.<sup>1</sup> The two essential features are the enumeration in epigrammatic style of a series of vexatious things, and the repetition at frequent intervals of a phrase to indicate their annoying character. In Pucci's poem the annoyances are arranged in groups: lack of reverence at church, offenses against ordinary politeness, violations of table manners, want of consideration for one's companions, etc.; the human element and the humor of these verses make them most entertaining, and many of the poet's satiric thrusts have as much force to-day as they had in the fourteenth century. That the poem enjoyed considerable vogue is shown by the fact that it now exists in at least fifteen manuscripts,<sup>2</sup> some of which, including the one here published, contain dialect forms from beyond the borders of Tuscany. The text was first printed from a Riccardian manuscript in 1775 (edition cited, Vol. IV, pp. 275-285); while the printed text follows the manuscript in general, the editor has standardized the orthography and modified certain expressions which shocked his sense of propriety, disregarding the warning given in the closing verses:

A noia m'è chi queste cose muta,  
 Ovver le cresce senza Antonio Pucci:  
 Al vostro onor questa parte è compiuta,  
 Non lo mutar, se non vuoi me ne crucci.

This text has 101 *terzine*, or 304 verses. The Kirkup text, except for verbal differences and the insertion of four additional *terzine*, corresponds line for line with the printed text; it has also a final couplet, — 318 verses in all. The Oxford text corresponds line for line with the other two, but breaks off after 177 verses. Other manuscripts have the *terzine* arranged in different order, the rhyme-scheme, however, being kept intact;<sup>3</sup> and this fact indicates that in some instances the transmission was oral. The best single text is probably that of the Kirkup MS.,<sup>4</sup> but a critical text based on a comparison of all the manuscripts would doubtless differ from it widely. The first editor,

<sup>1</sup> For a general treatment of the subject, with bibliography, see R. T. Hill, "The Enueg," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXVII (1912), 265-296; Pucci is discussed on pp. 287 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ferri, *Poes. Pop.*, p. 242, names fourteen, not including the Kirkup MS. (see below). All of these were already enumerated in *Propugnatore*, N. S., V, ii, 287.

<sup>3</sup> This is the case with the text in cod. Univ. Bologna 147, of 81 *terzine*, with dialect forms similar to those of the Oxford text. The heading: "Quive si chomença le noglie del patechia," is interesting as showing how the name of Girardo Patecchio or Pateg, a thirteenth-century writer of *noie*, had become associated with the *genre*; see F. Pellegrini, "Di due poesie del secolo xiv," in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, XVI, 341-352; F. Zambrini, "Descrizione di codici," in *Propugnatore*, I, 507-509; E. Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, p. 529; Hill, "The Enueg," p. 277. The variations of text in the Florentine manuscripts were mentioned in the preface to the 1775 edition, p. ix.

<sup>4</sup> See Margaret H. Jackson, "Antonio Pucci's Poems in the *Codice Kirkupiano* of Wellesley College," in *Romania*, XXXIX, 315-323; S. Morpurgo et J. Luchaire, *La Grande Inondation*



while he naturally had little conception of modern scholarly methods in editing, did at least indicate where he had tampered with the text; but the two reprints of his edition reproduce his text without the notes: in the *Raccolta di Rime antiche toscane* (Palermo, 1817; III, 311-320) the only material change is in restoring one word for which the first editor had substituted a less offensive one; while in 1909 Ferri, apparently ignoring the 1817 edition, uses his opportunity to consult the manuscripts of the *Noie* only so far as to supply from some source, which he does not name, a single line which was lacking in the manuscript used in the 1775 edition. Pending the publication of a definitive text, the readings of the several manuscripts, if accurately reproduced, are valuable. The Oxford manuscript (O) is not derived either from the Kirkup (K) or from that used by Ildefonso di San Luigi (R), for it agrees now with one, now with the other; it is of comparatively slight importance for establishing the original readings, although even in this respect it cannot be neglected; but it is of considerable interest on account of its dialect forms, and also because everything which can throw light on Antonio Pucci is worthy of attention.

What I have called "the Oxford manuscript" is cod. Canon. 263 in the Bodleian Library. It belongs to the fifteenth century, and contains miscellaneous Italian compositions in prose and verse;<sup>1</sup> the *Noie* begins without title or heading of any kind on f. 131<sup>r</sup>, and ends with the word "Finis" at the bottom of f. 133<sup>r</sup>; the name of the author is not mentioned. Apparently the copyist grew tired of his work, for there is no reason for stopping where he did, and the last part of the text gives evidence of absent-mindedness. The poem is preceded by a *sirventese* and followed (f. 133<sup>v</sup>) by a prose *Lapidario*. The other texts in the manuscript, so far as I have examined them, show dialect forms similar to those in the *Noie*, which are enumerated at the end of this paper. In printing the text I have followed the manuscript scrupulously, merely solving abbreviations, separating words, and punctuating. A few obvious blunders, chiefly in the rhyme-words, have been corrected, with the manuscript reading in the footnotes. Variants which involve the sense are given from K and from the published text (R); also from the fragment published by D. M. Manni.<sup>2</sup> In this form, and with this much apparatus, the text is offered as a contribution toward the definitive edition of Pucci.

*de l'Arno en MCCCXXXIII, anciens poèmes populaires italiens*, Paris-Florence, 1911, p. 65; [S. Morpurgo], "L'Apografo delle rime di Antonio Pucci donato dal Collegio di Wellesley alla Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze," in *Bollettino delle Pubblicazioni Italiane*, Firenze, presso la Biblioteca Naz. Cent., no. 133, gennaio, 1912; and several publications of A. D'Ancona cited in these works.

<sup>1</sup> For contents see A. Mortara, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani Canonici*, Oxford, 1864. The date of the MS. is fixed by a list of the Doges of Venice to the year 1478 (f. 201).

<sup>2</sup> Manni in *Poesie di Antonio Pucci*, I, p. xvii; also in Manni's *Veglie piacevoli*, Firenze, 1815, Vol. V, p. 131 (and in other editions). I have also quoted two MSS. of the University Library at Bologna, — cod. 158 as described by F. Zambrini, *Il Libro della Cucina*, Bologna, 1863, p. xx; cod. 147 as described in *Propugnatore*, I, 507-509.

- Io priego la divina maestade,  
superna alteza e suma sapienzia,  
lume infenito, eterna veritade,  
4 Che innela mia ingnoranza e inteligenzia  
inspiri alquanto del beato lume  
che faza reluminar la chonosanzia.  
7 Riprender vogio algun bruto chosthume,  
benche la mazor parte me ne tochi  
de quello ch'io scrivo in questo mio volume.  
10 None schuxando me dibaso i ochi,  
scrivando zio che tal uxanza nuogia  
in quei ch'a seguitar sono schiochi.  
13 Chonselgio hogn'omo tegna per sua zolgia  
questa sgritura, inprendendo da essa,  
lasando i vizi che mi sono a nogia.  
16 A nogia mi quando se dixè mesa  
chi ponpezando e non con umil core  
oltra mexura al prevede s'apresa.  
19 A nogia mi quando se lieva el signore  
non si zenochia e non se lieva il chapuzo  
faziando riverenzia al nostro salvatore.  
22 A nogia m'è ch'io me ne choroza  
che stando in giexia a merchantare  
che ronper si voria di 'n oso in oso.  
25 A nogia mi chi in giexia al predichare  
va per audir la parola di dio  
e posa dorme quando die' vegilare.  
28 A nogia m'è chi per mondan dexio  
nei sagri luogi le done vageza  
ponemo ch' ogni parte è ato rio.  
31 A nogia mi chi chol frate moteza  
quando è in ato di chonfisione;  
non par che pensi che dio se n'aveza.  
34 A nogia mi quando io sto in orazione  
chi mormorando dinanzi e di lato  
mutar mi fa la bona intenzione.  
37 A nogia m'è quando elo è domondato  
del ben per dio a quei che son axiati  
che 'l puovero sia da piu pover chazato.

<sup>2</sup> O, K, R *superna alteza*, Manni *eterna altezza*, cod. Bol. 147 *eternal lume e certa sapienza*.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Bol. 147 *e perfecta bontate*. <sup>4</sup> K, R, Manni, cod. Bol. 158 *ignorante*. <sup>5</sup> Manni *assai del suo santo lume*.

<sup>6</sup> Manni *che faccia*, K, R *che fa*. <sup>9</sup> K *che fiano*. <sup>11</sup> K, R, Manni *a ciò che . . . muoia*; Manni *questo vizio*. <sup>12</sup> K, R *seguitarla sono sciocchi*. <sup>13</sup> Manni *io prego ognun che*.

<sup>17</sup> MS. *umilitade*. <sup>18</sup> K, R, Manni *al prete si rapresa*. <sup>19</sup> *si lieva* (so MS. R, but *s'alza* in all editions); K, Manni *chi vegiando*. <sup>20</sup> K, R, Manni *non si tra 'l*. <sup>21</sup> *nostro* lacking in K, R, Manni. <sup>22</sup> K, R *m'è tanto ch'i*. <sup>23</sup> K, R *chi sta con donna in chiesa a mercatare*, Manni *con donne in santo*.

<sup>24</sup> K, R *di bucio in bucio*, Manni *a buccio a buccio*. <sup>25</sup> R *chi in chiesa*, K *qualunque*, Manni *chi in santo*. <sup>30</sup> R, Manni *che in ogni luogo*. <sup>31</sup> *frate*:

K *fratte*, MS. R *frate* (but printed *prete* in all editions), Manni *prete*. <sup>34</sup> K *quandaltre in*. <sup>36</sup> *mi*: K *li*; *intenzione*: K, R *op(p)enione*. <sup>38</sup> Cod. Bol. 158 *limosina per dio a piu persone*.

<sup>39</sup> R *dal più ricco scacciato*, O, K, Bol. *piu pover*.

- 40 A nogia mi che nei luochi sagrati  
si conpri chandele piu per risa  
ch'a riverenza di santi beati.
- 43 A nogia molto m'è per ogni guixa  
chi trata in giexia chosa tenporale  
dovendo a dio senpre tagnir la mente afisa.
- 46 A nogia m'è achi è tanto bestiale  
che va zigando achonpagnando el morto,  
chomo se non sentise esser mortale.
- 49 A nogia m'è chi di raxon o torto  
zercha chostion ch'a lui non s'apartegna  
chome di molti za mi son achorto.
- 52 A nogia m'è l'uxanza che ozi regna  
che artixan o zentilomo hover pien di vertude  
che mal vestito va, ogni omo lo sdegna.
- 55 A nogia m'è chi si rende salute  
al merzenagio perche sia ben vestito  
che finalmente tute son perdute.
- 58 A nogia m'è veder un schostumato  
riprender altrui del falo ch' eli  
è piu che quel chotale envelopato.
- 61 A nogia m'è veder quando noveli  
algun per dar ai chonpagnoni diletto,  
che algun da chanto mormori e faveli.
- 64 A nogia m'è zaschun che ronpe el dito  
d'algun, e sia chi vol, quando raxona;  
però al mio parer è gran difeto.
- 67 A nogia m'è ziaschaduna persona  
che inver l'amicho per pichola ofexa  
ingrosa sì che l'amistà abandona.
- 70 A nogia m'è ziunche fa chontexa  
d'alguna chosa che sia da niente  
che za se n'è dimolta briga azexa.
- 73 A nogia m'è zaschun simelmente  
che fuor d'ogna mexura parla tanto  
che fa inmalanchonir chi l'è prexente.
- 76 A nogia m'è zaschun che si da vanto  
d'aver fato eli quel ch'un altro à fato,  
che sarebe ben che li tornase in pianto.
- 79 A nogia m'è chi è tanto mato  
che per esser tenuto piu gagiardo  
chontra el signor sparla ad ogni trato.

<sup>43</sup> R *sopr'ogni*. <sup>45</sup> *senpre* lacking in K, R. <sup>46-51</sup> Manni (lines 34-39 of the fragment) has these two *terzine* in modified form, with different rhymes. <sup>47</sup> K, R *ghignando*. <sup>49</sup> MS. *a torti*. <sup>50</sup> *zercha*: K *becha*, R *becca*, Manni *piglia*. <sup>53</sup> *artixan o* lacking in K, R. <sup>54</sup> R *ognun*, K *ciaschuno*. <sup>56</sup> *vestito*: R *addobbato*; K *a mercenaiio che sia ben adobatto*. <sup>57</sup> R *che peggio elle mi paion che perdute*. <sup>59</sup> MS. *chelelui*. <sup>61-62</sup> K *quand' un noveli alchun per dare*, R *quand' un novelli Per voler dare*. <sup>63</sup> K, R *ch'altri*. <sup>77</sup> MS. *quel che ad unnaltro*. <sup>79</sup> K *chiunque e ttanto*; MS. R = O, but all editions have *chi è tanto folle o matto*. <sup>81</sup> K *inchonttro a dio sparla tratto tratto*, R *Incontro a Dio*.



- 82 A nogia molto m'è chi è buxardo,  
pogniamo che n'è vendeta quando zura,  
che chi 'l chognose li 'l grede piu tardo.
- 85 A nogia m'è chie contra mexura  
vestito va piu che non à el potere,  
vezando il padre nudo e non à chura.
- 88 A nogia m'è chi sta a vedere  
o ascholtare chi vol parlar sagreto,  
vogiando udire chontra l'altrui volere.
- 91 A nogia m'è chi in abito sagreto  
parole ascholta e posa le redize  
quando sono porte per amor sagreto.
- 94 A nogia m'è chie in stato felice  
disdegna tal che di virtù l'avanza  
chi ne zerchase ben ognia radize.
- 97 A nogia m'è chi à tanta burbanza  
che quando è salutato non risponde,  
unde si turba chi move la danza.
- 100 A nogia m'è chi non avendo donde  
va pizorando perch' altrui li rechie  
e tale a tal che piu di lui confonde.
- 103 A nogia m'è chi è di techomechi,  
ch'a te di me, a te di te mal porze  
unde mi par che l'un e l'altro aziechi.
- 106 A nogia m'è chi una dona schorze  
e va la motizando per la via  
che fa mal pensar chi se n'achorze.
- 109 A nogia m'è chi ode vilania  
dir d'alguna persona e poi riporta  
chotanto piu, seminando rexia.
- 112 A nogia mi chi d'una chosa torta  
per ben piazer a quei che l'à fata, pregia,  
e nel seguir tal opera conforta.
- 115 A nogia mi chi dinanzi mi pregia  
di tal vertù che niente mi tocha  
e con altrui drieto mi dispriezia.
- 118 A nogia m'è parlar di meza bocha  
che una mostra ne le suo parole  
e una altra ad opera innel chor achocha.
- 121 A nogia tanto m'è che me ne dole  
che invitato a manzare o a bere  
se piu con siego poi menar ne vole.

<sup>85</sup> K *chiunque oltra misura*, R *ciascun fuor di misura* (but all editions have *ciascun ch'oltra misura*). <sup>87</sup> R *e vede*. <sup>88</sup> *chi*: K *chiunque*, R *qualunque*. <sup>89</sup> *sagreto*: K *di quetto*, R *di cheto*; O has *sagreto* in rhyme, 89: 91: 93. <sup>91</sup> *sagreto*: K, R *discreto*. <sup>95</sup> R *discaccia tal*. <sup>100</sup> MS. *dove*. <sup>101</sup> K, R *pigolando*; R *s'arrechì*. <sup>102</sup> K *e ttogli attal*; MS. R *e torce* (but all editions have *e tollo*). <sup>104</sup> K *cha me di tte e atte di me*, R *ch'a te di me, a me di te*. <sup>105</sup> R *Onde convien*. <sup>113</sup> MS. *pregi*, K *a chi la fatto pregia*, MS. R *pregia* (but all editions have *fregia*). <sup>114</sup> MS. *confurta*. <sup>120</sup> K, R *ad operar*. <sup>122</sup> K, R *chi è invitato alla taverna a bere*. <sup>123</sup> MS. *menar no vele*.

- 124 A nogia m'è chi adireto vol tenere  
ad un che vada a ber o a manzare  
senza invito, sol di suo volere.
- 127 A nogia m'è chie a zena o a disnare  
senza chiarir le man sin vada a mensa  
o di fuor manzi anchor senza lavare.
- 130 A nogia m'è per persona milensa  
che non si forbe la bocha e la mano  
volendo bere, ma solo a manzar pensa.
- 133 A nogia m'è per chostumo vilano  
che 'l morsegato bochone chole dita  
nela schudela torni a mano a mano.
- 136 A nogia m'è persona di bandita  
che zunzendo a la mensa non saluta;  
e s'el il fa, chi non risponde e non invita.
- 139 A nogia m'è chi a taola insputa  
di quel che manza e dize che li spiaza,  
se la persona è udita e veduta.
- 142 A nogia m'è chi manduchando schiazia  
noziul altro a taola choi denti,  
però ch'è rizichio, fa bruta la faza.
- 145 A nogia m'è, benche a molti contenti,  
chi suza l'oso e poi piu volte lo repiega  
in sul tagieri dove piu v'à prexenti.
- 148 A nogia m'è chi le gambe ingroza  
istando a mensa, tanto le distènde  
che li suo piedi sopra i altri mentiga.
- 151 A nogia m'è quando il bochon si prende  
e chi 'l charga e chi con la bocha va in su la schudela  
e chi 'l charga sì che 'l mezzo disende.
- 154 A nogia m'è chi manzando favela  
e chi richonta chosse che ringrescha  
sopra manzare, chi è bruta novela.
- 157 A nogia m'è quando per piu si pescha  
in schudela o in altro d'atorno  
che chon chiaro vi si manzi o trescha.
- 160 A nogia tanto m'è ch'io me ne schorno  
chi nanzi a forestieri la sua famelgia  
o di note o di zorno lasismilgia.

<sup>124</sup> MS. *adireto a chose terene*; K *A noia anchora m'è diettro tenere*. <sup>127</sup> K, R *desinare*.

<sup>128</sup> R *lavar le mani vada*.

<sup>129</sup> R *alcun senza lavare*, K *senz'alchun lavare*.

<sup>138</sup> R *E se v'è*

*chi risponde non lo invita*.

<sup>140</sup> MS. *piaze*, K, R *spiacia*.

<sup>142</sup> MS. *schiazio*.

<sup>143</sup> K *nuciole*

*od alttro*, R *nocciuole o noci*.

<sup>144</sup> R *rischio e fa turbar la faccia*.

<sup>146</sup>: <sup>148</sup>: <sup>150</sup> do not rhyme;

K *ripichia*: *inchrocichia*: *moncichia*, R *ripiglia* (but all editions have *ripicchia*): *incrocicchia*: *ammonticchia*.

<sup>149</sup> K, R *o tanto*.

<sup>152-153</sup> *e chil charga* belongs only in the second of these two

lines, but was not cancelled in MS. <sup>156</sup> R *sopra il mangiar*, cioè, K *agli udittor cioè*.

<sup>159</sup> R

*Che con cucchiaio vi si mangi in tresca*, K *chon li chuchiai vi si manucha in tresca*.

<sup>162</sup> By inverting the order and putting *lasismilgia* (meaning?) at end, the scribe has made this line rhyme with 161: 163: 165 instead of 158: 160; K, R *batte o minacia di notte e di giorno*.

- 163 A nogia m'è chi chol servo bisbilgia  
stando a mensa, chè se ben comprendo  
provede male chi de sezo consilgia.
- 166 A nogia m'è chi favela servendo  
se non lo induze lizita chaxione,  
e se al chiamar non risponde chorendo.
- 169 A nogia m'è chi sofia innel balchone  
avendo tenpo a poterlo fredare,  
però che mi par ato di giotone.
- 172 A nogia m'è chi non chura pasare  
dal lato di 'l chonpagno in sul tagiero  
quando vede bochon che bon li pare.
- 175 A nogia m'è chie senza mestieri  
s'apogia a mensa e chon un brazo strinze,  
chon l'altro manzi zia chome poltronieri.

FINIS

The Venetian coloring of the text as here presented is due entirely to a copyist; for there can be no doubt as to the authorship and consequently the originally pure Tuscan form of the poem. Without making any attempt to discuss exhaustively the dialect, the non-Tuscan forms may be enumerated. As is readily seen, they are not consistently used. In fact, the Oxford text, corresponding, as it does, line for line with K and R, seems closer to the original version than some of the manuscripts in which the language is still Tuscan while the order of the *terzine* varies considerably. Presumably the sound did not vary as much as the spelling in O seems to indicate; for instance, the recurring word *nogia*, like the form *noglie* in cod. Bol. 147, doubtless sounded very much like the corresponding Tuscan *noia*. In verses 11–15 it rhymes with *nuogia* (*muoia*) and *zolgia* (*gioia*);<sup>1</sup> cf. *vogio* 7, *merzenagio* 56 (K *mercienaio*), *gagiardo* 80 (K *ghagliardo*), *bisbilgia* 163, *tagiero* 173 (K *tagliere*), *chonselgio* 13; and with *vogiando* 90 (K *volendo*), cf. *scrivando* 11, *faziando* 21, *vezando* 87, but *zunzendo* 137.<sup>2</sup> The recurring phrase which distinguishes this poetical *genre* varies between *A nogia me* and *A nogia mi*; but without change of meaning, for *nogia* (*noia*) is in both cases surely the noun

<sup>164</sup> MS. *comprende*. <sup>168</sup> All editions have *E se risponde quand' io lo riprendo*, having departed from reading of MS. R; K = O. <sup>169</sup> *balchone*: K *bochone*, R *boccone*. <sup>170</sup> K *posendo* ad agio lasarlo, R *Avendo l'agio di poterl* (1817 ed. *poter*). <sup>177</sup> K, R *mangia come paltoniere*.

<sup>1</sup> A similar phenomenon in the following Bolognese lines is cited by Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana*, p. 293 and p. 560, § 4, as an instance of *rintegrazioni errate*:

Le pene che durai  
conteleme in gran çoglia,  
po che partita è noglia  
da mi, ch'era in pesança.

Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, gives *nogia*, *vogia*, *zogia*, as regular forms for *noia*, *voglia*, *gioia*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> In North Italy "für das Gerundium aller Verba dient -ando"; Gröber's *Grundriss*, 2d ed., I, 705.



(cf. *mi sono a nogia* 15).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, *giotone* 171 (*ghiottone*), *luogi* 29 (cf. 40), *vageza* 29 (*vagheggia*). Like many other manuscripts, ours alternates between *piu* and *pui*; as it is often impossible to distinguish, *piu* is here printed throughout. *Ca-* and *cha-*, *co-* and *cho-*, as in Tuscan manuscripts, are used indiscriminately. *Taola* 139, 143 (*tavola*) is characteristic.<sup>2</sup> Single consonants instead of double are constantly used, — *mesa* 16, *apresa* 18, *ato* 30, *tute* 57, *falo* 59; *dileto* 62 and *dito* 64 (*detto*) rhyming with *difetto* 66; *note* 162, etc.; there is one instance of a double consonant for single, *chosse* 155.<sup>3</sup> Tuscan *gi* is represented by *z*, more rarely by *x*: *mazor* 8, *zolgia* 13, *ponpe-zando* 17, *zenochia* 20, *vageza* 29, *moteza* 31, *aveza* 33, *za* 51, 72, *ози* 52, *zentilomo* 53, *zura* 83, *vezando* 87 (K *vegiendo*), *porze* 104, *schorze* 106, *achorze* 108, *motizando* 107, *dispriezia* 117, *manzare* 122, *zunzendo* 137, *manza* 140, *zorno* 162, *strinze* 176; *axiati* 38, *raxon* 49, *raxona* 65, *buxardo* 82, *chaxione* 167. Tuscan *ci* is also represented once by *x*: *dixe* 16; frequently by *z*: *faza* 6 (*faccia*; K *fa*), *zio che* 11 (K *a cio che*), *capuzo* 20 (K *chapucio*), *chorozo* 22, [*dinoso in oso* 24 is supposed to rhyme with the preceding; K *dibucio in bucio*], *faziando* 21, *chazato* 39, *merzenagio* 56, *zaschun* 64, 73, *ziaschaduna* 67, *azexa* 72 (K *aciesa*), *redize* 92, *felize* 94, *radize* 96, *zerchase* 96, *aziechi* 105, *piazer* 113, *zena* 127, *dize che li piaze* 140 (K *dicie che li spiacia*), *schiazio* 142, *faza* 144 [these three rhyming], *noziuol* 143, *suza* 146, *induze lizita* 167, *brazo* 176. In *ziunche* 70 (K *chiunque*) the Tuscan *chi-* had doubtless passed through the dialect form *ci-* (cf. *Grundriss*, I, 706). Tuscan intervocalic *s* is frequently written *x*: *schuxando* 10, *mexura* 18, 74, 85, *giexia* 23, 25, 44 (K *chiesa*; cf. Monaci, p. 411, line 192), *dexio* 28, *guixa* 43, *uxanza* 52, *ofexa* 68, *chontexa* 70, *azexa* 72, *prexente* 75, 147, *rexia* 111. Tuscan *sci* given as *s*: *posa* 27, 92, *chognose* 84, *disende* 153; Tuscan *c* sometimes as *g*: *algun* 7, 62, *sgritura* 14, *grede* 84, *sagreto* 89–93, *alguna* 110, *siego* 123 (K *secho*), *morsegato* 134 (K *morsichiatto*), *repiega* 146 (K *ripichia*), *mentiga* 150 (K *moncichia*, R *ammonticchia*), *charga* 153 (K *charicha*), *ringrescha* 155. For *ogna* 74, 96, cf. Monaci, p. 668; Wiese, *Altitalienisches Elementarbuch*, § 198.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Dante, *Vita Nuova*, xii (*Ballata*): Lo perdonare se le fosse a noia; *Inferno*, xxx, 100: si recò a noia Forse d'esser nomato.

<sup>2</sup> *Grundriss*, I, 706.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Goldstaub und Wendriner, *Ein Tosco-Venezianischer Bestiarius*, 1892, § 24 a (in the "Dialektologische Anmerkungen," pp. 442–494). The Bestiary text, like our text of Pucci, is a copy made in Venetia from a Tuscan original; it also has *z* and *x* for *ci* (§ 18), *z* for *gi* (§ 19), *g* for *c* (§ 17); but not *gia* for *ia* or *glia*.



## HUMAN SACRIFICE AMONG THE IRISH CELTS

F. N. ROBINSON

There exists a somewhat strange difference of opinion concerning the practice of human sacrifice among the ancient Irish Celts. While the majority of writers on Celtic religion and folklore assume the custom to have prevailed, and refer, more or less as a matter of course, to ancient instances or to modern survivals, a number of scholars of recognized authority in various departments of Celtic learning insist that there is little or no evidence of the existence of any such rite. O'Curry's sweeping statement that "in no tale or legend of the Irish Druids which has come down to our time, is there any mention . . . of their ever having offered, or recommended to be offered, human sacrifices, either to appease or to propitiate the divine powers which they acknowledged,"<sup>1</sup> might be dismissed as coming from an older generation when Irish historical material was more difficult of access; especially since W. K. Sullivan, the editor of O'Curry's volumes, expresses a different opinion in his Introduction, and cites three apparent references to the practice.<sup>2</sup> But a denial of human sacrifice nearly as sweeping as O'Curry's, and defended by argument, is made by Dr. P. W. Joyce in his admirable *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, published in 1903, a work which is likely for some time to come to take the place of O'Curry's older compilation. Dr. Joyce, for example, designates as a conspicuous difference between the Druids of Gaul and those of Ireland, that the former practised the cult in question while the latter did not.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Douglas Hyde, in his widely influential *Literary History of Ireland*, published in 1899, while citing more evidence for the practice than Dr. Joyce, still disparages the value of some of the testimony by attributing it to "a Christian chronicler familiar with the accounts of Moloch and Ashtaroth." He concludes that the existence of human sacrifice in Ireland is by no means certain, and that the custom, if ever resorted to at all, had fallen into abeyance before the landing of the Christian missionaries.<sup>4</sup> To these opinions of native Irish scholars may be added that of at least one distinguished recent Continental writer on

<sup>1</sup> E. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, II, 222.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., I, cccxx ff., cccxxv ff., dcxl ff. The stories referred to — the Death of Fiachra, the *Echtra Airt*, and the *Dinnsenchas* of Tailtiu — will be discussed later.

<sup>3</sup> Joyce, *Social History*, I, 239; see also the arguments at pp. 281 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, New York, 1899, pp. 92-93.



Celtic antiquities, M. Alexandre Bertrand. In his *Religion des Gaulois*, where he argues that the Druids of Gaul should not be held especially responsible as an order for the practice of human sacrifice in that land, he observes: "On devrait réfléchir, avant d'accuser les druides, qu'en Irlande, le pays druidique par excellence, les sacrifices humains liturgiques étaient inconnus."<sup>1</sup> In the face of such statements as the foregoing, — and more to the same purport might easily be added,<sup>2</sup> — it seems worth while to inquire briefly what the nature is of the evidence for the custom in question. If the scholars cited are right in their assertions, then the current opinion of most students of Celtic antiquities is mistaken and should be corrected. If, on the other hand, there is good evidence for the usual view, such general denials as have been quoted above ought not to be constantly reasserted. It is doubtless difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at decisive proof in settlement of so obscure a problem. But it ought to be easy, by a short examination of the material, to determine whether the evidence for human sacrifice in Ireland is conspicuously different from that which is held to prove the existence of the practice elsewhere. No part of the testimony to be presented, it should be added, is new in the sense that it has not been somewhere mentioned in previous discussions of the subject, though the various items have not all been treated elsewhere together, so far as the writer is aware. And of course no claim is made that the material here discussed is in any sense complete. Ancient Irish literature, whether in the vernacular or in Hiberno-Latin, is still far from wholly accessible, and that portion of it which has been published has not yet been thoroughly canvassed for the light it throws on history and institutions.

It may be observed at the outset that there is, to say the least, no antecedent improbability that the Irish Celts were accustomed to sacrifice human victims. Disregarding the wide diffusion of such a practice among the civilizations of antiquity and among savage tribes of modern times, one can find particularly good evidence of its existence among the Celtic peoples, who were most closely related to the ancient Irish. It was so familiar and well-recognized a feature of the religion of the Gauls that the testimony on

<sup>1</sup> Bertrand, *La Religion des Gaulois; les Druides et le Druidisme* (in the series entitled *Nos Origines*), Paris, 1897, p. 68, n. It is fair to add that the statement quoted is based upon the authority of M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Introduction à la Littérature Celtique*, I, 51 ff., and that this scholar seems afterwards to have modified his opinion. In his later work, *Les Druides et les Dieux Celtiques à Forme d'Animaux* (Paris, 1906), pp. 100–102, M. d'Arbois admits that the Irish Druids probably presided at the immolation of first-born infants before the idol of Cromm Cruaich. See below, pp. 189 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary to accumulate references to similar expressions of opinion. But one additional instance may be cited from a recent contribution to a learned journal. The reviewer of Rolleston's *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, in the *Journal of the Ivernian Society*, IV, 189 (1912), declares that "the evidence of human sacrifice in Ireland consists of one single statement in one tract."

the subject need not be cited here.<sup>1</sup> Roman and early Christian historians repeatedly expressed their horror at what M. Camille Jullian has aptly called "le plus célèbre de tous les rites gaulois, et en réalité le plus banal de tous."<sup>2</sup> The evidence indicates, furthermore, that the human sacrifices of the Gauls were performed for a variety of purposes. Sometimes they were undertaken as offerings to the dead;<sup>3</sup> sometimes as a protection against disease;<sup>4</sup> frequently, it seems, as offerings to the god of war;<sup>5</sup> at other times, again, as a mode of divination,<sup>6</sup> or as a means of procuring the fertility of the soil.<sup>7</sup> In many cases, apparently, the offering took the form of self-devotion, or sacrificial suicide.<sup>8</sup> Even if such costly sacrifices were resorted to only in times of great public or personal need, or were restricted, as M. Jullian suggests,<sup>9</sup> to the greater gods alone, they cannot have been confined to a single cult or a narrow territory. Among the Celts of Britain, too, although the evidence is less extensive than for the Continent, the existence of the custom is well attested.<sup>10</sup> If, then, the Irish did not practise it, they differed from the peoples nearest of kin to them in a way that historians may well be puzzled to explain.

One other consideration may be presented here for its bearing on the general question of antecedent probability. Certain customs of the modern Gaelic peoples, both of Ireland and of Scotland, look very much like modified survivals of human sacrifice. The ceremonies associated with the Beltane, or May-Day, fire are perhaps most clearly of this character, as the festival is of most assured antiquity on Celtic soil. The oldest account of Beltane, to be sure, — that found in *Cormac's Glossary*,<sup>11</sup> — contains no reference to sacrifice. It simply mentions two fires which Druids used to make with great incantations, and between which they used to drive the cattle as a safeguard against disease. But according to the testimony of Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*<sup>12</sup> there existed as late as the eighteenth century the

<sup>1</sup> The necessary limits of the present article forbid extended discussion or illustration of the Continental practices in question. Convenient summaries of the recorded facts, with references to the classical authorities, will be found in Ch. Renel, *Les Religions de la Gaule avant le Christianisme*, Paris, 1906, pp. 355 ff.; Camille Jullian, *Recherches sur la Religion Gauloise*, Bordeaux, 1903, pp. 51 ff. (dealing with the earliest periods); and the same author, *Histoire de la Gaule*, II, 157 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Jullian, *Recherches*, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., for example, Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, vi, 14, 19. Historical testimony on this point is supported by archæological investigations. See Naue, translated by Reinach, *Revue Archéologique*, 1895, II, 40 ff.; also *L'Anthropologie*, VI, 586, and references cited by MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 337, n.

<sup>4</sup> Cæsar, *DBG.*, vi, 16.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Justin, xxvi, 2; Livy, xxxviii, 47; Diodorus Siculus, v, 32; xxxi, 13; Athenæus, iv, 51; *Scholia in Lucani Bellum Civile*, ed. Usener, p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Strabo, iv, 4, 5; Tacitus, *Annales*, xiv, 30; Diodorus Siculus, v, 31. <sup>7</sup> Cf. Strabo, iv, 4, 4.

<sup>8</sup> On suicide for sacrificial purposes cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, I, 359 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Recherches*, p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxx, 4, 13; Dio Cassius, lxii, 7; and, for archæological evidence, some of the references cited by MacCulloch, p. 337, n.

<sup>11</sup> See Whitley Stokes's edition of O'Donovan's translation, Calcutta, 1868, pp. 19, 23.

<sup>12</sup> Published at London, 1716 (reprinted at Glasgow, 1884), p. 105.

tradition that malefactors were burned in the Beltane fire. And if the authority for this statement be questioned, certain Perthshire customs described by Sir John Sinclair,<sup>1</sup> and often cited in books on Celtic religion, may still be urged as pointing back to human sacrifice. Sinclair relates how lots were cast among the people by the division of a loaf of cake, the person who received a certain blackened piece being taken as the "devoted" victim and subjected to various penalties. Sometimes the victim was compelled to leap through the fire, or a pretense was made of throwing him into it; and throughout the ceremony he was spoken of as "dead." The whole performance may well be a playful substitute for what was once serious business, just as the horse's bones thrown into the fire in modern Beltane ceremonies at Dublin may be a substitute for the body of a human victim.<sup>2</sup> It is commonly held that the man or woman sacrificed in such cases was originally a representative of the spirit of vegetation, and that the purpose of the cult was primarily to secure the fertility of the soil.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, Professor Bury has discerned a possible reminiscence of such immolation in the ordeal which St. Patrick's pupil Benignus and the Druid Lucetmael are said to have gone through at Easter on the hill of Slane.<sup>4</sup> In the final test which Patrick proposed, Benignus and the Druid were placed in a hut built half of green and half of dry wood. Benignus, clothed in the magician's garment, was put in the dry part, and Lucetmael, wearing the garment of Patrick, in the green part. Then the hut was set on fire, and as a result of Patrick's prayer the magician was consumed, leaving Patrick's robe unburnt, while Benignus escaped unhurt, though the Druid's robe was destroyed. If Bury's interpretation of the episode be accepted, then the story, which occurs in Maccumatheni's life of Patrick, constitutes very early testimony as to human sacrifice in pagan Ireland. But the element of conjecture in the theory is not to be ignored, and the whole question of the significance of the popular ceremonies under consideration may be freely admitted to be of uncertain answer. All that is here contended is that the

<sup>1</sup> See especially his *Statistical Account of Scotland*, XI, 620. The passage is printed also by T. Stephens, *The Gododin*, London, 1888, p. 125, n. For further references on Beltane, with comparison of similar ceremonies, see Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 261; Sir John Rhÿs, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 520; L. Gomme, in the *Report of the Liverpool Meeting of the British Association*, 1896, pp. 626 ff.; and J. A. MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 265-266. MacCulloch, at p. 261, compares a similar Welsh custom of jumping through the "November fire."

<sup>2</sup> Cited by MacCulloch, p. 265, from Hone, *Everyday Book*, II, 595. For testimony concerning the burning of live animals, in some cases on May-Day, on the Isle of Man, see Rhÿs, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, pp. 305 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See MacCulloch, p. 163; and cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, III, 319 ff. For a somewhat different view (comparing the Athenian Thargelia) see Rhÿs, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 519 ff., and *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 309 ff.; and for an attempt to show a phallic element in the May-Day rites cf. W. G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, London, 1902, p. 262 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. B. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1905, pp. 108 ff., 302 ff. He compares the transformation of the burning of Sandan into the story of the funeral pyre of Cræsus, discussed by Frazer, III, 168 ff.



Gaels possessed, and have maintained until recent times, customs which are commonly explained, wherever they are found, as transformed survivals of human sacrifice. It will probably not be objected that the traditions of the Gaels of Scotland should not be used for the evidence they yield concerning the common inheritance of the Gaelic people.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the expectations aroused by the general considerations just presented, the explicit references to human sacrifice in Irish literature appear to be few. But they are not quite so rare as was implied by the writers quoted at the beginning of this paper, and at least seven passages, or groups of passages, deserve consideration here. These all make direct mention of sacrifice, and no such theoretic interpretations are involved as in the case just mentioned of Benignus and the Druid. Even if no one of them records an historical occurrence, they bear testimony at all events to the popular knowledge of human sacrifice, and to that extent are evidences of its existence. The fact that none of the passages in question is of very early date does not matter essentially to the present discussion, since the Irish vernacular texts in any case date from a period considerably after the conversion to Christianity. This fact, indeed, may go far to account for the scarcity of literary references to a custom which must have been vigorously opposed, if not early eradicated, by the Church.

The purposes of the sacrifices mentioned in Irish writings correspond very well in general to those recognized in Gaulish sacrifice or surmised in the transformed rites of the Beltane festivals. The first instance to be considered apparently belongs to an ancient vegetation cult, the famous worship of Cromm Cruaich,<sup>2</sup> which St. Patrick is said to have overthrown. In the early lives of Patrick, although the destruction of the idol is lauded as a great achievement, nothing is said of human sacrifice in relation to it. But popular tradition on the subject seems to be preserved in the account of Mag Slecht ("The Plain of Prostrations"), in the so-called *Dinnsenchas*. This collection of topographical legends is found in the Book of Leinster and later manuscripts and was probably compiled in the eleventh or twelfth century. But the component parts, especially the metrical portions, may be in some cases of much older date, and the material often seems to rest upon very early

<sup>1</sup> Instances of the sacrifice of human beings to avert pestilence among cattle are reported to have taken place in recent times in Gaelic Scotland, and may be noted here. See G. Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, Glasgow, 1911, pp. 275 ff. The cases cited are not brought into relation with any festival, and may be too exceptional to have any significance with regard to ancient tradition. But they seem to involve, on the part of the people concerned, the same old belief attributed by Cæsar to the Gauls (DBG., vi, 16), that life must be offered in the purchase of life. For a tale of a modern Scottish foundation sacrifice see below, p. 196, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The explanation of this name is uncertain. Rhys's interpretation, "The Bent One of the Mound" (or *Cenn Cruaich*, "The Head of the Mound"), is perhaps the best. See his *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 201. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cycle mythologique*, p. 106, proposed rather to connect *Cruaich* with *cru*, "blood."

tradition.<sup>1</sup> According to the prose *Dinnsenchas* of Mag Slecht, Cromm Cruaich was the king-idol of Erin, the god of every folk that colonized Ireland. "To him they used to offer the firstlings of every issue and the chief scions of every clan." To him King Tigernmas and the men and women of Ireland repaired on Hallowtide, in order to adore him. "And they all prostrated themselves before him, so that the tops of their foreheads and the gristle of their noses, and the caps of their knees, and the ends of their elbows broke, and three-fourths of the men of Erin perished at these prostrations."<sup>2</sup> The metrical *Dinnsenchas* adds the statement that the purpose of the sacrifice of firstlings was to obtain corn and milk.

To him, without glory,  
They would kill their wretched offspring  
With much wailing and peril,  
To pour their blood around Cromm Cruaich.

Milk and corn  
They would ask from him speedily,  
In return for one-third of their healthy issue;  
Great was the horror and the scare of him.

To him  
Noble Gaels would prostrate themselves;  
From the worship of him, with many manslaughters,  
The plain is called Mag Slecht.

Then the verse goes on to describe more fully the prostrations, and to recount how St. Patrick applied a sledge-hammer to the idol.<sup>3</sup> Now whatever exaggeration there may be in these passages, — and both the extent of the slaughter and the importance of the cult are very likely overstated,<sup>4</sup> — they clearly describe an agricultural sacrifice with human victims.<sup>5</sup> Whether the reader

<sup>1</sup> On the date and character of the material in the *Dinnsenchas* cf. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XV, 272; Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895, II, 150 ff.; Westropp, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, IX, 21 ff. For the texts themselves, see Stokes's editions of the prose portions in *Folk Lore*, Vols. III and IV, and *Revue Celtique*, Vols. XV and XVI, and E. Gwynn's editions of the metrical *Dinnsenchas* (not yet completed), in the *Todd Lecture Series* of the Royal Irish Academy, Vols. VII, VIII, and XI.

<sup>2</sup> The text and translation from the Rennes MS., published by Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XVI, 35–36, are here followed, with slight condensation. Cf. further the account of Cromm Cruaich in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, ed. Stokes, Rolls Series, 1887, pp. 90 ff. A different (Christianized?) account, which ascribes the death of Tigernmas and his people to an attack of plague in punishment of their idolatry, is found in the *Lebor Gabala*; see the Book of Leinster, 16<sup>b</sup>, 127<sup>b</sup>; also Lizeray and O'Dwyer, *Livre des Invasions*, Paris, 1884, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the text of the metrical *Dinnsenchas* of Mag Slecht, edited from four manuscripts and translated by Kuno Meyer, see Meyer and Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895, II, 301 ff.

<sup>4</sup> On the probability that the cult was of only local importance cf. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>5</sup> For further arguments to establish this agricultural character associating Cromm Cruaich with Crom Dubh and the Dagda, cf. MacCulloch in Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, III, 284, and the same author in his *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 78–80.

will accept the account as representing genuine popular tradition, or will reject it as the invention of Christian chroniclers, will doubtless depend partly on his estimate of the other evidence presented in this paper. But it may be observed in passing that the *Dinnsenchas* collection as a whole does not show any considerable influence of foreign literature or of Christian learning.<sup>1</sup>

The second Irish reference to human sacrifice to be noted here seems also to point back to an agricultural cult, though the text is of very different character from those just described and does not at all purport to be an account of pagan religion. The episode in question is found in the Middle Irish saga entitled *Echtra Airt*.<sup>2</sup> The only known version of the story is preserved in the Book of Fermoy, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, and the language of the text seems to be not much older. But since the title *Echtra Airt* appears in the list of "prime tales" in MSS. Rawlinson B 512, Harleian 5280, and Betham 23 N 10 (R.I.A.), the saga itself probably goes back at least to early Middle Irish.<sup>3</sup> The passage which concerns the present inquiry may be briefly summarized as follows: Conn Cetchathach, the king of Ireland, after the death of Eithne his consort, formed a union with Bécuma, a woman of the Tuatha Dé Danann, who had been banished from the Land of Promise because of her infidelity to her husband Luathlam-ar-Claideb. She and Conn dwelt together in Tara for a year, and there was neither corn nor milk in Ireland during that time. The Druids declared that the cause of the evil was the depravity and unbelief of the wife of Conn,<sup>4</sup> and that the only way of deliverance would be to find the son of a sinless couple, and slay him before Tara, and mingle his blood with the soil of Tara. So Conn gave over the kingdom to Art, his son, and set out in search of such a boy, whom he finally

<sup>1</sup> Compare the remarks of Kuno Meyer, in *Die Keltischen Literaturen (Kultur der Gegenwart, Teil I, Abteilung xi)*, p. 83, contrasting such learned compilations as the *Lebor Gabala* with the "unverfälschteres Bild von den heidnischen Vorstellungen und Bräuchen der alten Iren" furnished by the *Dinnsenchas*.

<sup>2</sup> Attention was called to this instance of human sacrifice by Sullivan in his introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs* (see p. 185, above), and again by Professor Kuno Meyer, in *Ériu*, II, 86. The saga was edited and translated by R. I. Best in *Ériu*, III, 149 ff.

<sup>3</sup> On this list (usually cited as "List B," to distinguish it from that preserved in the Book of Leinster and MS. H. 3. 17. T.C.D.), cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai d'un Catalogue* (Paris, 1883), pp. 259 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This conception that failure of crops, or scarcity of fish or game or cattle, is due to the evil conduct of rulers, or sometimes of lesser people, is familiar. Cf., for example, Deuteronomy, xxviii, 17 ff.; Herodotus, vi, 139; and other instances cited in the *London Academy*, L (1896), pp. 182, 264, 310. For illustrations of the idea from Irish literature see the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, by the Four Masters, I, i, 96 (*anno Christi*, 14 and 15); *Annals of Ulster*, ed. B. MacCarthy (Rolls Series), III, 596; *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, ed. W. Stokes, pp. clx, 507; *Publications of the Ossianic Society*, I, 102, n.; O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, London, 1892, I, 255, 317; O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 330, n.; *Revue Celtique*, XVI, 35, and XXII, 28; *Martyrology of O'Gorman*, ed. Stokes (Bradshaw Society), p. xi; *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, July, 1911, pp. 157, 173; Keating, *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn*, Irish Texts Society, III, 34. Cf. also Douglas Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, pp. 27 ff.



found in the Land of Promise. He brought him back to Tara, and the Druids counselled that the child should be slain. But as the sacrifice was about to be performed, the lowing of a cow was heard, and a woman wailing behind it. The woman declared that the cow had come to save the life of the youth, and she directed the Druids to slaughter it and to mingle its blood with the soil. She also bade them open two bags on the cow's sides, in which she said they would find two birds, a bird with one leg and a bird with twelve legs. And when the birds were taken out they fought with each other, and the one-legged bird prevailed over the other; which the woman interpreted as a symbol of the way the little boy prevailed over all the rest.<sup>1</sup> So the youth was not put to death. The rest of the story concerns the adventures of Art, the son of Conn, and has no further bearing upon the sacrifice, the aim and character of which seem reasonably clear. Though no one will probably hold the narrative to be historical, it nevertheless bears witness to the popular tradition of a human sacrifice conducted by the Druids for the purpose of securing fertility in crops and herds.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to observe, too, that the Irish story offers, in the substitution of the cow for the human victim, a parallel to the familiar narratives of Isaac and of Iphigenia. Yet the detailed circumstances in the Irish tale are so different from those in either of the ancient stories that a theory of imitation or borrowing does not appear probable.<sup>3</sup>

There is a close relation between the conceptions of sacrifice to ensure fertility of crops and herds and sacrifice to avert a pestilence from human beings. Human victims were offered for the latter purpose, as we have seen,<sup>4</sup> by the Continental Celts, and there is some evidence, at least of an indirect character, that a similar practice was known in Ireland. Certain passages from the metrical *Dinnsenchas* of Tailtiu, sometimes cited as testimony to such a sacrifice, are so doubtful, as regards both text and interpretation, that they may

<sup>1</sup> Sullivan, in his Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs* (I, cccxxxiii ff.), compared the story of Conn, and particularly the episode of the fighting birds, with Nennius's tale about Vortigern, which contains the fight of the two symbolic dragons. For further mention of this story see the discussion of foundation sacrifice, p. 195, below.

<sup>2</sup> Further traces of the existence of agricultural sacrifice with human victims are found by MacCulloch in the tribute paid to the Fomorians by the Nemedians, in the strife between Carman and the Tuatha Dé Danann, and in the story of the rescue of Devorgilla. See his *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 57, 133, 168, and 237. His interpretation of the episodes in question is very likely right, but since the passages do not contain direct and explicit reference to human sacrifice they have been omitted from the present discussion.

<sup>3</sup> Another literary reference in Irish to the employment of human sacrifice to avert a great calamity, this time to put an end to drought, may be mentioned here in passing. It is in the story of "How Samson slew the Gestedha," and since the practice is ascribed to this unidentified oriental people, the passage has no bearing upon Irish conditions beyond bringing one more piece of testimony to the knowledge of such sacrifices. The text, which is perhaps of the twelfth century, was described by Meyer in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, IV, 467, and edited and translated by Marstrander, *Eriu*, V, 145 ff. The source of the story appears to be unknown.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 187, above.



best be left out of the reckoning for the present.<sup>1</sup> But two accounts of self-devotion by Christian saints to save the land from plague seem to involve something different from the regular Christian conception of sacrifice, and suggest the existence in the Irish mind of the idea, attributed by Cæsar to the ancient Gauls, that the life of a diseased man may be purchased from the gods by the substitution of another human victim.<sup>2</sup> In the Middle Irish life of St. Finnian of Clonard it is related of him that "as Paul died in Rome for the sake of the Christian people, lest they should all perish in the pains and punishments of hell, even so Finnian died in Clonard for the sake of the people of the Gael, that they might not all perish of the Yellow Plague."<sup>3</sup> But the parallel suggested is not quite natural, and it is hardly fanciful to see in the sacrifice of Finnian, or in the explanation of it, an element of paganism not apparent in that of Paul. Still more strikingly true is this of the story of Eimíne Bán, who is said to have devoted himself to death along with forty-nine of his monks in order to save King Bran of Leinster and forty-nine of his princes from pestilence.<sup>4</sup> The strictly numerical application here of the principle of vicariousness is noteworthy.

<sup>1</sup> The poem was cited, and the passages in question printed and translated, by Sullivan in O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, I, dcxl. Sullivan apparently followed the text in the Book of Lecan, which he interpreted as meaning: (1) that Patrick preached in Tailtiu against three forbidden bloods, — yoke oxen, slaying milch cows, and burning the first-born [children]; (2) that hostages were drowned and the son of Aed Slán immolated to avert three plagues from Ireland. MacCulloch follows him in citing the second passage as an instance of the sacrifice of hostages, including the son of a captive prince. See his *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 238. But Sullivan's translation is questionable at several points, and a comparison of his text with the versions of the poem in the published facsimiles of the Book of Leinster (p. 200 β) and the Book of Ballymote (p. 403 α) throws additional doubt on the meaning of both passages. The Book of Leinster, for example, has *fogla*, 'spoils,' in place of *folá*, translated "bloods" by Sullivan; and in the next line it reads *gait dam ar cuing*, "the stealing of yoke-cattle," with no apparent reference to sacrifice. Again, at the end of the stanza, the word *primicht*, or *primshlicht*, may mean first-fruits of crops or cattle as well as first-born children. In the second passage the line rendered "immolating the son of Aed Slán" reads in both the Book of Leinster and the Book of Ballymote *mortlaid mac n- Aeda Sláin* (with *mac n-* in the genitive plural), which would more naturally refer to the death by pestilence of the sons of Aed Slán, — a well-known occurrence. Professor Edward Gwynn, who is editing the *Metrical Dinnsenchas* for the "Todd Lecture Series," has not yet reached this particular poem or completed his general classification of MSS. The materials for determining a critical text are therefore not yet available, and while there is so much uncertainty as to readings it seems best not to use the passage as evidence of human sacrifice. In the prose *Dinnsenchas* of Tailtiu, as printed by Stokes (*Revue Celtique*, XVI, 50 ff.), there is no reference to such a custom. <sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *DBG.*, vi, 16.

<sup>3</sup> See *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. W. Stokes, Oxford, 1890, pp. 82, 229. This episode and that of Eimíne Bán were both cited as containing suggestions of human sacrifice by Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, p. 285. A third instance, possibly of similar significance at bottom, is that of the *crostan* who is sacrificed to the sea-cats in the "Life of Brendan." See the *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. Stokes, pp. 111, 353. On voluntary self-devotion, or sacrificial suicide, among the Continental Celts see above, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> The text of this story was printed by J. G. O'Keefe in the *Anecdota from Irish MSS.*, I, 40 ff.; for a translation see Rev. Charles Plummer, *Ériu*, IV, 39 ff. Attention is called in

Among the ancient Celts both on the Continent and in Britain, as has been already pointed out,<sup>1</sup> a frequent occasion of human sacrifice seems to have been found in offerings to the dead, and various signs point to the existence of similar sacrifices among the Gaels. That animal victims were commonly put to death as a part of funeral rites may be inferred from a formula in the story of the *Wooing of Etain*, where the heroine is bidden, in case of the death of Ailill, to provide that his grave shall be dug, and his dirge sung, and his quadrupeds slain.<sup>2</sup> It is less safe to infer, as MacCulloch has done,<sup>3</sup> from the lamentations of widows who express a desire to be buried along with their husbands, that relatives were sometimes thus immolated; for the passages cited may imply no more than the natural shrinking of the bereaved from surviving their loved ones. But at least one episode in Irish saga is reasonably susceptible of interpretation as a case of human sacrifice offered to the dead. In the story of the *Death of Crimthann*<sup>4</sup> it is related that Fiachra and his brothers (sons of the celebrated King Eochaid Muigmedoin, of the fourth century) gained a battle over the Munstermen, in which Fiachra himself was severely wounded. The victorious party set out to return to Tara with the wounded Fiachra and with fifty hostages of the Munstermen. When they reached Forrach, in Meath, Fiachra died of his wound; and then, the saga goes on to relate, in a formula closely resembling that mentioned above, "his grave was dug, and his tomb was laid, and his funeral game was started, and his name was written in ogham, and the hostages who had been brought from the south were buried alive around Fiachra's tomb."<sup>5</sup> The purpose of this cruelty, according to one version of the Irish text, was "that it might always

Plummer's introduction both to the story of St. Finnian and also to that of a Druid of the Dessi, who exposed himself to be slain in order to secure victory for his people in a battle. The latter instance is also mentioned by Henderson (*Survivals in Belief*, p. 285) and definitely explained as an example of vicarious sacrifice. But an examination of the tale shows the act of the Druid to have been of a different character. The Dessi, on the eve of a battle with the army of Ossory, learn from a Druid of the enemy that whichever of the two armies shall first kill or wound one of the other, shall be the loser of the fight. Both sides therefore determine to refrain from slaughter, and the Druids of the Dessi undertake to cheat the men of Ossory by transforming a man into the shape of a cow and sending it among them to be slain. According to one version of the saga (the older version, apparently), a serf is thus transformed, and is killed. According to another text, a Druid of the Dessi undergoes the transformation himself and is slain for his people. In either case the slaughter is hardly a normal example of human sacrifice, the object being not to offer up a life but to trick an enemy into committing an act of evil omen. Both versions of the saga have been edited by K. Meyer, the earlier in *Y Cymmrodor*, XIV, 101 ff., and the later in *Anecdota from Irish MSS.*, I, 15 ff.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 187, above.

<sup>2</sup> See Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 122. This formula, with slight variations, and generally without the mention of sacrifice, occurs frequently in Irish sagas.

<sup>3</sup> *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 338 (with references).

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Whitley Stokes (from the Yellow Book of Lecan and the Book of Ballymote) in the *Revue Celtique*, XXIV, 172 ff. Cf. also a brief version of the episode in the Book of Leinster, p. 190, col. 3, printed by O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 494, and translated, *ibid.*, p. 543.

<sup>5</sup> See *Revue Celtique*, XXIV, 184.

be a shame for Munster and be as a triumph over them."<sup>1</sup> But the conception of sacrifice may have been originally involved, and have been unfamiliar to the mediæval narrator. His interpretation would be a natural explanation of what he may have regarded as an isolated act of barbarity. Yet the very formula, evidently traditional, in which he describes it, coupling it with the other rites of Fiachra's funeral, might be held to bear unconscious witness to the original meaning of the story. It is only fair to add that burial alive was apparently a form of punishment for malefactors in ancient Ireland, so that still a third possibility exists for the explanation of the Fiachra episode.<sup>2</sup> But there seems to be no strong reason for adopting this in preference to the theory of sacrifice.

There remains to be considered one more type of sacrifice, in which the Irish seem to have offered human victims. This is the so-called "foundation sacrifice," an institution familiar in all ages and in many parts of the world. The gold coin, which is now often buried in the corner stone of a new building, is generally recognized to be a substitute for the more precious offerings of animal or human life once deemed necessary to ensure the permanence of a structure.<sup>3</sup> No record seems to have been preserved of the existence of such sacrifices among the Gauls, but there is good evidence of the custom among the insular Celts in mediæval and modern times. The most familiar Celtic instance is doubtless that which Nennius relates of the sacrifice ordered by the British Druids at the building of Vortigern's castle.<sup>4</sup> Among the Gaels themselves a similar legend is attached to the founding of the monastery of St. Columba at Iona. Columba, according to the story, said that it would be well for some one of his followers to go under the clay of the island to consecrate it, and Oran straightway made a voluntary offering of his life.<sup>5</sup> While there are various reasons for not regarding the occurrence as historical, the

<sup>1</sup> Joyce, who discusses the episode in his *Social History*, II, 545, takes in general the point of view of the Irish narrator. He cites, though without urging its authenticity, a variant form of the story according to which the hostages find Fiachra unprotected and bury him alive.

<sup>2</sup> On burial alive as a punishment see O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, I, cccxxi; also K. Meyer, *Cáin Adamndin (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediæval and Modern Series, Part XII, Oxford, 1905)*, pp. 6, 35.

<sup>3</sup> For an extended general account of the forms of foundation sacrifice and of its geographical and historical extension see P. Sartori, "Ueber das Bauopfer," *Zt. für Ethnologie*, XXX, 1-54. Foundation sacrifice among the Germanic peoples is treated very fully in an unpublished Harvard dissertation by Professor J. A. Walz (deposited in the Harvard University Library).

<sup>4</sup> See Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, cap. xl. The work was of course also known to the Irish in a vernacular version; see, for the episode in question, Todd's edition for the Irish Archæological Society, Dublin, 1848, pp. 90 ff. Certain points of resemblance between this story and that of Conn Cetchathach have been noted above (p. 192, n.).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Adamnan's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, ed. Reeves, pp. 203 ff., 417; *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. Stokes, pp. 30, 309; *Revue Celtique*, II, 200 (a version from the Lebor Brecc); and, for a form more closely resembling the Vortigern story, Pennant's *Second Tour in Scotland*, in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 298. A modern Scottish Gaelic variant, not involving sacrifice, is recorded by A. Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, II, 317.



narrative itself is again an indication that the form of sacrifice involved was known to the Gaelic people. The supposition is borne out by another passage, in an old poem in the Book of Lecan, which describes the building of a stone fort over groaning hostages;<sup>1</sup> and by a curious etymology (worthless, of course, as such) in *Cormac's Glossary*, which derives the name 'Emain' from 'ema, id est sanguine' [*αἷμα*], and 'uin, i.e. unus,' "quia sanguis unius hominis [effusus est] in tempore conditionis ejus."<sup>2</sup> The evidence afforded by these references in the older Irish literature is supported by various stories of foundation sacrifices among the Gaelic populations in modern times,<sup>3</sup> so that the existence of the foundation rite is better attested, on the whole, than that of any of the other forms of sacrifice previously discussed. In fact it is admitted by Joyce in his *Social History*,<sup>4</sup> though he would assign it to a very remote period, "long before the time of St. Patrick," and though he apparently does not recognize that the existence of human sacrifice for this purpose increases the probability that similar offerings were made for the other purposes previously mentioned.

These references to foundation sacrifice complete the list of direct statements concerning human sacrifice in Irish literature, so far as they have been noted by the present writer. Several passages which are ordinarily interpreted as such have been rejected above as uncertain,<sup>5</sup> and others have been intentionally left out of account which, though not explicitly mentioning sacrifice, may be plausibly explained as disguised reflections of the custom.<sup>6</sup> Without doubt some pieces of testimony have been overlooked, and still others may be brought to light as new texts are published. But in any case the obtainable evidence appears to be meagre, and notably so in comparison with that found by recent investigators of similar practices among the Germanic peoples.<sup>7</sup> There remain, nevertheless, some seven episodes or references of clear import, and these documentary evidences in early Irish are substantiated by what is known of ancient Gaulish and British sacrifices and of modern Gaelic popular customs. One may disparage, of course, in general the value of all such testimony, and may question whether, in any part of the world, human sacrifice has been

<sup>1</sup> See O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, III, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O'Donovan's translation of *Cormac's Glossary*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Calcutta, 1868, p. 63; for the Irish text see Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries*, London, 1862, p. xli.

<sup>3</sup> See Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, II, 317; MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 239; *Revue Celtique*, IV, 120; *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, VI, 134, 173.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 284 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Compare, for example, the discussion of the *Dinnsenchas* of Tailtiu and of the Druids of the Deisi (pp. 192 ff., above).

<sup>6</sup> Such instances are the story of Lucetmael, with Bury's interpretation (p. 188, above), and the episodes interpreted by MacCulloch as agricultural rites (*Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 78 ff.).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Professor Walz's dissertation on foundation sacrifices among the Germanic peoples (already cited); also E. Mogk, "Die Menschenopfer bei den Germanen," *Leipzig Abhandlungen*, XXVII (1909), 603 ff. Mogk says that more than fifty pieces of testimony are known to him.

as prevalent, or survived as long, as is commonly asserted by students of religious history. This skeptical attitude, for instance, seems to be maintained by M. Salomon Reinach in his *Orpheus*, and the general issue which he thus raises, it is beyond the province of the present article to discuss.<sup>1</sup> But, at all events, in the face of the considerations here presented, it is hardly possible to claim for the ancient Irish a condition altogether exceptional or unique among the races that dwelt near them. That the practice of the terrible rite in question was probably checked early in Ireland may well be granted. The Druids themselves, as Bertrand has argued,<sup>2</sup> were very likely opposed to its continuance both in Ireland and in Gaul. The early conversion of the Irish to Christianity (as compared, for example, with the Scandinavian Teutons) would help further to account for its suppression, and might also explain the disappearance of most references to the subject from Irish literature. But that the custom did not in some measure survive the establishment of the new religion seems unlikely both from general considerations and from the particular evidence of native tradition.

<sup>1</sup> S. Reinach, *Orpheus, Histoire Générale des Religions*, Paris, 1909. See the "Index Alphabétique," under "Sacrifice humain," and especially pp. 61, 177 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *La Religion des Gaulois*, p. 68, n.





# THE LOGIC OF LITERARY CRITICISM

WILLIAM TENNEY BREWSTER

The common classification of literary criticism into such types as constructive and destructive, appreciative, impressionistic, judicial, and the many other catchwords with which readers are familiar, though often warmly opposed as academic rather than human and often depending on verbal quibbles, has considerable convenience for students of the subject. So far as such terms have any meaning, it can best be understood by reference to logical classifications and logical processes, a point of view not sufficiently urged in writings on the subject of literary criticism. The purpose of this paper is briefly to indicate the logical bases on which literary criticism actually rests.

Taking the term "literary criticism" in the broadest possible way, we find it more than merely "a disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world" (Arnold), or the result of "a certain kind of temperament, the power of being deeply moved by the presence of beautiful objects" (Pater), or "the getting behind spontaneous judgment, the ascertaining of how and why we differ in our judgments" (J. M. Robertson), or more than any of the many other definitions of purpose, quality, or method with which eminent critics have variously tickled our minds. Literary criticism, in the first instance, is simply any opinion about any writing, or, perhaps a little more definitely, opinion about books and the writers of them, or about parts and aspects of books or particular books, or about groups of books and writings, or about all books and writings. That is to say, criticism, regarded as an extant record, not as a theory, is any and all opinion on particular or general matters connected with literature. Fact it is not, except in so far as it is a datum or fact of an "existential" sort.

But any critical utterance that is not merely irresponsible or deliberately false tries evidently to be a true opinion; that would seem to be normal to human nature. Though it may merely express any opinion whatever about literature, literary criticism, like many other pleasurable pursuits, tends to become elaborated into a form of procedure and to take on scientific dignity and method. To produce just opinions, such as accord with some fact of whatever sort, to transfer opinions into the realm of fact, is obviously the purpose of any critical method. Criticism, as a live process, is constantly finding new opinions and modifying old opinions, and in both cases it is trying to verify and substantiate opinions, to transfer these things more and more into the realm of

fact. On the question of how much verification is possible, hinge, for example, the disputes between the impressionists and those other critics who maintain that there is some objective substantiation for opinion; and the question whether there is any other sanction than personality for critical opinion is a fundamental one in all critical theory.

If we turn to the common rhetorical classifications of writing, we shall find some indications of an answer to this question. It will be observed that the findings of any criticism are never the same as the thing criticized; they are always *about* the writing. The opinions of criticism are derived from something else. Psychologically, the opinions may be stimulated in a variety of ways; but in no instance are they the same thing as the source of stimulation. Thus descriptions, summaries, abstracts, digests, epitomes, and so forth of books, we do not ordinarily call criticism, since they merely reproduce, usually in more compact and convenient form, the ideas of the original. These things are often very useful in any critical act; but criticism itself does not try to produce ideas; it derives new ideas from existing data.

Criticism is, in short, a form of argumentation, in which, as in argumentation, the powers of persuasion and personality may have much play. It is important to note that a true line of cleavage among the so-called forms of discourse is between narration, description, and exposition, on the one hand, and argumentation, on the other. The former deal mainly with what is, with happenings, observations, records, sensations, etc., presenting them mainly as objects or as explanations; all these forms are interested in facts of whatever kind. But argumentation, on the other hand, is interested in these facts merely as evidence for a set of derived facts; it is always concerned with a new set of facts, technically called conclusions, which are never the same as the premises and are never the first-hand facts of observation, or record, or sensation, or memory. Argumentation may obviously enter into any act of narration, or description, or exposition, when any doubt arises or when any choice has to be made; in which case it merely tries to derive a new fact that shall be useful in the writing of another class.

Argumentation is not, like narration, description, and exposition, a varying method of representing things; it is a method of comparison, whereby something else, different from the objects compared, is the result. Derived facts, or conclusions, are its bone and marrow; and it always arrives at these new facts by a series of comparisons. You compare one fact or one body of facts with another fact or body of facts to the end that you may reach some new fact. The antecedent facts are usually called evidence, and this evidence, to be good for anything, may itself have to be substantiated. Besides conclusions and evidence, there has to be the correct application of fact to fact, and of fact to conclusion, if we are to be sure that the conclusion is itself a fact. The application of fact to fact is a matter of logic; and as material fallacies

arise when the facts are not right, so logical fallacies, of many picturesque descriptions, are nothing more than the failure of facts properly to apply to each other. It is manifest that in the actual world many things besides objective fact stand for us as evidence; and we argue from all sorts of positions, using prejudices, desires, opinions, say-so, hearsay, authority, and many other things much more freely than we do really sound evidence. And argumentation, as we know it in our hourly lives, is full also of many different kinds of wrong application of fact to fact, and hence of unsound conclusions. But it is, however misdirected, always a system of comparison, the end of which is facts of a derived character. And the science of argumentation is the science of arriving at these facts by the truest processes that can be devised.

This elementary account of argumentation is necessary to make clear how literary criticism is true to the more general argumentative type to which it belongs. Like most argument and discussion, literary criticism, when not merely description, is mainly a matter of say-so, wherein one's vanity or desires or prejudices or training become the premises, or the evidence, from which the critic leaps to a favorable or unfavorable finding. Between antecedents of this kind and a body of writing in question, some sort of comparison is made, and a new thing results. And as in argumentation, new facts are engendered by the comparison between premises, principles, standards, and data of various kinds, on the one hand, and the particular things in debate, on the other, and as conclusions also arise from the merging of specific data in a generalization; so, in criticism, the movement toward the desired findings may be of a deductive or of an inductive character.

The matter will be clearer if treated in some detail. Much literary criticism, as actually carried on, is nothing more than a series of loosely used deductions, barely amounting to more than a series of somewhat bobtailed syllogisms. For example, it is very common to compare any work that one happens to be reading with what one already knows of that or of other subjects, — economic, political, scientific, historical, or what not, — or to compare it with work of the same class or by the same writer, and thence to arrive at a new opinion, — as that the data are wrong, or the point of view unusual and interesting, or the treatment broad, novel, and humane, and many other things. Thus Macaulay's rapid-fire attack on the poems of Montgomery is a series of points of comparison: Montgomery stole ideas and mutilated them in the stealing, his figures of speech are indiscriminate, he is guilty of false syntax, of stupidity, lack of harmony, bad taste, blasphemy, silly anatomy, physics, metaphysics, theology, and many other sins. Thus Johnson defines the "metaphysical poets" by comparing them with what he believed to be true of wit, of "numbers," of sublimity, of "nature," and several other standards of respectable canonization. Thus nature lovers have been known to object to Shelley's descriptions, as in the *Ode to the West Wind*, on the ground that



they don't square with nature. Thus a poem may be measured against Ruskin's theory of the pathetic fallacy, and found to be poetry of the first rank, or of the second rank, or not poetry at all. Thus, as there were in more antique criticism canons of judgment and some reliance on such categories as fancy and imagination, so there are in more modern work such premises of a stylistic or moral or practical kind as are represented by the words *ease*, *limpid grace*, *lucidity*, *reserve*, *affectation*, *harmoniousness*, *artifice*, *word-painting*, and the thousand others which stand for some idea or image of what is desirable.

Much, probably most, criticism as actually practised is of this loosely deductive type. It is certainly the easiest to produce. Nothing can be an act of less intellectual labor than to measure up your reading with your predilections, or with knowledge and standards that you have somewhere acquired, and thence proclaim a resounding sentence, — provided you have sufficient literary skill to attach interest to your words. Our commonplace types of criticism are but various kinds of literary deduction. An exponent of the so-called "judicial" criticism, for example, is almost wholly engaged in deducing conclusions from premises which are satisfactory to himself. If these be set, treated as irrevocable, if he appeals to the authority of canons and preceding critics, especially if he suppresses his reasoning by the way, his criticism is called "dogmatic." If he uses his syllogisms to undermine a vogue and fame, as did Macaulay and Jeffrey, he is termed "destructive," but the deductive type applies equally well to findings of a favorable character. For these terms do but name the result of a process of which the characteristic is the testing of data in the light of other material, true or alleged to be true. Even "impressionistic" criticism of the simplest sort conforms to this type; for the impressionistic critic, in describing his own reactions, is comparing the data with which he is dealing with tastes and likings that have, as critical enginery, become personally standardized and generalized.

The aspect of criticism that has just been described is much less variously interesting than what may be called inductive criticism. This is certainly so of the history of criticism; for whereas deductive criticism would take account of a multitude of critical findings and the logic of the comparisons by which they came about, inductive criticism has to do with the establishment of the premises, principles, and standards by which particular works are judged, and with the sense and justness which go into the making of these. The way in which these standards originate is roughly this: A critic is struck by some detail or phenomenon or is impressed by some special passage. Thenceforth that phenomenon or passage begins to erect and establish itself in his mind either as the type and image of some sort of goodness or as a result, the causes of which are to be analyzed as a criterion for further judgment. Thus we read a passage that is not clear, and we come to have a type of obscurity

and may make some generalization about clearness. Thus Lessing may be thought to have achieved his memorable distinction between poetry and painting, and Burke to have analyzed the elements of the sublime and to have recognized a kind of literary procedure in which "we yield to sympathy what we refuse to description." Thus we have Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Mr. Chesterton. Thus we have "laws" of the short story and the drama. Thus Lamb, probably much moved by many passages in Shakspeare, came to the conclusion, which furnished him with the central principle of a famous essay, that the plays were "in themselves essentially so different from all others" that they could not be acted. It is evident that the number of such inspirations is limited only by the ingenuity of the human mind, and it is also true that most of them are stillborn. When they live, it is probably because they have been tested and have been found to be both true and useful, because they appeal to the common sense, or because they are enforced by a persuasive literary skill.

By this is not meant an exact description of the critical process. What happens in actual practice is rather that a critic takes these standards on authority, or because they are conventional and handy, or because they appeal to him as sensible, and all this without much thinking about these major premises. As a matter of fact, too, a critic is not unlikely to make up or to marshal his standards as he goes along. Lamb supplies a good example of this practice. Possessed of the idea that Shakspeare is essentially different from all other dramatists, he proceeded to devise premises from which he could deduce the conclusion that the plays could not be acted. Macaulay, observing some instances of asininity in Montgomery, picks up a standard — of grammar, of reverence, of sound anatomy, of clearness, of simplicity — wherewith to "ascertain" the failing. Another writer, dealing with the same subject, might have picked up a different set of criteria, getting some of them from his knowledge of other things, from his likes and dislikes, and endowing them all with apparent reasons. Walter Bagehot, stimulating critic, in order better to describe Charles Dickens, draws up the classes of the "regular" and the "irregular" genius; in another instance it becomes convenient to classify novels into the "ubiquitous" and the "sentimental"; or again, Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning being interesting persons, it is handy to make them types of "pure, ornate, and grotesque" art, and then to describe them in the light of these classes. Pater, disdaining the older distinctions between fancy and imagination, finds a sounder distinction to make between the more intense and the less intense; this is convenient in the criticism of Wordsworth, but when it comes to accounting for Charles Lamb, an old distinction between wit and humor has the floor. And generally speaking, we do not to-day cite Aristotle and Lord Kames, but rather make up new ideas with that fertility of invention which is presumed to be one of the great glories of the present century.

The foregoing is merely a description of the critical process, not any condemning of it. The description may be carried further by showing how some of the familiar types of criticism fall under the head of inductive form. When one accepts authority as a standard of judgment or relies on principles and canons that have been in vogue, he is simply doing what he would be doing if he accepted authority anywhere else, — in religion, in law, in science, in the auction room, or in the caucus. That is, he accepts the induction that somebody else has made, and is in consequence deducing results from previous acceptances. When, however, he indulges in a bit of interpretation, and tries to tell what a thing means other than what it says on the face of it, there is a constructive act. A similar act of construction is performed when a critic, or anybody else, attempts to make up a generalization from any particular body of data. Most of the so-called "constructive" criticism, and almost all interpretation, is inductive in type.

We are now in a position to consider the logic of the matter, though this again can be treated only with great brevity. With the so-called "impressionistic" type of criticism we need have little to do; since impressionism is somewhat of a law unto itself, and so long as its findings are delivered in an entertaining way there is little to be said. But many attempts have been made to treat criticism in a more scientific way, that is, to get at facts, to resolve new facts from writings. This is a very large matter. Only one small part of it can here be indicated, — the application of logic to the types of criticism that have been described.

This logic is, as usual, and like such things as correctness in writing and composition, best seen in the negative, that is, in the fallacies. No full analysis of the critical fallacies has, so far as I am aware, ever been made, nor is it possible to do anything like that in the present limits. A few illustrative instances, however, may serve. Perhaps most common of all critical fallacies is that of the false example or illustration. A particular passage that for some reason has struck the critic is not infrequently chosen as generally representative, whereas the truth of the matter is, that unless bolstered by other evidence, such a passage is representative only of itself. But, on the strength of a few such passages, a work is often totally condemned. This fallacy is of such frequent occurrence in book reviewing that for convenience it might be called the reviewer's fallacy, just as certain well-known maladies are known by the names of the discoverers or first exponents thereof. It amounts, of course, to a bad induction or generalization, in that the critic jumps from a particular to a general without due regard to the laws by which leaps may logically be made. Much reviewing, from this point of view, is as absurd as it would be to charge a railroad with habitual lateness simply because your train happened to be behind time one morning.

But bad inductions are not confined to reviewing and such comparatively hasty work. It is possible, for example, — it actually has been done, — to



select a group of novels which will delightfully substantiate a theory of the "evolution" or the "development" of the novel, which would be quite different from the theory which another set of novels would reveal. It is an easy and common act to draw a circle around some part of human activity and label the result with the more general names of "life," "art," "evolution," or some other pleasing term of criticism. Much of the discussion of the modern short story is nothing more than an isolating and describing of some characteristics which the form probably possesses, — as that it has unity, point, etc., — and thence jumping to the generalization that the form has these things, not in common with many other forms, but *exclusively*. Attempts to define poetry are likely to illustrate this fallacy. Thus, when Poe would have poems limited to about one hundred lines, on the ground that the inspiration cannot be sustained over a longer space, and when he considers Death to be the most beautiful and appropriate of poetical subjects, the first thought that occurs to a reader is that the theory may possibly not square with the facts.

Here are some other instances of bad generalization of different sorts. When Dryden, in a moment of enthusiasm, says of Chaucer that "not a single character escaped him," the saying can be reconciled with the demands of common sense and logic only by supposing Dryden to have meant that of all the characters that Chaucer treated not a single one escaped him. It is very difficult to be certain that Chaucer "has taken into the compass of his *Canterbury Tales* the various manners and humours (as we now call them) of the whole English nation, in his age." The chances are against it, even if we did not know of other characters in other writers. Or again, when Dryden, in the same famous *Preface to the Fables*, said that "it were an easy matter to produce some thousands of his [Chaucer's] verses which are lame for want of half a foot, and sometimes a whole one, and which no pronunciation can make otherwise," he evidently generalized from that lack of knowledge which an alleged happier age has since made good. When Mr. Frederic Harrison calls attention to the "consonance" of Ruskin, that is, to the recurrence of similar vowel and consonantal sounds as an element of excellence in prose, he does a very interesting thing, but the observation should be cautiously pressed without more proof than is given; for, since the language has only about forty sounds and twenty-six signs to represent them, some repetition of sounds is unavoidable in any such voluminous writer as Ruskin. When Lamb most persuasively argues that Shakspeare cannot be acted, he loses sight of the historical fact that the plays were written to be acted, he forgets that there is such a thing as good acting as well as bad acting, and he neglects the other important fact that the tragical and spiritual happenings of which he so much approves, and which he thinks mutilated by stage representation, can be represented only by words and pantomime, either on the stage or in the imaginings that reading may conjure up.



It would doubtless be possible to find instances in literary criticism of nearly all the types of logical fallacy that are classified in books of formal logic. A few may be indicated. Begging the question is a very common practice. A recent writer is inclined to take exception to George Meredith on the ground that he did not have "temperament," the term being vaguely defined by something possessed by Thackeray and George Eliot, among other novelists, and hence assumed to be a desirable thing. The real point is, however, to show that the absence of this temperament is a drawback to Meredith, and this cannot be assumed by any summary handling of the word. Arnold often supplies examples of this kind of fallacy; here is one: "The accent of such verse as

In la sua volontade è nostra pace . . .

is altogether beyond Chaucer's reach; we praise him, but we feel that this accent is out of question for him. It may be said that it was necessarily out of the reach of any poet in the England of that stage of growth. Possibly; but we are to adopt a real, not a historic, estimate of poetry," etc. (*The Study of Poetry*). Well, nobody says that Chaucer did the same thing that Dante did, and it is conventional and possibly reasonable to give the latter the palm of greatness; but what is the "real" thing in poetry? Arnold uses the term in other writings also; in this essay it is set in opposition to the "historical estimate" and the "personal estimate" and has some advantage in being illustrated by the well-known "touchstones." But it does not appear that the touchstones of high excellence are chosen on other ground than Arnold's own personal predilections; certainly there is no hint of any more objective definition than is supplied by the "personal estimate" of many generations of readers. What Arnold is doing, then, is, as in most of his criticism, to point out, with great impressiveness, a distinction in result which is fairly evident, and then to assume the very thing to be demonstrated, that one result is better than another.

He also gives a good illustration of the fallacy of false cause or false sign, a kind of *post hoc* (*in hoc* would be more accurate), *ergo propter hoc* fallacy, in his essay on Gray, a thing alleged, in comparison with Johnson's *Life of Gray*, to be very broad and catholic. The reason, according to Arnold, that "Gray never spoke out" is that "he fell on an age of prose." But logically, before coming to such a fine conclusion, it would be worth while to ascertain whether or not Gray "fell on an age" of dyspepsia, or comfort, or laziness, or many of the other conditions that have deterred people from producing work which it is fancied they might have been capable of. Gray did not produce a great amount; that is probably true; but it is unwarranted to "leap to a so-called cause" and be satisfied. The fact, however, in the instance in question, is probably more important than the reason, the finding of which is a form of amusement.

Here is a good example of irrelevant conclusion. "The love-dialogues of Romeo and Juliet," says Lamb in his essay on the tragedies of Shakspeare, "those silver-sweet sounds of lovers' tongues by night; the more intimate and sacred sweetness of nuptial colloquy between an Othello or a Posthumus with their married wives, all those delicacies which are so delightful in the reading, as when we read of those youthful dalliances in Paradise —

As beseem'd  
Fair couple link'd in happy nuptial league,  
Alone :

by the inherent fault of stage representation, how are these things sullied and turned from their very nature by being exposed to a large assembly; when such speeches as Imogen addresses to her lord, come drawling out of the mouth of a hired actress, whose courtship, though nominally addressed to the personated Posthumus, is manifestly aimed at the spectators, who are to judge of her endearments and her returns of love." If the criticism is at all just, a matter not at present in point, then the audience and the actors are not, as Lamb seems to imply, the guilty ones, but the great bard himself who wrote these scenes with the intention of having people see them and actors represent them. Lamb's own conclusion is a *non sequitur*.

Mr. Robertson (*Poe*) writes thus: "It is Mr. Henry James who, in a passage already quoted from, makes the remark: 'With all due respect to the very original genius of the author of the *Tales of Mystery*, it seems to me that to take him with more than a certain degree of seriousness is to lack seriousness oneself. An enthusiasm for Poe is the mark of a decidedly primitive stage of reflection.' One cannot guess with any confidence as to the precise 'degree of seriousness' which Mr. James would concede; or how much seriousness he brings to bear on his own attachments; or what the stage of reflection was at which he cultivated an enthusiasm for, say, Théophile Gautier. One therefore hesitates to put one's self in competition with Mr. James in the matter of seriousness of character." The remark that Mr. James's "degree of seriousness" is a vague phrase is a legitimate criticism; but not so the rest of the passage. It is irrelevant, an *argumentum ad hominem*, good enough for a lawyer scoring points, but really apart from the issue and an obscuring of it. Mr. James's criticism of Poe is probably not particularly sound, but the remarks on his liking for Gautier or his seriousness of character have nothing to do with their soundness. Mr. Robertson is inclined to write criticism as if he were composing a lawyer's brief, and may occasionally follow the lawyer's advice to "take it out of the other fellow."

The foregoing examples illustrate from one point of view the meaning of the term logic as applied to literary criticism, but of this important side of the subject no full account has yet been given. Looked at in another way, many of the improvements that have been made in critical method are really the

application of more exact and reasonable logical processes to this interesting pursuit of establishing opinions. A glance at the history of literary criticism shows many improvements. To-day, for example, we are inclined to define, and hence to isolate, from the body of matter which enters into any elaborate and conscientious critical act, certain processes which lie on the borderland of the comparative methods that have been described above; and consequently we find such types as descriptive criticism, on the one hand, which merely recounts data and phenomena, and, on the other, collective criticism, which states as data opinions about literature. Large parts of Pater's criticism approximate the former type; any statement of common opinion or the growth of a vogue, as, for example, Sir Sidney Lee's chapter on "Shakespeare's Posthumous Reputation" (*A Life of William Shakespeare*), stands for the latter. A great gain is made, also, when we recognize that certain opinions, of the so-called impressionistic sort, attempt to be no more than a law unto themselves; for thereby we are enabled to recognize the possibility of a divergent type to which more scientific methods may be applicable.

Or again, the modern study of forms and *genres* may be regarded as a clearing of the decks for the action of logic. Comparisons will not be made between things that are not properly comparable. We compare things with things of the same class or with the purpose for which they were written, and can thereby bring the logical processes into exacter limits and to more definite issues. Our modern calling for totality as opposed to the isolated finding — what is that but a drift from what has been called the reviewer's fallacy toward a fairer examination of the phenomena? The decadence of polemic, too, in the history of criticism, is simply a gain in the relevancy of judgment. The attempts to account for literature in terms of contemporary life, and to base the value of it on human values and interests rather than on *a priori* and academic criteria, are discoveries of the highest importance, and are fundamental to the logic of literary criticism, as to any reasonable logic.

At best, literary criticism remains, and will always remain, a provoking and inexact science, however entertaining as a pursuit. It is a creative art and has few bounds but those of personality. About all that a science of criticism can do is to check up judgment in the making or in the revision, just as the knowledge of rhetoric can do little more than tinker with the common, everyday act of writing. It is too obvious to need saying that good criticism, like any other good thing, depends first of all on mental vigor. The theory of the subject can merely tame and prune the untutored result. That more attention, however, than has heretofore been given may be properly bestowed on the broad application of logic to literary criticism, it has been the aim of this article briefly to indicate.



# THE NARRATIVE ART OF THE OLD FRENCH FABLIAUX

WALTER MORRIS HART

The Old French fabliaux were comic tales in verse. They seem to have been composed mainly in the north of France, as early as the twelfth, and during the thirteenth and part of the fourteenth centuries. The majority are anonymous; their authors were, for the most part, professional jongleurs, unfrocked monks or priests, expelled students, half-educated "clerks." But individual authorship signifies nothing; the fabliaux are absolutely impersonal in style, technique, and subject matter. And yet there is, in their narrative art, evidence of a certain self-consciousness. Jongleurs declared that their stories were to be brief, interesting, new, that their purpose was to make people laugh, to transform anger to good humor and so put an end to quarrels. They intended these comic tales for public recitation; and these two factors, comic purpose and oral presentation, determine the whole economy of fabliau technique. For a "funny story" must be well told. The art of a tale of adventure, a tale of ghosts or of fairies, matters very little. But the only justification for the existence of a "funny story" is the laugh at the proper place. This requires nice adjustment of means to ends, self-conscious art. The end must be seen from the beginning; each step must be remembered at the right moment; and it is fatal to forget the "point." Public presentation enforced the necessity of this carefully calculated art. For the jongleur, face to face with his audience, knew at every instant whether he was succeeding or not. His technique, like the technique of the dramatist, was directly and absolutely controlled by his public. Consciously and constantly aiming at comic effects, subjected for some two hundred years to immediate and emphatic criticism, the fabliau inevitably came to be the best narrative art of the Middle Ages. It must be remembered, however, that it was planned, not, like the high comedies of Shakspeare, to awaken thoughtful laughter, but to produce an immediate and momentary effect; and it must be read to-day, if read at all, with no less charity than last night's after-dinner joke.

Immediate effects are not produced by long, complex stories requiring summaries, explanations, transitions. As a means to its own ends the fabliau was likely, then, to be — and, as a matter of fact, was — conscientious in the observance of the unities. A single day, more often a single night, sufficed for the development of the action. It was time enough, manifestly, for a wife



to outwit a jealous husband; for a husband disguised as a priest to hear his wife's confession; for poor students to be avenged upon a thieving miller or an unwilling hostess. Such brevity of time did not permit much shifting of scenes, nor did a simple plot require it. A house with its immediate surroundings, or a house alone, or even a single room, sufficed for the main action of the typical fabliau. This concentration of attention upon a circumscribed space revealed a surprising wealth of detail, which came to be inserted in the story sometimes because the action required it, sometimes, doubtless, because of a consciousness of the ease with which an audience grasps the familiar, or of the pleasure that it takes in it for its own sake. It is possible to reconstruct an astonishingly complete picture of the thirteenth-century house and its furnishings, of the customs connected with them, and of the primitive conditions resulting from the use of a single room for all domestic purposes. If such pictures are interesting to us, they were ten times more so to an audience in daily and hourly contact with the reality.

No less was their pleasure in the recognition, in the persons of the fabliaux, of beings like themselves. A laugh at the expense of a stupid husband gulled by a clever wife is all the louder if the laughter can imagine as prototypes of the pair his own next-door neighbors; a sense of superiority to an acquaintance, if it is unvexed by sympathy, is far more exhilaratingly comic than the sense of superiority to a mere fictitious person. This sense of superiority was sometimes moral, sometimes intellectual, sometimes both; for the persons of the fabliaux were all, judged by absolute standards, evil, and many of them stupid as well. Sometimes they were of the upper class; but for the most part they were mere citizens or peasants. Commonly they were three in number, — though perhaps with others in the background, — the time-honored group of wife, lover, and husband. That there were, in the fourteenth century, a thousand good wives to one bad one we have the word of Chaucer's Miller. For the fabliaux the figures must be reversed. There was, indeed, the heroine of *The Pursefull of Sense*, who could remain true to a ruined husband. And there was Isabeau, the young and pretty wife of Constant du Hamel, who rejected priest, provost, and forester, and refused their gifts. But the prevailing characteristics of the fabliau heroines were faithlessness and cunning. Three wives found a ring and agreed that it should be hers who best gulled her husband. One persuaded her lord to drink too deeply, and dressed him as a monk; he conceived that God intended him for the religious life and entered a monastery. The second, sent to fry some eels, went off with her lover and returned at the proper moment a week later with the eels just fried. No one would believe the husband's story, and he was confined as a madman. The third disguised herself as the niece of a friend, and persuaded her husband to give her away in marriage to her lover. Which won the ring? There were many other candidates for that honor. A wife,

on her husband's unexpected return, concealed her lover beneath a tub borrowed from a neighbor. When the neighbor demanded its immediate return and the husband acceded, the wife saved the situation by bribing a passer-by to shout "Fire!" A wife, surprised by her husband, concealed her lover behind the door. "What would you do," she asked her husband, "if you found a man in the house?" "Kill him," he answered, drawing his sword. "O no you would n't, for I'd fling a cloak over your head, like this, and he'd escape." The lover took the hint.

In the typical fabliau a priest plays the part of lover. Usually he plays at the same time the part of victim of the comic intrigue, owing his downfall more frequently to the wife than to the husband. And if he escapes he has to thank her cleverness rather than his own. Clearly the jongleurs rated his intelligence no higher than his morality. The young clerks, on the other hand, were uniformly clever, uniformly successful in their intrigues. This was doubtless because they were themselves, as Bédier suggests, often the authors of the fabliaux. Readers of Chaucer need not be reminded of their doings in *The Reeve's Tale* and its Old French prototypes. Jongleurs themselves, too, sometimes played the rôle of hero, as in the pleasant story of the poor minstrel who died and went to hell, played at dice with St. Peter for the souls of the damned, temporarily entrusted to his keeping, lost them every one, and was thereupon expelled from hell and welcomed into heaven. If, then, we are to laugh at priests and women, with clerks and jongleurs, we are to laugh at the stupidity of husbands. They were the born dupes of their wives; they could be readily persuaded not to believe the evidence of their senses; their every indulgence in the luxury of jealousy or suspicion was, by a kind of poetic justice, severely punished. Ludicrously incredible, with the exaggeration characteristic of modern American humor, is the story of the peasant, who, persuaded that he was dead, saw his wife with the priest, and cried out: "You rascally priest! You may well thank God that I am dead; for, were I not, I'd slay you with my club."

It is, then, of type, rather than of individual, that the jongleur makes use to produce his immediate comic effects. For his purposes these types are revealed clearly enough by actions. He may add, for emphasis, a conventional epithet or two; beyond this he seldom goes. He has, indeed, an eye for characteristic attitude; he adds a charm to his stories by such instantaneous pictures as that of Richeut on her way to mass, with shining red face, in all the bourgeois dignity of her Sunday best, her new gown, parti-colored cloak, her train dragging in the dust. But for the most part descriptions are beside the mark, and the jongleur indulged in them but seldom.

The fabliaux were not psychological studies; yet, dealing, as they necessarily did, with comic disappointments, comic contrasts between expectation and fulfilment, between illusion and reality, they had inevitably to emphasize,

though not to study deeply, the elemental passions of love, greed, jealousy, hatred. It will be already evident that love, love of the baser sort, was the mainspring of most of the action of the fabliaux. Beside it, in these naturalistic tales, and of almost equal importance as a moving force, stands an insatiable hunger, a very replica, doubtless, of the wretched authors' longing for food, sharpened by their envy of well-fed priests and monks. The jongleurs very naturally delighted in such wiles as those which won for a poor clerk roast and cakes and wine, doubly relished because destined for the priest. They liked, too, to satirize the ecclesiastical greed of gold, and told *con amore* stories like that of the man who escaped punishment for burying his dead ass in consecrated ground when he made it apparent that the animal had bequeathed a round sum to the church.

Intrigues, thus set in motion by base love, or by greed of food or of gold, were sometimes, perhaps in a spirit of parody of romance or pious tale, carried out by means of supernatural agencies, real or pretended. A magic mantle revealed the hidden infidelity of the wives of King Arthur's knights. A peasant after death was miraculously conscious of those about him. A jealous husband was persuaded that he saw only the apparition of a lover with his wife, presaging his own death; a faithless wife that her "snow-born" child had melted in the sun; a hungry priest that a holy image had deigned to eat his roast goose.

So far, then, as motives and emotions were important for his purposes the jongleur traced out and emphasized them. He delighted to contrast passionate jealousy with stupid confidence. He delighted no less to emphasize the wrath of the disappointed, to dwell upon its outward signs, its dramatic expression. No more nor less than typical is the psychologizing in *The Knight who confessed his Wife*. It was his great love for his lady that led the knight himself to go for the prior whom she desired to hear her confession. His thought of her, as he rode, easily became a curiosity to know how perfect she really was; and of this curiosity came naturally the plan to act in the place of the prior as her confessor. When he heard her confession he "wrinkled his nose in wrath," and wished that sudden death might overtake her; he trembled with anger and with hatred of her whom he had loved so much and prized so highly; the thought of vengeance alone comforted him; when he heard her giving orders as usual he looked at her, shook his head wrathfully, and threatened to kill her. The variety in methods is noteworthy, — epithet, speech, "pantomime," "physiological psychology." Nice observation must have supplied the nose wrinkling and the head shaking in wrath. And the greater the emphasis of these symptoms, obviously the greater the comic effect.

No less obvious should now be the fact that it is not primarily the comic effect of character or of the emotions that interested the jongleurs. Plot,



action, intrigue, these were what they cared for; the *fabliau* was always first of all a story. Normally somewhere near the length of a Maupassant *conte*, this story varied from mere anecdote to highly elaborated episode. But without exception it was (a single episode, a single adventure.) And usually the three parts, beginning, middle, and end, were clearly articulated. The middle, the episode itself, consisted sometimes of a single intrigue, the single action of *intriguer versus* victim, sometimes of two intrigues, action and reaction, *intriguer versus* intriguer, cause and effect. In the story of *Gombert* the miller's wife is betrayed by a misplaced cradle; and in this form it is retold by Chaucer and by La Fontaine. In the story of *The Miller and the Two Clerks* the miller first steals the poor clerks' corn and horse, and thereupon the cradle is misplaced in the interests of poetic justice. It was this form of the story that Chaucer's Reeve retold. Involving the conflict of cunning *versus* cunning it has manifest advantages over the *intriguer-and-victim* type. It arouses more curiosity as to the outcome, seems a fairer fight, and comes nearer satisfying the human instinct for poetic justice. It is not unlikely that we have in the story of *The Miller and the Two Clerks* simply a later form of the *Gombert* story, produced by prefixing to the earlier form the intrigue of the thieving miller. And this may well be a type of *fabliau* development. It is thus because the second intrigue once stood alone that it does in general retain its supremacy, is always conceived as the more important, and is always the longer and more elaborate of the two. As a result the *fabliaux* are invariably well-proportioned; the jongleur never exhausts his powers upon the first event to treat the second hastily and summarily.

This greater length of the second event is always due to the presence of more dialogue and more details of action. It is almost wholly by these means that the *fabliau* scenes are elaborated. Only the briefest of the *fabliaux* are entirely without conversation; most of them are one half or more in this dramatic form. The speeches are short and carry forward the action, conveying, at the same time, information in regard to the preliminary situation. In general they are vigorous, lively, and realistic in effect. They are interspersed with lively and realistic incidents, so that a typically elaborated *fabliau* reads like a scene in a farce, with copious stage directions. Here, for example, is a page from *St. Peter and the Minstrel*: (They had been throwing dice for the souls of the damned; the jongleur had just accused the saint of cheating and had seized the money from the board) "St. Peter, without delay, caught him around the waist and forced him to drop the coins. He, though terrified at heart, seized and pulled the other's beard. St. Peter tore his clothes from his back. He never felt greater sorrow than when he saw his own flesh appear down to his belt. Thus they pulled and tore and beat and pounded one another. Then the jongleur saw that all his strength was of no avail, that he was neither so large nor so powerful as his adversary, and that if he

continued the struggle his clothing would be so torn that he could never wear it more.

" 'Sire,' said he, 'let us make peace; we have measured our strength one against the other; let us now go on playing in all amity, if you are so inclined.'

" Said St. Peter: 'I am much offended at your accusing me of cheating and at your calling me a rogue.'

" 'Sire,' said he, 'I spoke a folly which I now repent; doubt it not. And you have served me ill as well; you have torn my clothes, already ragged enough. Let us cry quits.'

"And St. Peter said, 'I agree to it.'

"And they exchanged the kiss of peace."

As for the intrigues themselves, the nature of the comic disappointments and catastrophes which they effect will already have been sufficiently illustrated. For the modern reader their cruelty, their reliance upon pain to provoke the laugh, is perhaps most striking. Beatings, wounds, physical deformity, even blindness, and even death itself may be made sources of comic effect. Thus three humpbacked minstrels who had mocked a jealous husband, an ugly cripple like themselves, were concealed in three chests to save them from his wrath. There, unfortunately, they died of suffocation, and the wife had now to dispose of the three corpses. She bribed a poor peasant to fling one into the river, and when he returned for his reward confronted him with the second, pretending that he had not performed his task. Thus also she disposed of the third. But when the irate peasant, on his third return from the river, met the husband at his door, he supposed him to be the same corpse on his way for the third time back to his chest. Whereupon he carried him, despite cries and struggles, to the middle of the bridge, and, to make sure of him this time, tied a great stone to his neck and flung him over. He was a peculiarly jealous and cruel husband and doubtless deserved his fate. But even in other cases it is possible for the modern reader to adjust himself to the fabliau point of view. The best of us at times laugh at pain, deformity, stupidity, drunkenness, poverty in rags, and even at death. Taste in the comic varies from age to age, but it depends still more upon momentary point of view, upon the mood induced by the author's treatment of his subject, and it is easy to exaggerate the difference between ourselves and audiences of the thirteenth century.

It is no less easy to exaggerate the contrast of morals and manners of the society which they seem to reflect with the morals and manners of our own contemporaries. Certainly the realism of the fabliaux is one of their most striking characteristics. They give us astonishingly vivid glimpses of bourgeois or peasant dwellings, of the dress and habits and customs of those who lived in them. But their purpose was, first, laughter, and truth and vividness

only in so far as they might beget laughter. Virtue and intelligence are not amusing; hence vice and stupidity are the inevitable choice. Comic effect depends upon the contrast of these with the norm of morality, the norm of intelligence. Comic tales themselves imply the existence of such norms, imply that, at least ideally, priests and women were not so vicious and husbands not so stupid as they were painted. While, then, the realism of the fabliaux is undoubted, it must be remembered that it was never an end in itself, but was always in the service of comic effect, a limited and irresponsible realism, never complete or thoroughgoing, with no rights of its own, but only to be employed or cast aside at will.

The fabliau did not pretend to be a transcript of life; it made, in fact, no pretensions whatever; it was an end in itself, or had, at least, no other end than to amuse. Composed, in some instances, by clerks, it showed a certain partiality for them, perhaps; otherwise it had no friends and no enemies; it was neither sympathetic nor satirical. It cannot be conceived as an attack upon any one rank or class. Those relatively low in rank were, manifestly, the most convenient victims of intrigues; and if the vicious person were a priest, vice could be the more sharply contrasted with standards of virtue; erotic adventures still provoke a laugh, irrespective of other sources of comic effect, — hence, one may conjecture, a good part of the fabliau “scorn of women.” But priest and peasants, knights and citizens, might often exchange rôles without affecting the nature of the plot. And the fabliau urged no reforms, defended no causes, attacked no general vices.

To so general a statement there must, of course, be exceptions. The observation of the jongleurs was too keen, the organic elaboration of the fabliau required a scrutiny too careful of causes and relations, for them to remain wholly blind to the moral implications of their plots. And to be wholly silent in regard to these implications was not the mediæval way. Of the people, living among them, and writing for them, the jongleurs delighted to repeat their proverbs and sententious philosophy. Their tales are strewn, too, with their own shrewd observations, and sometimes even begin with a brief moral essay which the action is to illustrate. A kind of poetic justice, moreover, is the rule: it is always a jealous husband, one who beats his wife, suspects her continually, or locks her in a tower, who is made the victim of the intrigue; it is a listener who suffers through what he hears; a thieving miller who is punished in the persons of his wife and daughters, — as the former tells him. But the fabliau may go even further; on debatable ground, and perilously near *exemplum* or moral tale, it may seem consciously to aim at satire of general vices. *La Bourse pleine de sens* exhibits to a ruined man the contrast of faithless mistress and faithful wife. Another tale illustrates Covetousness and Envy. St. Martin will grant any wish made by either, the other to have twice as much. Covetousness insists that Envy begin, whereupon



Envy wishes that he himself may lose one eye. *La Housse partie* exemplifies filial ingratitude. It concerns three generations, grandfather, father, and son. The father is about to turn out of the house the grandfather, to whom he owes all that he has. At first he refuses even necessary clothing and at last consents to let the old man have only a worn-out horse blanket, for which he sends the little son. The boy returns with but half the blanket. When his father scolds him he replies : " I see that you desire the immediate death of my grandfather ; I am only trying to help you. As for the other half of the blanket, it shall not be wasted. I shall save it carefully to give you when you grow old."

Because, then, of the demands of public presentation upon comic purpose, the fabliau was forced to nice calculation of effects : to grasp the story as a whole, seeing the end from the beginning and the relation of part to part ; to place this story in real and vivid settings ; to begin the study of character and of mental states and motives, and to make these immediately interesting by portraying them in terms of concrete narrative ; and to interpret the whole with a bit of shrewd or whimsically comic moralizing. All the elements of narration are thus elaborated, and elaborated concretely. Widen and deepen this elaboration, extend it to deal with serious subject matter, write prose in place of verse, and the result is the modern short story.

## GERMANISMS IN ENGLISH SPEECH GOD'S ACRE

J. A. WALZ

The English language possesses in a remarkable degree the capacity to incorporate and naturalize words taken from foreign languages. This phenomenon attracted the attention of foreign scholars long before the rise of the scientific study of language. Leibnitz, intensely interested in matters linguistic as in every other sphere of human endeavor, has a characteristic remark on this point in his *Unvorgreifliche Gedanken* (ed. by Schmarsow, Strassburg, 1877, p. 68). In this essay, which was written to point out the best methods towards the improvement of the German language, he recommends the judicious borrowing of expressive words from other languages, especially from those closely related to German. For the naturalization of foreign words, according to Leibnitz, is as useful to a language as the naturalization of foreign citizens to a state. "The English language," he continues, "has adopted everything, and if every language were to demand back its own, English would fare as Æsop's crow." The Swiss critic Bodmer points to this quality of the English language as one of special value to the poet. "English has of old had a strong liking for adopting and retaining the expressive and significant words of foreign languages" (*Critische Schriften*, 3. Stück, Zürich, 1742, p. 78). Bodmer is here discussing Milton's style and vocabulary in *Paradise Lost*; he is thinking chiefly of the Latinisms in phrase and construction that give to the language of that poem much of its singular energy and splendor.

Much study has been given to the different elements of English speech in the older periods, but the development of the English vocabulary since 1500 has received comparatively little attention. Modern English possesses a poetic vocabulary of astonishing variety and richness, a vocabulary which in many ways differs greatly from prose usage. Neither German nor French has a similar body of words set aside by the genius of the language for the exclusive use of the poet. Yet little is known about the origins of this vocabulary. To attempt to trace the ordinary word to its first source would be a hopeless task, for most words were used long before they appear in literature. Poetic words, however, were first used by the poets, no matter where they may have got them, and as by far the greater part of English poetry since 1500 was written down and has survived to this day, it should be

possible to trace at least a good part of this vocabulary. A most disappointing chapter in Mr. Bradley's *Making of English* is the last one on "Some Makers of English." We all know that Shakspeare is the greatest of English poets; most of us would assign to Milton the second place; both must have had great influence upon the English language, but more than that we do not learn about these two "makers of English." Mr. Bradley, indeed, mentions many phrases and lines found in their writings that have passed into common use or have become popular quotations, but what words they have actually added to the stock of English or to the poetic vocabulary does not appear. Only two words are given as being undoubtedly of Miltonic origin: *pandemonium* and *anarch*. It is not Mr. Bradley's fault that the chapter is disappointing. To Milton and Shakspeare applies equally the remark which Mr. Bradley makes about some of the lesser lights of English literature: "We cannot attempt to give here any account of their respective contributions [to the English vocabulary], because the preliminary investigations on which such an account must be based have not yet been made." Yet there is no better tool for making such "preliminary investigations" in any modern language than the *New English Dictionary*, whose superiority to Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* lies chiefly in the wealth of quotations covering all the periods of English and in the systematic effort at giving the earliest possible quotation for every word or usage. Here is indeed a wide field for English scholarship with much virgin soil.

We are not only quite ignorant about the makers of modern English, we are also very imperfectly acquainted with the influence of foreign languages upon modern English. There can be no doubt that German has contributed fewer words to the modern English vocabulary than any of the other great literary tongues of Europe. Mr. Bradley mentions "amongst the very few words that English owes to High German" the names of eight minerals as a reminder "that it was in Germany that mineralogy first attained the rank of a science." The list is in no sense intended to be complete. It could easily be enlarged; in fact, by the inclusion of technical terms in arts and sciences, it could be greatly enlarged without impairing the general statement that English owes comparatively little to High German. There are, however, Germanisms in English speech that do not appear as such at first sight, and that can be recognized only by a careful comparison of the linguistic usage in the two languages and by a close study of the literary and cultural relations of the countries. In the same sense, of course, "Gallicisms" may be pointed out in current English speech. When a modern writer speaks of the rise of *romanticism* in the eighteenth century, or the *romantic* ideas in English literature, he uses the words in a sense which they first acquired in German, chiefly through A. W. Schlegel. This is now well-established English usage and nobody would think of calling it a Germanism, but such it was originally. Similarly, the Germans in calling a landscape *romantisch* use the word in a



sense which they originally got from the English. When Matthew Arnold speaks of the *Philistine* middle class of England, or Bernard Shaw of "the great *Philistine* world," they use *Philistine*, as is well known, in the sense which the word acquired in Germany during the second half of the eighteenth century. The title of Shaw's cleverest play, *Man and Superman*, owes its second noun to the German *Übermensch*, as Shaw himself explains in *First Aid to Critics*. Nietzsche's *Übermensch* and Shaw's *superman* are responsible for formations like *super-farmers*, *super-nation*, etc., occasionally met with in contemporary works of English-speaking reformers and enthusiasts. Shaw himself is guilty of the jocular forms *super-apple* and *super-horse* (*The Revolutionist's Handbook*). There is apparently nothing German about the word *superman*; it is formed after good English analogy, but the meaning attached to it is taken from the German and has no analogy in older English formations of this kind. *Superman* is a Germanism even if we admit Shaw's contention that the general conception of Nietzsche's *Übermensch* is found in English before Nietzsche.

Too little attention has been paid by English scholars to this aspect of the English vocabulary. Investigations of this kind are of great value and interest; incidentally they show the folly of drawing a sharp line of demarcation between linguistic and literary studies. Language appears here both as the handmaid and as the mistress of thought and literature. We have valuable monographs on the influence of Christianity upon the vocabulary of the older Germanic dialects, but the same process of word-translation and adaptation may be found in modern times as the result of an international exchange of ideas. In the following discussion the attempt will be made to trace the history of one of these Germanisms in English speech.

Every one is familiar with Longfellow's poem bearing the title *God's Acre* and beginning with the lines :

I like that ancient Saxon phrase, which calls  
The burial ground God's Acre !

It is a common impression that 'God's Acre' is an old English word, the beauty of which inspired Longfellow to write the poem. This popular impression is embodied in a number of handbooks dealing with words, phrases, and literary curiosities. H. Percy Smith's *Glossary of Terms and Phrases* (New York, 1883) gives as etymology of the word the Anglo-Saxon *æcer*, Latin *ager*, implying thereby the great age of the whole phrase. In C. C. Bombaugh's *Gleanings for the Curious* (Philadelphia, 1890) we find (p. 633) the quotation from Longfellow with the remark : "This 'Saxon phrase' is not obsolete. It may be seen, for instance, inscribed over the entrance to a modern cemetery at Basle — '*Gottes Acker*.'" The remark is taken from *Notes and Queries*, as will be seen later. The compiler has no doubt as to the age of the phrase ;

he seems to think that it has become obsolete in English while still living in German. W. H. G. Phyfe, in *Five Thousand Facts and Fancies* (Putnam, 1901), explains 'God's Acre' as an ancient Saxon phrase, meaning a churchyard or cemetery. For this original bit of definition the editor is indebted to Longfellow. But even so serious a student of the English vocabulary as Archbishop Trench is of the same opinion. He says (*On the Study of Words*, London, 1882, p. 69; 1st ed., 1851): "'Godsacre,' or 'Godsfield,' is the German name for a burial-ground, and once was our own, though we unfortunately have nearly, if not quite, let it go. . . . Many will not need to be reminded how fine a poem in Longfellow's hands unfolds itself out of this word."

Persons familiar with the local history of the city of Cambridge will recall that the old burial place at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue (formerly North Avenue) and Garden Street was sometimes referred to as God's Acre. There is still a lingering tradition to that effect; it appears crystallized in guidebooks and descriptions of Cambridge. E. M. Bacon's *Walks and Rides in the Country round about Boston* (Boston, 1898) refers to the oldest burial ground in Cambridge as "this ancient '*God's Acre*,' as it once was called, south of the Common" (p. 248). The *Historical Guide to Cambridge*, published by the Daughters of the American Revolution (Cambridge, 1907), says (p. 134): "Right in the heart of old Cambridge, opposite the common, is the small but historically interesting God's Acre." At the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Cambridge as a city, in 1896, John Fiske delivered an oration in which he sketched the history of Cambridge. Says he: "The common began, as now, hard by God's Acre, the venerable burying-ground" (*Cambridge Fifty Years a City 1846-1896*, ed. by W. G. Dixon, p. 34); a little later occurs the passage: "by this route [i.e., Boylston Street] the distance [to Boston] was eight miles, as we still read upon the ancient mile-stone in God's Acre." 'God's Acre' is to the learned historian of New England a current, though ancient, name of the old Cambridge burial ground. In the same anniversary year A. Gilman edited a collection of essays by various authors, with the title *The Cambridge of 1896*. On page 5 we read: "The space between the sites of Church and Garden Streets was inclosed as a grave-yard or God's Acre in 1636"; p. 134: "This 'God's Acre,' as it is often called, contains the dust of many of the most eminent persons in Massachusetts." T. C. Amory, in his *Old Cambridge and New* (Boston, 1871), uses the same name: "Not far away [i.e., from the Washington Elm] is Christ Church. . . . By its side stretches God's Acre, where rest from their labors the dead generation" (p. 22). See also *The Soldiers' Monument in Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1870, p. 82. Palfrey, in his *History of New England* (Boston, 1860), has a footnote (Vol. II, p. 534) on the burial place of Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard College: "His grave, in the old 'God's Acre,' near the halls of Harvard College, was opened July 1st, 1846." There is, to my knowledge, no other burial

place in New England that was known as 'God's Acre,' but the phrase is occasionally mentioned in town histories as having been used in olden times. So in the *History of Haverhill 1640-1860*, by G. W. Chase (Haverhill, 1861): "At the November meeting (1660), it was ordered that the land 'behind the meeting house should be reserved for a burial ground.' This is the first mention we find in relation to a burial ground, but as the old English custom was to appropriate a spot near the church for that purpose, which they called 'God's Acre,' we presume that from the first settlement, the dead had been buried near the meeting house" (p. 91). See F. Howland, *History of the Town of Acushnet, Bristol Co., Mass.* (New Bedford, Mass., 1907), p. 238.

'God's Acre' is not an ancient Saxon phrase. It is not found in any Anglo-Saxon dictionary, glossary, or text. It is a very recent adaptation from the German, as the *New English Dictionary* (Vol. I, 1888, s.v. 'acre') first pointed out definitely. Its first occurrence known to me is in Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain*, London, 1605, *Epitaphs*, p. 29: "I could here also call to your remembrance how the place of buriall was called by S. Paul *Seminatio* in the respect of the assured hope of resurrection, of the Greekes *Caemiterion* as a sleeping place until the resurrection, and of the Hebrews *The House of the Living* in the same respect, as the Germanes call Church-yardes untill this day *Gods aker* or *God's field*." (See *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, Vol. II, p. 173, 1880.) The next quotation in point of time, the first given in the *New English Dictionary* (s.v. 'God's acre'), is from the *Itinerary* of Fynes Moryson, 1617. Moryson spent considerable time in Germany between 1591 and 1597. His observations on German life and manners are of great interest, though they seem to have received little attention from German scholars. He makes the following entry about the cemetery at Leipzig: "Out of this City they have (as many cities in Germany have) a beautiful place to bury their dead, called Gods-aker, vulgarly *Gotts-aker*, where the chief citizens buy places of buriall, proper to their families round about the Cloisters, and the common sort are buried in the midst, not covered with any building" (Part I, p. 7). Moryson does not hesitate to repeat an interesting observation. In Part III, Book 2, p. 68, he again refers to this German custom: "I have seen in Germany some fields without the Cities, compassed with faire square walls of stone, wherein Citizens were buried. Of these the fairest is at Leipzig, the walles whereof are built with arched Cloysters, under which the chiefe Cittizens are buried by families, the common sort only lying in the open part of the field. . . . This place is called *Gotts aker*, that is, that Aker or field of God."<sup>1</sup> The second example quoted in the *New English Dictionary* is from Trapp's *Commentary on John*, xi, 11 (1646): "The Greeks call their Church-yards dormitoryes, sleeping-places. The Germans call them God's

<sup>1</sup> A third reference to the word may be found in that part of Moryson's *Itinerary* which was published by Charles Hughes (London, 1893) under the title *Shakespeare's Europe*, p. 333.



acre." Then follows the quotation from Longfellow's poem, which was published in 1841.<sup>1</sup> Other passages, however, may be found. Edward Browne, the son of the celebrated author of *Religio Medici*, gives the German phrase without a translation in his *Account of Several Travels through a Great Part of Germany* (London, 1677). In speaking of Leipzig he says (p. 77): "The Church of St. Nicholas is well adorned, and hath the name to be the fairest within side of any Lutheran Church in Germany; they have also a remarkable burial-place or *Godts aker*, walled about, and cloystered near the Wall, wherein the better sort are buried, as the rest in the middle and open part." We find the phrase again in a work entitled *Νεκροκήθεια or the Art of Embalming* (London, 1705), by Thomas Greenhill, an English surgeon. Greenhill is considering the purpose of burial (p. 17): "But the fifth Cause and ultimate End of Burial is in order to a future Resurrection, and as B. Gerhard asserts, agreeable to that Comparison of Christ and St. Paul, his Apostle, John xii, 24, 1 Corinthians xv, 37, 38. That Bodies are piously to be laid up in the Earth like to Corn sowed, to confirm the assured Hope of the Resurrection, and therefore the place of Burial was called by St. Paul *Seminatio*, as others term it *Templi Hortus*, the Churches Orchard or Garden. By the Greeks it was called *Κοιμητήριον*, Dormitorium, a Sleeping Place. By the Hebrews, Beth-Chajim, i.e. Domus Viventium, the House of the Living in the same respect as the Germans call Church-yards, *Gotsacker*, i.e. Dei Ager, aut Fundus, God's Field, in which the Bodies of the Pious are sowed like to Grain or Corn, in expectation of a future Harvest." The last illustration of the use of *God's acre* in English before the publication of Longfellow's poem I take from the first edition of John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers (A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent, being a Guide through Holland, Belgium, Prussia and Northern Germany)*. London 1836). Before mapping out the itineraries Murray gives several pages of general information about Germany. There is a special section on "German Burial-grounds" in which we read (p. 192): "One of the peculiarities which distinguish Germany from England is the different light in which the abodes of the dead are regarded by the living. Before a traveller completes his survey of a German town, it will be not unprofitable or uninteresting to visit the public burial-ground — the 'court of peace,' the 'place of rest,' or 'God's Acre,' to give the German names literally translated." The statement is repeated, with the omission of "place of rest," in all the later editions of the *Hand-Book*, including the nineteenth, of 1877.

All these passages, written as they are by different men and extending over a period of more than two hundred years, agree in one point: 'God's Acre' is not an English phrase, but a translation or adaptation of the German

<sup>1</sup> The metaphorical use of 'God's Acre' quoted from R. Steele, *Husbandman's Calling*, 1672, does not belong here.

*Gottesacker*. Now in 1841 Longfellow calls it "an ancient Saxon phrase." Where did he get the phrase? The *Century Dictionary* quotes a passage from *Hyperion* (Book II, chap. ix), which gives a clear and definite answer: "A flight of stone steps leads from the street to the green terrace or platform on which the church stands, and which in ancient times was the churchyard, or, as the Germans more devoutly say, God's-acre."

Longfellow had heard the phrase on his travels in Germany, he had read it in German books; its beauty and suggestiveness appealed to him as it had appealed to English writers and travelers before him. He remains under the spell of that phrase until he has written his poem. But he evidently believed that the word went back to the time when the Germanic ancestors of the English people were still on the Continent, hence he called it an ancient Saxon phrase. The assumption that Longfellow used Saxon in the sense of German has no basis in English usage.

Goethe attributes to the poet the power to compel his readers to believe what is most unbelievable, while under the spell of his genius. Longfellow's poem has made people believe that there was such a phrase as 'God's Acre' in early English; it has made the people of Cambridge, including learned historians, believe that their oldest burial-ground was at one time actually called 'God's Acre.' The latter process, a sort of modern myth formation, is not hard to understand. Given, on the one hand, the poet's "ancient Saxon phrase" for the burial-ground, on the other hand, the historical old burial-ground with its sacred memories; the connection between the two was readily established in the minds of people fond of poetry, especially sentimental poetry, and imbued with a profound reverence for the past, though not professional philologists. I do not know who first called the old burial-ground in Cambridge 'God's Acre,' my earliest reference is Palfrey's *History of New England*, 1860, but the name cannot have been applied to it before 1841. There is not a scrap of evidence in the early records or town histories that the old Cambridge burying ground or any other burying ground in New England was ever called 'God's Acre' before the publication of Longfellow's poem, or that the phrase was at all known.

There is a very instructive discussion of the word in the London *Notes and Queries*, that unique meeting place of British ignorance and scholarship. The first inquirer, accepting the word as old, asks: "Was not God's Acre applied to Christian cemeteries before sepulture was admitted in churches or churchyards?" (1st series, Vol. II, p. 56, 1851.) Another, after quoting Longfellow's lines, very pertinently asks: "What is the Saxon phrase alluded to?" (Vol. III, p. 284.) The query is answered on page 380 of the same volume: "By a 'Saxon phrase' Longfellow undoubtedly meant German. In Germany *Gottes-Acker* is a name for churchyard." Another contributor, proceeding on the assumption that the phrase is old English, explains it by references to

1 Corinthians xv, 38; Matthew xiii, 39; Rev. xiv, 15. In Vol. IX, p. 492, W. S. Simpson informs us that the phrase is not obsolete, at least not in German, for he has seen the name *Gottesacker* over the entrance to a modern cemetery in Basel. In the tenth volume of the second series (1860) the phrase turns up again (p. 387): "Can you, or one of your correspondents, inform me by whom the term 'God's Acre' as applied to a churchyard was first used in English literature? It appears in the writings of Longfellow who seems to have adopted it from the German; but I have some doubts whether it had not been previously used by one of our early writers — George Herbert, for instance?" No reply was received. In 1875 a new discussion began (5th series, Vol. IV, p. 406). J. Dixon writes: "Of late years this term has with sentimental writers become a favorite substitute for churchyard or burial-ground, and they fancy it is a translation of the German *Gottes-Acker*. It is nothing of the kind; *acker* means not an acre, but any portion of land under tillage. I fancy Longfellow is responsible for popularizing this mistake. . . . Instead of being poetical, 'God's Acre' seems to me prosaic and commonplace. The German term 'God's field' *is* poetical. It suggests the harvest at the end of the world, and the reapers, the angels; all this has been well set forth by Longfellow; but God's *acre* reminds one of a land-surveyor and his chain." No less than five correspondents call Mr. Dixon to account on page 495 of the same volume. They find fault, partly with his German, partly with his reasoning. It is pointed out by one that Longfellow's 'God's Acre' is not a mistranslation of the German word; by another that 'God's Acre' is not at all a translation of *Gottes-Acker*, but the identical phrase in its English form; a third points out the difference between the meaning of A. S. *æcer* and modern English *acre* and maintains that 'God's Acre' has exactly the meaning of the German *Gottes-Acker*, "with which it is cognate, though most probably not derived from it." The kernel of the discussion is brought out by F. Chance in Vol. V, p. 33 (1876): "The great point to be settled is . . . whether 'God's acre' is really a translation of *Gottes-Acker* or merely an old English expression revived. Can any one tell us whether or where it is to be found before the time of Longfellow? If it is an old English expression revived, nothing can be said against it further than that the revival is not likely to meet with general acceptance. But if it is a translation of *Gottes-Acker*, then I think Mr. Dixon is perfectly right, and that it is a mistranslation; and I cannot conceive any one who is at all familiar with German defending it. An expression cannot be said to be adequately translated when the idea conveyed by the translation is entirely different from that conveyed by the original. To the ordinary German mind the word *Acker* conveys no, or but a very slight, idea of measurement, to the ordinary English mind the word *acre* conveys no other idea than that of measurement. . . . It is clear, therefore, that *Gottes-Acker* is, to use a mild expression, altogether inadequately rendered by 'God's acre.' 'Acre'



may once have had the meaning that *Acker* has now, but it has lost that meaning, and it is useless to expect that it will ever regain it." On the same page Mr. Dixon writes again: "What I meant, and still mean, is this, that at the present day the word *Acker* suggests to a German a special sort of land—plough land, and the word *acre* suggests to an Englishman a definite quantity of any sort of land, and therefore, that the two words are not the equivalents of each other." The discussion in *Notes and Queries* is brought to a close in the second volume of the sixth series (1880) on page 173, where a correspondent cites the passage, quoted above, from Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain* as the earliest example of the use of the phrase in English.

Whenever the philologist pits himself against the poet he is bound to lose, though he have analogy, etymology, and usage on his side. It is true that "acre" in nineteenth-century English is used exclusively as a measure; generations ago it ceased to have the meaning of field, as a look at the *New English Dictionary* tells us; yet Longfellow's adaptation of the German word became a permanent part of the modern English vocabulary, especially the poetic vocabulary. Without knowing it, yes, without intending it, Longfellow added a beautiful word to the stock of English. Its adoption into the language was doubtless greatly favored by the general misunderstanding which saw in it a revival of an old English phrase.

The newness of the word in English is also borne out by the fact that 'God's Acre' is not recorded in any English dictionary until very recent times. Neither is it found in the *English Dialect Dictionary*. It would be vain to look for it in the dictionaries of Bailey, Johnson, or in any dictionary published before the second half of the nineteenth century. It is not found in German-English or English-German dictionaries before that time, though they usually give *Gottesacker* as a translation of *churchyard*. This we find as early as 1617 in John Minshew's *Guide into Tongues*. So far as I am aware, 'God's Acre' is first recorded as an English expression in *The Encyclopædic Dictionary*, 1884, and in Stormonth's *Dictionary of the English Language*, New York, 1885.

'God's Acre' seems to have passed into general use, in prose and poetry, not many years after the publication of Longfellow's poem. In 1858 Elizabeth Stone published a book on the funeral rites and ceremonies among different nations, to which she gave the title 'God's Acre.' The usual reference to the great age and beauty of the term we find on page 87. *God's Acre Beautiful or the Cemeteries of the Future* is the title of a pamphlet published in 1880 (London) by W. Robinson. Quotations from works of the last fifty years are found in the *Century Dictionary*, the *New English Dictionary*, and J. W. Dixon's *Dictionary of Idiomatic English Phrases* (London and New York, 1891). In Eugene Field's poem "The Singing in God's Acre" (*Second Book of Verse*, 1893) the phrase appears not as a Germanism nor as an ancient Saxon phrase, but simply as beautiful English.

It is interesting to note that the German *Gottesacker* is of comparatively recent origin. It is first recorded in Maaler's *Die Teütsch Spraach*, 1561. It was quite generally used in the sixteenth century (cf. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 7th ed.), but it has not yet been found in any work before the sixteenth century. Weigand's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 5th ed., quotes from Luther's *Commentary*, 1544: "wir Deutschen von alters solche Begrebnis nennen Gottesacker." Luther evidently looked upon the word as old.

# THE TWELFTH-CENTURY TOURNEY

K. G. T. WEBSTER

If one can only read the metrical romances of the twelfth century unromantically, and consider these magnificent productions of an exuberant period from a strictly common-sense point of view, one may gain a tolerably definite notion of a genuine old-fashioned tournament in the days when chivalry was in its youthful prime. To be sure, since the writings of Niedner,<sup>1</sup> Schultz,<sup>2</sup> and Jusserand<sup>3</sup> upon this topic, and particularly since Meyer's edition of *Guillaume le Maréchal*,<sup>4</sup> the popular conception of an early mediæval tournament has been wholesomely modified; yet it may not be uninteresting to see what of unpoetic truth can, in corroboration of the remarks of these scholars, be extracted from one or two of the purely poetic accounts.<sup>5</sup> Our Philistine eye may stop upon a material detail or two as yet unnoticed.

On the real reasons for which tournaments were held we do not get much light from our poets — nor do we need it. We are not obliged to believe that they were usually called in order to select a mate for the lone princess,<sup>6</sup> or for the ladies *en masse*,<sup>7</sup> or to toll back a lost and regretted hero.<sup>8</sup> The *Lanzelet*,

<sup>1</sup> *Das deutsche Turnier*, Berlin, 1881.    <sup>2</sup> *Das höfische Leben*, Leipzig, 1889, Vol. II, ch. ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Sports et Jeux d'Exercice dans l'ancienne France*, Paris, 1901.

<sup>4</sup> Paris, 1891. Valuable Introduction in Vol. III. The poem was written about 1225, but is authentic twelfth-century matter.

<sup>5</sup> The romances principally utilized are these: Chrétien's works (1160–1180), ed. Foerster, especially *Erec*, 2128 ff., the tourney of Tenebroc; *Cligès*, the Four Days' Tourney, 4629 ff.; and *Charrette*, 5379 ff., the Tourney of Pomelegloi; Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet* (about 1193, but really an accurate reflection of a French version of about 1150), ed. K. A. Hahn, Frankfurt, 1845; the great jousts at Djofflê, 2595 ff.; Hue de Roteland's *Ipomedon* (French version written in England about 1185), ed. Kölbing, Breslau, 1889, the Three Days' Tourney, 3129 ff.; and *Parthenopeus* (before 1188), ed. Crapelet, Paris, 1834, 6547 ff. Miss Jessie L. Weston in her booklet, *The Three Days' Tournament*, London, 1902, has pointed out that several of these tournaments are to some extent dependent on a common source. That is, however, not a matter which invalidates the evidence of the poems as we employ them. For instance, we make no use of the most striking detail which any of them have in common — the different colors in which the hero appears on three successive days. That is not a matter of unpoetic truth. On the relation of the *Ipomedon* and *Parthenopeus* tournaments — a matter which would bear investigation — Miss Weston says nothing.

<sup>6</sup> *Parthenopeus*, *Ipomedon*, *Cligès*, and others. Why so many married men and apparently ineligible persons could take part in these contests for the princess is fortunately explained in *Parthenopeus*; the former would hand the princess over to some friend (7175); a pagan, if he won, would consent to receive baptism (7165).    <sup>7</sup> *Charrette*, 5379 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Charrette*. Cf. W. H. Schofield, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, IV, 112, n. 1.



indeed, makes the occasion sufficiently attractive for the manly man without any of this. "At these jousts," declares the messenger, "are to be won fame and honor; there one can thrust and slash at will; all the celebrities will participate; and there one can meet distinguished knights and ladies. To stay away were a disgrace. All that can delight the knightly soul is there to be had: fighting, horse-racing, jumping, running, fencing, wrestling, play at tables and at bowls, the music of the rote, the fiddle, and the harp; and besides these an opportunity of buying things from all over the world." But a thirst for glory and for entertainment was not all that led these heroes to a tourney. Even in the refined *Parthenopeus* we observe that knights come sometimes for gain.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it appears that the handsome and poor — yet withal so well attended — Gaudins had to make his living, as did William Marshall,<sup>2</sup> by following tournaments.<sup>3</sup> And an acquisitive champion might not find the beautiful lady too great an encumbrance upon the broad lands that were invariably to be won with her.

The tourney, once decided upon, was proclaimed by messengers sent far and wide.<sup>4</sup> One of these described in the *Lanzelet*<sup>5</sup> was a handsome youth in white clothes, with a scarlet mantle, white gloves, and a new hat. A good while had to be allowed for the news to get about and for the participants to gather; this period may vary from a few weeks to something like a year.<sup>6</sup>

Although the preparations for such an event must have been extensive and difficult, our poets are quite properly not often concerned with the housing and feeding of the thousands of lusty warriors, with their still more numerous retinue and horses. In *Parthenopeus*<sup>7</sup> we find the clearest account of how this was done. Here an old expert has charge; the wise Ernols<sup>8</sup> is just the sort of man who to-day is indispensable for managing a ball or a charity fair; and his arrangements are in all likelihood those made in most cases — but not related. "You must order all the merchants in your lands to come with whatever they have to sell, and hold a *foire* in this meadow for the space of fifteen days. Guarantee them safe passage, and relieve them of customs dues. They will bring horses and new arms, fine shields and trappings — in fact, whatever a knight can want. Let them make a fine large town with their tents, booths, and pavilions. Then have the tourney begin on the Monday<sup>9</sup> after the fair; and have some of the visitors lodge in our city of Chief d'Oire, the rest in the merchants' booths." Of course Ernols contemplates nothing less than one of those great mediæval fairs, such as for a few weeks made at

<sup>1</sup> Contrast ll. 6614 and 8206. Cf. 8668.

<sup>2</sup> See Meyer's remarks, Vol. III, p. xli.

<sup>3</sup> Contrast ll. 7770 and 7829.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Niedner, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> L. 2595.

<sup>6</sup> *Cligès*, 4598; *Lanzelet*, 2667; *Ipomedon*, 2566; *Parthenopeus*, 6547.

<sup>7</sup> Ll. 6475 ff.

<sup>8</sup> In *Ipomedon* King Meleager is a similar, but less active director.

<sup>9</sup> Monday is the usual day to begin on — at least in the German accounts; see Niedner,

Winchester another Winchester, and first gave Smithfield fame.<sup>1</sup> So it is done; and thus a contestant can reserve accommodations beforehand, in a quite modern fashion, and on arriving find comfortable quarters and good service. The prudent Gaudins—who is almost a “professional”—has secured a *maison*, which he invites the less experienced Parthenopeus to share with him.<sup>2</sup> That some such provision for sustaining the multitude was made at the Djoffê tournament in the *Lanzelet* we can gather from the allusion given above to the opportunity for shopping which was to be found there. In *Ipomedon*<sup>3</sup> is only the briefest statement “that the counts and barons spread their tents and pavilions and made shelters and lodges to *attract* meat and provisions.”<sup>4</sup> Yet it is remarkable on what slender rations these men perform their feats. Their superhuman exertions last from sunrise to sunset; and the only breakfast and luncheon noticed were enjoyed in one day by Lanzelet. Chrétien makes no mention of such vulgar affairs. He deigns, however, to speak of lodgings. Cligès during the Four Days’ Tourney, held between Oxford and Wallingford,—on which occasion the two towns sheltered all the company,<sup>5</sup>—sojourned in Wallingford. Lancelot at the Pomelegloi jousts, where the great part of the participants had to remain without the two castles in temporary shelters, took for good reasons an obscure booth, where he fared not so well as Gaudins, for the bed was wretched.<sup>6</sup> Here Chrétien speaks of the custom which the knights had of putting their shield or cognizance at the door, which custom in this instance gives rise to the most realistic episode in his works,—and one of the most charming,—that of the inquisitive little gamester-herald who disturbed the hero’s rest.<sup>7</sup> In *Erec* one side appears to be within, the other without the town of Tenebroc.<sup>8</sup> Lanzelet, in the Middle High German poem, sends a page ahead, who picks a good lodging within the town;<sup>9</sup> but King Lot and King Arthur and myriads more lay without, in rich pavilions<sup>10</sup>—and doubtless such booths as have been mentioned. In the *Ipomedon* one side occupied the city of Candres, the other the eaves of the wood which stretched for two leagues along the tourney meadow—ten thousand tents there must have been.<sup>11</sup> King Meleager pitched his glorious pavilion under the towers of Candres, and dug fosses about it—doubtless for defense and not for drainage; and in the *Conte del Graal* we find one of the parties to a tourney occupying a strong earthwork without the other’s castle.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See T. Hudson Turner’s *Domestic Architecture in the Middle Ages*, I, 116.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 7837 ff.

<sup>3</sup> L. 3319.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 3099 and 3146. Hearing mass is more important than breaking one’s fast (*Parthenopeus*, 7865 and 8288). However, in *Cligès* we are expressly told that there was no service (l. 4763). Supper—or dinner—is presumably taken always after the day’s work (*Ipomedon*, 4291, 5313; *Parthenopeus*, 8262).

<sup>5</sup> L. 4579.

<sup>6</sup> L. 5546.

<sup>7</sup> So Cligès exposed his various coats. L. 4721, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. ll. 2131, 2137, 2233 f.

<sup>9</sup> L. 2845. On this occasion Lanzelet is accompanied by a lady—one of the numerous loves of this merry, unsophisticated pre-Chrétien Lancelot.

<sup>10</sup> Ll. 2818 ff.

<sup>11</sup> L. 3388. Cf. 3291, 3149 f.

<sup>12</sup> L. 13659.

The site of a tournament is always a great meadow or similar level place;<sup>1</sup> and the "field of play" is somewhat indefinite. There is yet little conception of lists or precise boundaries.<sup>2</sup> From the exhibition joust which usually opened the tourney<sup>3</sup> to the sunset horn<sup>4</sup> which closed it, immunity from attack was only to be found in numbers or in distance; one sought the serried ranks of one's supporters, or rode far off to a quiet spot.<sup>5</sup> Only in the *Lanzelet* do we find mention of something which may be an arranged safe retreat — the *lesze* into which Lanzelet disappeared when King Arthur and his band spurred to Erec's rescue.<sup>6</sup> Spectators are as yet not a conspicuous feature at a tourney: they are not mentioned in *Erec*, *Cligès*, or the *Lanzelet*; in *Ipomedon* and *Parthenopeus* they are a mere handful of persons in a tower.<sup>7</sup> But in the *Charrette* we find a sort of grand-stand, a long structure — with windows — to which one ascended by steps.<sup>8</sup> Here sat the queen and her ladies, together with the prisoners,<sup>9</sup> the Crusaders — who were not supposed to tilt — and an occasional non-combatant, such as Gawain happened then to be, closely observing all that passed, and chattering about the contestants and their coats.<sup>10</sup> Even here lists are not mentioned, but the field seems relatively restricted.<sup>11</sup>

There would have been little sport in these great tourneys if the sides were too uneven. In the *Parthenopeus* an equitable division is made, and the emperor of Germany is chosen to lead one side, the king of France the other. But to put all the Christians in one party and all the pagans in the other — the natural procedure — would be war and not tourneying, observed the sage Ernols;<sup>12</sup> and so the infidel monarchs of Spain, Africa, and Asia, who had flocked to win the lovely Melior, are apportioned.<sup>13</sup> In *Erec*, the knights of the

<sup>1</sup> That is, reasonably level. Twice *Ipomedon* is said to come up from a *val* or *vallee* (ll. 4954 and 5837).

<sup>2</sup> In *William Marshall* this is most evident. There the tourney ranges over plains, vineyards, swamps, and woods, and through inhabited towns. Knights take shelter in farms or in deserted towers, where they stand, as it were, little sieges. See ll. 4834, 2822, 3996, 3933; Meyer's ed., III, p. xxxviii; and Jusserand's *Les Sports*, p. 60. In *William Marshall* lists are mentioned three or four times (e.g., ll. 1309, 5529), and they appear to mark a sort of fenced neutral ground at each end of the field proper. Cf. Meyer and Jusserand, above. Moreover, see Meyer, III, 21, n. 2, for a sort of retreat, called the *recet*. Cf. note 7 below. <sup>3</sup> See below.

<sup>4</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 8237. Cf. 8983. In the *Lanzelet* (3433) the third day's tourney ends before night.

<sup>5</sup> *Lanzelet*, 3127; *Parthenopeus*, 8174.

<sup>6</sup> *Lanzelet*, 3011. Cf. *Parzival*, I, § 40, l. 25, and the note in E. Martin's ed., Halle, 1900, II, 52. Cf. Niedner, p. 73, and note 2, above.

<sup>7</sup> However, the author of *Parthenopeus* (8008) lets us know that ladies haunted tourneys to show off their fine clothes. Of course outside of our romances there is plenty of evidence for spectators. <sup>8</sup> Ll. 5601, 5926, 5936. <sup>9</sup> Tourney prisoners, or others? <sup>10</sup> Ll. 5790 ff., 5973.

<sup>11</sup> Lancelot is always under observation; the queen's messenger can always get to him — yet she takes a horse to do so. Ll. 5666, 5856, 5905. <sup>12</sup> L. 7179.

<sup>13</sup> As Melior enumerates the great chiefs, any one of whom may — alas — become her husband, she often characterizes them and their people. Of the English king she remarks: "He cannot live without fighting. His land is so greedy that he cannot hold it without contention."



Round Table, tourneying against each other, are divided — we must suppose, evenly.<sup>1</sup> Such care is not found in any other of this little set of romances; a knight took sides according to his fancy. In *Ipomedon* a late comer, hearing that one side is being worsted, throws in his lot with them.<sup>2</sup> Lanzelet, wishing to prove himself against King Arthur's famous knights, sides against them; as does Cligès. The disguised *Ipomedon*, in order the more to distinguish himself, takes first one side and then the other.<sup>3</sup> Nothing seems to dictate Lancelot's choice in the *Charrette*. Each side has a titular leader, as we have seen was the case in *Parthenopeus*. In *Erec* Gawain leads one side, Melis and Meliadoc the other; in the *Lanzelet* it is "King Lot vs. King Gurnemanz"; in the *Charrette* "the Lady of Noauz vs. the Lady of Pomelegloi"; in *Cligès* we presumably have the Round Table divided as in *Erec*, but since nothing is said about this, the tourney here may have been styled "Oxford vs. Wallingford" or "The Round Table vs. All Comers." In *Ipomedon* the leaders are not emphasized. Indeed, after a tourney begins, we hear as a rule little of captains; the party which lodges within the town is spoken of simply as the "Ins," and that which tents outside as the "Outs."<sup>4</sup>

The general course of one of these tournaments was this. The knights, singly or in troops, came riding forth upon the plain soon after sunrise<sup>5</sup> — for there were yet no clocks to keep people abed. And a fine sight they must have made on the green expanse, these plumps of slender,<sup>6</sup> upright<sup>7</sup> spears, gaily painted<sup>8</sup> and tipped with bright steel and fluttering banners and pennons,<sup>9</sup> or with some lady's sleeve or wimple.<sup>10</sup> The undersized and agile horses<sup>11</sup> had no heavy plate-armour to carry; but their riders wore the relatively

He will bring good knights, strong, agile, quick, hardy, courageous, prudent; in battle formidable and foolhardy. But they drink overmuch" — and they still do. L. 7269. Later on we learn that the Germans cannot bear being made fun of — and they still cannot. L. 8754.

<sup>1</sup> L. 2134.

<sup>2</sup> L. 5606.

<sup>3</sup> First the Outer side (ll. 3571 ff.); next the Inner (ll. 4537, 4713); on the third day the Inner (ll. 5606 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> *Ipomedon*, 4006, 4013, 4098, 4713; *Parthenopeus*, 7875, 7226, 8139; *Erec*, 2237.

<sup>5</sup> *Ipomedon*, 3572, 4541; *Lanzelet*, 3080 ff.

<sup>6</sup> On the lance used see Jusserand, *Les Sports*, p. 54. When a lance is spoken of as being short and thick and strong, as in *Cligès*, 4845, and *Parthenopeus*, 8066, that does not mean that the butt or truncheon was enlarged, as in the lances of the fifteenth century; the expressions are relative.

<sup>7</sup> They did not lower their points till it was necessary to do so. *Parthenopeus*, 7900, 8047, 8058, 8210, 8798; *Ipomedon*, 3641, 3944.

<sup>8</sup> *Erec*, 2143.

<sup>9</sup> *Erec*, 2138; *Parthenopeus*, 6874, 8337; *Ipomedon*, 3580, 5002; *Lanzelet*, 2869. See Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, I, 95, 165 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Ipomedon*, 3172. Ladies made banners also (l. 3411).

<sup>11</sup> There is no necessity to assume that in those days the war-horse was of the unwieldy Flemish stock that may later have been bred to carry the overweighted warriors. It is much more natural to suppose that he was a stocky native — like one of our Western "ponies" — or a wiry and fleet Arab. Cf. *Cligès*, 4915; *Ipomedon*, 3897. On the ground of analogy a twelfth-century horse should have been such. The horses themselves wore no armour; see Hewitt's *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe*, I, 169.

light and handy<sup>1</sup> chain hauberk, that is—or should be—associated with all the heroes of the early and fresh romances, of the chansons de geste, of the first three and greatest Crusades. These hauberks had been carefully rolled and rocked in barrels of sand the night before to clean them from the insidious rust.<sup>2</sup> On their heads were their mail hoods,<sup>3</sup> covered by the Norman helm, conical or round, with its invaluable nasal.<sup>4</sup> Hung by the *guige* about their necks and by the *enarmes* about their forearms was the long kite-shaped or the shorter triangular shield,<sup>5</sup> conspicuously retinctured for the occasion.<sup>6</sup> The opposing sides range themselves some distance apart, and the two distinguished knights who are to have the honor of the first joust complete their bout before all these spectators,<sup>7</sup> and then the *mêlée* begins. This is a free fight between individuals or between small troops, the chiefs of which first meet just as the champions have done, and which then rush together pell-mell. The frequency with which an individual thus gives a dare between lines of active spectators, the rush of acceptance, the quick contest, and the subsequent capture of one or the other of the fighters, who may yet be so fortunate as to be recaptured by his comrades, all make our boys' game of prisoners' base an amazingly close counterpart of mediæval tournaments, — and of mediæval war,<sup>8</sup> — of which, indeed, it may be a descendant. The extended field and the numbers engaged in these early tournaments must have allowed romantic situations, such as could not occur in the later lists. Thus Parthenopeus and the Sultan meet amain; the Sultan is overthrown, and a thousand spur to his rescue. Parthenopeus, seeing that he cannot return, presses forward through them all, felling one, and rides far beyond to the tower which marks the enemy's headquarters, and in a window of which sits the lovely Melior, his lost love. In the presence of almost certain death Parthenopeus impulsively reaches up to her his lance with its gonfalon, and she involuntarily takes them. The enemy close in; Parthenopeus is struck by three lances, but manages to get rid of these assailants with his sword, and hastens again into the hostile ranks. With Gaudins's help he cuts his way back to safety.<sup>9</sup>

In these present days of the overregulation of sport it is a relief to find a pastime as free from rules as is the twelfth-century tournament. There was no such thing as obligatory fair play; that would have been too great a restriction on the right of the individual. There are, to be sure, magnanimous —

<sup>1</sup> Even so, the author of *Ipomedon* observes that it is hard for an armed man to rise after a fall (l. 5711). Of course they do rise constantly, to fight effectively.

<sup>2</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 8290 f.; *Ipomedon*, 3166.

<sup>3</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 6821. Cf. *Parzival*, § 44, l. 4, and Herz's ed. (Stuttgart, 1898), p. 473, n. 18; p. 480, n. 35. *Parzival* is sufficiently near the twelfth century to be quoted here.

<sup>4</sup> Capaneus's jewelled nasal just saves his nose in *Ipomedon*, 3973. In *Ipomedon*, 3888, the helms are "pointed" (*aguz*). <sup>5</sup> See Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, I, 143. <sup>6</sup> *Ipomedon*, 3173.

<sup>7</sup> *Cligès*, 4640 ff.; *Ipomedon*, 3622, 4617, 5611; *Lanzelet*, 2896.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Jusserand's remarks on the similarity between battle and tourney, *Les Sports*, p. 57.

<sup>9</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 8300 f.

what we should call chivalrous — acts, but these are exceptional, and generally performed by the hero whose virtues the story is written to exalt. Thus Ipomedon throws away his lance in order to meet the formidable Capaneus upon equal terms;<sup>1</sup> Parthenopeus once helps a fallen enemy to mount again;<sup>2</sup> Erec does not care to capture either men or horses.<sup>3</sup> But in general we find no sentiment, and therefore no regulations, that would prevent three men with lances from attacking Parthenopeus who has only his sword;<sup>4</sup> or a whole troop of Germans from setting upon the king of France;<sup>5</sup> or a band of Saracens from laying hands on the stunned Gaudins;<sup>6</sup> or Ipomedon from repeatedly overriding a stubborn foe who tries to regain his feet;<sup>7</sup> or the Count of Flanders from striking Ipomedon in the back.<sup>8</sup> No effort is made to mitigate the effect of the sharp weapons; a spear pins shield to arm and arm to side,<sup>9</sup> ears and arms are lopped off,<sup>10</sup> heads split,<sup>11</sup> and bodies transfixed so that the lance, pennon and all, stands out six feet beyond.<sup>12</sup> A dour spectacle this of a *mêlée* in the *Ipomedon*: "Now begins a right hard battle; many fall and many die; they pierce and rend the shields, and split the pointed helms; swords ring, and rive the rich hauberks; shivered is many an ashen<sup>13</sup> lance. There are to be seen trailing bowels and spattered brains. Many a war-horse runs masterless through the roads; many a noble Castilian steed courses the field with empty saddle. The living mourn the dead; great grief is there and pain. Many a good horse and man have been captured; gone is many a crupper and many a knee-piece; much good armor is destroyed, many a saddle-cloth<sup>14</sup> rent, and many a saddle overthrown."<sup>15</sup> But why object to this sort of thing? Each participant in a tourney knew what he had to expect, and he could generally avoid the worst by running away or surrendering.

In a typical encounter the two knights lower their lances, slacken their reins,<sup>16</sup> and gallop at each other. The lances glance, or pierce, or break, — or almost any combination of these three occurs. We will say that they break without dismounting a rider: then new spears may be brought by the watchful varlets<sup>17</sup> — who stand like grooms about a polo field — and broken, sometimes to the number of ten;<sup>18</sup> or else the knights draw their swords and slash — apparently never thrust — at each other. If the girths have given way, or

<sup>1</sup> *Ipomedon*, 4747 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 8320.

<sup>3</sup> *Erec*, 2215.

<sup>4</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 7937.

<sup>5</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 8675.

<sup>6</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 8812.

<sup>7</sup> *Ipomedon*, 5718, 6260. There is an excellent case of this "unnecessary roughness" in *Parzival*, § 38, l. 1; cf. Herz's note, p. 473, of his ed. Cf. *Knight's Tale*, 1756.

<sup>8</sup> *Ipomedon*, 4112.

<sup>9</sup> *Charrette*, 5962; *Cligès*, 4689.

<sup>10</sup> *Ipomedon*, 3990, 4079, 5071, 5880.

<sup>11</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 8834; *Ipomedon*, 5878.

<sup>12</sup> *Ipomedon*, 3950, 6025. Cf. 6224.

<sup>13</sup> Ash is the usual material: *Parthenopeus*, 6875, 8099; *Ipomedon*, 4675.

<sup>14</sup> For such ornamented saddle-cloths, see Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, I, fig. 44.

<sup>15</sup> *Ipomedon*, 3885-3908.

<sup>16</sup> *Ipomedon*, 3944. Whether this indicates merely speed and abandon, or that the bridle hand was now needed for the shield might be a question. Cf. Niedner, *Das deutsche Turnier*, p. 56. In *Erec*, 2194, the rein is held by the "knot."

<sup>17</sup> *Lanzelet*, 2972; *Ipomedon*, 3714, 3879.

<sup>18</sup> *Lanzelet*, 3003.



the riders been hurled from their saddles, or the horses felled by the lance-shock, this sword-play takes place on foot. If their swords break, then it is quite likely that the two will wrestle desperately until one yields, or is dragged "resisting into the hostile ranks. Once the foolhardy Parthenopeus rushed into a hostile squadron, and seizing their leader about the waist, tried to throw him over his horse's neck and carry him off; but Parthenopeus was lucky to escape himself.<sup>1</sup> The object of the fighting is not simply to unhorse an opponent, or to prove one's superiority to him, but to batter him into surrender. The person, arms, and horse of a beaten foe were the victor's until ransomed. Public opinion, no doubt, kept a knight's ransom at a reasonable sum; the horse was held at his market value.<sup>2</sup> To make sure of his conquests the victor compels them on the spot either to swear obedience (*i.e.*, to give *fiances*),<sup>3</sup> or to leave an actual *gage*.<sup>4</sup> Then he frees the captives on parole, and turns the horses over to his page.<sup>5</sup> An amorous knight will often send his captives to be at the disposal of his lady-love;<sup>6</sup> a generous one will eventually free them without ransom, and he will make liberal presents of mounts to his lady,<sup>7</sup> his varlets,<sup>8</sup> and others.<sup>9</sup>

In the evening, after this terrible play, the hero of the day exchanges confidences with his brother in arms over good meat and drink,<sup>10</sup> or indulges in a cozy supper with his *amie*;<sup>11</sup> the judges quarrel over their decision;<sup>12</sup> and the captives bustle about in order to make an arrangement by which they may be free to fight on the morrow.<sup>13</sup>

Such then, to one who peers overcuriously beneath the surface of the twelfth-century poetic accounts, are seen to have been the tournaments of this lusty time — a time that was the full flood of romance and chivalry, the great pitiless river of it, bearing along many foreign bodies mayhap, but running with a swiftness and volume unattained by any subsequent tide. The merry barbarity of the sport is still sufficiently obvious in the well-regulated tournament of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, where twenty may fall upon one, where a new assailant may bury his sword in the flesh of a man already fighting, and where a fully-armed horseman may ride down an unfortunate on foot who has only his broken lance-butt for a weapon. Not until the fifteenth century did this knightly pastime take on the form which has crystallized in the popular mind.

<sup>1</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 8841.

<sup>2</sup> See *William Marshall*, 4197 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ipomedon*, 3744; *Cligès*, 4692. A beaten suitor might prefer death to appearing before the princess as his rival's gift; but he would keep his oath. "There was greater loyalty in those days," says Hue de Roteland — *Ipomedon*, 3747.

<sup>4</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 7870; *Ipomedon*, 4002. When Ismeun left his ear and arm in the field, he left *too much gage*, says the jesting poet in the latter passage.

<sup>5</sup> *Lanzelet*, 2930, 2964; *Charrette*, 6002.

<sup>6</sup> *Ipomedon*, 3730; *Lanzelet*, 3057, 3486.

<sup>7</sup> *Ipomedon*, 3729.

<sup>8</sup> *Lanzelet*, 3058.

<sup>9</sup> *Ipomedon*, 3833.

<sup>10</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 8260.

<sup>11</sup> As in *Lanzelet*.

<sup>12</sup> *Parthenopeus*, 8251, etc.

<sup>13</sup> *Cligès*, 4769 ff. Compare the busy and sociable evenings in *William Marshall*, and the remarks of Meyer and Jusserand thereon.

# NOTES ON CELTIC CAULDRONS OF PLENTY AND THE LAND-BENEATH-THE-WAVES

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN

## I

The following pages study the connection between Celtic cauldrons of plenty and the Land-beneath-the-Waves. The subject has interesting possibilities, because the oldest Grail romances seem to contain traces of an original location of the Grail castle, with its talisman of plenty, upon or beneath the sea.

Some twenty-five years ago Nutt<sup>1</sup> sought to connect the Fish of Wisdom in Irish story with the Fisher King, and with the marvellous fish which Brons, according to Boron, caught at the bidding of Joseph of Arimathea. Although Nutt made the valuable suggestion that the talismans of the Grail castle are ultimately derived from the four "jewels" of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, he relied upon stories of the Irish Finn Cycle, which are difficult to prove ancient, and upon recently collected Irish folk-tales. He dwelt upon particular traits of the Salmon of Wisdom which are hard to find in the fish of the Grail stories. It would seem, therefore, that further progress does not lie along the exact lines that he laid down.

Rhys, somewhat later,<sup>2</sup> suggested as a parallel to the Grail the *mwys* or basket of Gwyddno Garanhir. The basket of Gwyddno is described in the Welsh tale of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, which is generally admitted to date back to a period before the rise of French and English Arthurian romance.<sup>3</sup> This clue, together with Nutt's important suggestion of the four "jewels" of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, seems to mark the path for probable future discovery.

On the other hand, advocates of the theory of a purely Christian origin for the Grail have sometimes argued as if Christian legend could adequately explain the Fisher King, and as if the epithet "rich fisher" were a stumbling block for the Celtic hypothesis.<sup>4</sup> They rely upon the fact that Boron and

<sup>1</sup> *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 184 f. (1888).

<sup>2</sup> *The Arthurian Legend*, pp. 311 f. (1891). For other references see Professor Nitze's useful articles, *PMLA.*, XXIV, 365 f.; *Studies in Honor of Marshall Elliott*, I, 19-51.

<sup>3</sup> Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XXXII, 433 (1911).

<sup>4</sup> Heinzel, *Ueber die franz. Gralromane*, pp. 13, 192; Hertz, *Parzival*, p. 427; and especially Wechssler, *Die Sage vom heiligen Gral*, p. 130: "Die Bezeichnung 'reicher Fischer,' hat christlich-symbolische Bedeutung, = Menschenfischer: Matt. iv, 19; Mark i, 17; Luke v, 10. . . Dieser Name des Gralhüters stammt also aus der christlichen Symbolik, und nicht, wie sämtliche Graldichter erzählen, daher, dass der alte Gralkönig dem Gralsucher auf einem Flusse fischend erschien."

many later Grail writers obviously tried to connect the Fisher King with the Biblical phrase "fishers of men," and with the fish (*ἰχθύς*) used as a symbol by early Christians. Reflection, however, reveals difficulties which have prevented the general acceptance of any theory of this kind, and which seem to indicate that the true origin of the Fisher King is not to be found in this direction.<sup>1</sup> To discuss the whole question of the origin of the Grail would lead us too far. Since, however, the hypothesis of a Celtic source (whether Welsh or Breton) is more probable than any other,<sup>2</sup> an endeavor is made in the following pages to test it in what has been regarded by some as a vulnerable point, by examining as searchingly as possible how far it can explain the title "Fisher King," and the other traces of the watery realm which, as has been remarked, appear in the Grail romances.

The oldest and best-known vessels of plenty in Irish and Welsh respectively are the *coire* of the Dagda, and the *mwys* of Gwyddno Garanhir. For the sake of completeness other vessels of plenty which figure in Irish and Welsh tradition are briefly considered.

## II

The cauldron of the Dagda is one of four famous talismans<sup>3</sup> of the Tuatha Dé Danaan which are best described in the *Cath Maige Turedh*:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If the phrase "rich fisher" meant in origin one who converted many, Peter ought to be the original Fisher King, certainly not Joseph of Arimathea or any other figure like Brons. Yet none of the oldest Grail romances give any hint that Peter was the original Fisher King. He is not even mentioned except in Boron, and here he is a subordinate character rather obviously inserted because of Boron's idea that a connection existed between his Fisher King and the Biblical phrase "fishers of men." Compare the admission of Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 98: "Das ist Nutt zuzugeben, dass das 26. Capitel des Matthäusevangeliums und das 15. des Evangeliums Nicodemi nicht, wie Birch-Hirschfeld, *Die Sage vom Gral*, 222, meint, ausreichen, um alle Vorstellungen, welche das Mittelalter vom Gral hatte, zu erklären." In short, the connection between the Fisher King and Christian legend looks like a *post factum* invention made to account for the epithet "fisher" already in the story. The oldest Grail romancers, Chrétien, Wauchier, do not give the purely Christian theory any support. Space does not permit the mention of other difficulties, such as the heterodox tinge present in all the Grail romances, which can hardly be accounted for except by supposing that a Christian interpretation has been superimposed upon a heathen basis.

<sup>2</sup> The so-called "Tischlein-deck-dich" motive occurs in the popular tales of every age and every clime. But it would seem that only from the Celts could the Grail stories have appeared precisely in the way in which they did appear in the Middle Ages, and tradition has always connected these stories with a Celtic origin.

<sup>3</sup> Called "jewels" (*seoid*) and "gifts" (*aisgeadha*), Keating, *Irish Texts Soc.*, IV, 205-210.

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Celt.*, XII, 56-58. This text is in a MS. of the fifteenth century, but must from evidence of grammatical forms be older. The antiquity of the tradition concerning the four jewels seems indisputable. The Lia Fáil is referred to in LL. 9 a, 14 (Book of Leinster, a MS. of 1150). See Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, 171. The Dagda's cauldron is mentioned in LL., and under the name *caire ainsic*, "the undry cauldron," in Cormac's *Glossary*, which is generally thought to be a work of the ninth or tenth century. See Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries*, London, 1862, p. xviii, and the translation, p. 45, London, 1868.



Out of Falias was brought the stone of Fál, which was in Tara. It used to roar under every king that would take (rule over) Ireland.

— Out of Gorias was brought the spear that Lugh had. No battle was ever won against it or him who held it in his hand.

Out of Findias was brought the sword of Nuada. When it was drawn from its deadly sheath no one ever escaped from it and it was irresistible.

Out of Murias was brought the Dagda's cauldron. No company ever went from it unthankful.<sup>1</sup>

The name Murias evidently refers to the sea, *muir*, and probably to the Land-beneath-the-Waves. According to Keating's *History*<sup>2</sup> the Tuatha Dé Danaan were seven years at *Dobar* and *Iardobar*, "Water" and "Behind Water."<sup>3</sup> The Dagda is obviously associated in old documents with the water-world. He had a son, Angus, by Boand, the nymph of the river Boyne.<sup>4</sup> He is in numerous passages connected with Manannán mac Lir, the well-known sea god of the Irish (*Ler*, "the sea"). In one of the oldest of Irish stories, *Imram Brain*,<sup>5</sup> Manannán drives in a chariot over the waves, and occasionally plucks a salmon fish from the water. The Dagda is called brother to Níadha Airgetlam,<sup>6</sup> who, as will be pointed out later,<sup>7</sup> is pretty certainly a sea god.

In the great collection of Irish place-legends called the *Dinnshenchas* the Dagda's "cauldron" (*coire*) is apparently referred to under the name "tub" (*drochta*). The entry, like many others in the *Dinnshenchas*, seems to be a mnemonic sketch of a story well known at the time.<sup>8</sup> For us it is obscure and

<sup>1</sup> The text of this paragraph is: "A Murias tucad coiri an Dagdai. Ni tegeadh dam dimdach uadh."

<sup>2</sup> *Irish Texts Soc.*, IV, 205.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 257. *Dobar*, "water," is explained in Cormac's *Glossary*, tr. p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Rhys, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 144. In LL. 191 a, is an account of Boand's adventure at Nechtan's well, which she profaned, and in consequence it overwhelmed her and issued as the river Boyne (translated in O'Grady, *Silv. Gad.*, II, 474, 519). This passage calls Boand "Nechtan's wife," but adds that she was the mother of Angus, son of the Dagda.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 16 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Rev. Celt.*, XII, 80, etc.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 243.

<sup>8</sup> The text in LL. 159 a, 50, says: "Gabhal Glas, son of Ethadón, son of Níadha Argatlaim, took away a bundle of twigs, which Ainge, the Dagda's daughter, had gathered to make a tub thereof. For the tub (*drochta*) which the Dagda used to make (*dogntú*, impf.) would not cease from dripping while the sea was in flood, though not a drop came out of it during the ebb." *Silv. Gad.*, II, 476, 523. The same account is in the Bodleian *Dinnshenchas*, No. 6, and in the Rennes *Dinnshenchas*, *Rev. Celt.*, XV, 302. In the metrical *Dinnshenchas* in LL. the account is somewhat different:

Dear to me is bright Gabul . . .  
A tub (*drochta*) was made for his daughter  
Above the breastwork of the high river mouth.  
It would not leak unless the tide were full.  
She loved the lot of virginity.  
He it was who stole it (burden of a tale),  
Even Gaible, the pale, son of Ethedeoin.

Gwynn, *RIA.*, *Todd Lecture Series*, IX, 58 (1906). The word *drochta* is of somewhat doubtful meaning. Stokes, *ZFCP*, III, 468, would connect it etymologically with "trough," and points out that in Cormac's *Glossary*, tr. p. 14, it is glossed by *seinlestar*, "an old vessel." Gwynn, *op. cit.*, thinks it may mean a kind of boat. He also suggests that the connection between it and the tide may have been one of sympathy only. But something more than this seems implied by the words "above the breastwork of the high river mouth."

the translation is in part uncertain. It appears probable, however, that the passage connects the Dagda's vessel of plenty with the sea, and regards it as a kind of woven basket (of twigs).

The Brugh of the Dagda, *Brugh na Boinne*, was a favorite form of the Irish otherworld. It contained his cauldron, which satisfied all comers; his unfailing swine, one always living, and the other ready for cooking; a vessel of ale, and three trees always laden with fruit. No one died there.<sup>1</sup> By a trick the palace of the Dagda passed into the possession of Angus, and it is sometimes said to belong to Bodhb Dearg, son of the Dagda. In the Book of Fermoy, a fifteenth-century MS., occurs what is evidently another description of *Brugh na Boinne*. Manannán, we are told, "settled the Tuatha Dé Danaan in the most beautiful valleys, drawing round them an invisible wall, which was impenetrable to the eyes of men, and impassable." He also supplied them with "the ale of Góibniu the smith," which preserved them from old age, disease, and death.<sup>2</sup>

In the oldest records are a number of statements connecting the Dagda with smithcraft. In the *Triads of Ireland*, which are dated by the editor before 900,<sup>3</sup> we read that one of "the three things that constitute a blacksmith" is *inneóin in Dagda*, "the anvil of the Dagda." According to Cormac's *Glossary*,<sup>4</sup> Brigit or Ana was daughter of the Dagda, and was called *Brigit bé goibnechta*, "Brigit the female smith."

The Dagda's abode, *Brugh na Boinne*, resembled the Grail castle in having connected with it a lacustrine smith. The *Dinnshenchas* associates Bodhb's *sid* (the Dagda's palace) with a subaqueous smith who dwelt beneath Lake Killarney: "Whence loch Léin (Killarney)? Lein línfíaclach mac Ban, etc., was the craftsman of Bodhb's *sid*. He it was that dwelt in the lake (*Isé boi isin loch*), and wrought the bright vessels of Fand, daughter of Flidais."<sup>5</sup>

The reader will be reminded of the sword of the Grail castle, which according to Chrétien could be remade only by the smith Trebuchet, who dwelt "au lac qui est sor Cotovatre."<sup>6</sup> Trebuchet probably dwelt beneath the lake. In Gerbert's continuation of *Perceval* a visit of the hero to Trebuchet is described.<sup>7</sup> The entrance to his abode was guarded by two dragons, and was perhaps located beneath the lake. Wolfram's *Parzival* also describes the Grail sword. It would break at the first blow, and must be plunged in the water of the spring Lac by Karnant to be restored.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D'Arbois, *Cours*, II, 270 f., from LL. 246 a.      <sup>2</sup> Todd, *RIA.*, *Irish MS. Series*, I, i, 46.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer, *RIA.*, *Todd Lecture Series*, XIII, 16, No. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Tr., pp. 4, 23, 145. According to the *Cath Maige Turedh* (*Rev. Celt.*, XII, 81), the Dagda was brother to Góibniu the smith.

<sup>5</sup> *Silv. Gad.*, II, 477, 523, from the Book of Ballymote. The same account is in the *Rennes Dinnshenchas*, *Rev. Celt.*, XV, 451, and in the metrical *Dinnshenchas*, in LL. 154 b, 35.

<sup>6</sup> *Perceval*, ed. Baist, 3637. Miss Weston (*Sir Perceval*, I, 135) reads from MS. 12576 "soz Cothoathre."

<sup>7</sup> Miss J. E. Weston, *Sir Perceval*, I, 141 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Parzival*, ed. Martin, 253, 24 f.; 433, 25 f.

The Grail romancers seldom mention the proper name of the Grail King. Chrétien and Wauchier, the two oldest, leave him anonymous, calling him "le riche roi pescheor," or "le peschiere." Boron names him Brons, and Wolfram, Anfortas. A parallel to this may be traced in the treatment of "the Dagda" by the Irish records. "The Dagda" is an epithet of uncertain etymology,<sup>1</sup> and the god's proper name, which is not often mentioned, is variously given. The reticence of the Irish about the Dagda probably arose from a desire to avoid offending the deity by mentioning his real name, just as the modern Irish avoid mentioning the fairies, but speak of them as "the good people."

Another resemblance between the Grail King and the Dagda, is that both are magicians and shape-shifters.<sup>2</sup>

### III

Other well-known vessels of plenty in Irish story are the cauldron of Gerg, that of Cúroi, and that of Cormac. The cauldron, *dabach*, or *airidig*, of Gerg is described in the *Tochmarc Ferbe*:<sup>3</sup>

Conchobar mac Nessa brought out of the fortress of Gerg Faeburdel the brazen vat that stood in the house, which when full of beer was wont to be sufficient for the whole land of Ulster, and this is that vat which by the men of Ulster was called the Ol Guala, or Coal-Vat, since a fire of coals was wont to be in that house in Emain in which that vat was drunk. And from it hath been named Loch Guala Umai in the Island of Daim, which is in the realm of Ulster; for underneath the lake unto this day is that vat hidden in a secret place.<sup>4</sup>

The cauldron of Cúroi was in the first place carried off by Cuchulinn and Cúroi from the stronghold of Mider in the island of Falga.<sup>5</sup> Mider is one of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, and Falga, although strictly speaking a name for the Isle of Man, doubtless here, as often, denotes the otherworld. According to one form of the story Cuchulinn attacked a revolving castle in which Cúroi dwelt, and after killing him carried off his cows and his cauldron.<sup>6</sup> Another

<sup>1</sup> "The good god" or "the good hand" is the meaning assigned by Irish scribes, and by Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XII, 83, 125. But in *Rev. Celt.*, VI, 369 and Cormac's *Glossary*, tr., p. 23, Stokes translated *Dagda* "the cunning one," and connected it with a root DAGH (*doctus*); see below, p. 243, n. 8. Among names for the Dagda are "Eocho the All-Father," *Eocho Oll Athir*, LL. 9 b, 17; *Dagan*, LL. 245 b, 41; *Cratan Cain*, LL. 114 a, 40; *Cera*, H. 3, 18, 633 d, Cormac's *Glossary*, tr., 47; "Lord of Great Knowledge" or "Red Man of Great Knowledge," *Riud Rofhessa*, Cormac, tr., 144-145; and "Son of all the Sciences," *Mac-na-n-ule-dana*, LL. 149 a. He is commonly called *Dagda Mor* "the Great."

<sup>2</sup> On the shape-shifting of the Fisher King see the "Elucidation," *Perceval*, ed. Potvin, 222.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, III, 516, from LL.

<sup>4</sup> The text of the last phrase is: "Ar is fóí atá indiu i n-diamraib." The same story is in *Cóir Anmain*, Windisch, *Irische Texte*, III, 358. In neither place is Gerg's cauldron explicitly said to be a cauldron of plenty, but since it contained enough liquor for the whole of Ulster, this is a reasonable hypothesis.

<sup>5</sup> Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 475; Keating, *Irish Texts Soc.*, VIII, 223.

<sup>6</sup> LL. 169 b, 42 f, printed by O'Grady, *Silv. Gad.*, II, 482, 530.



variant tells how Cuchulinn voyaged to the land of *Scath*, "shadow," and after escaping terrible dangers carried off three marvellous cows and a cauldron of plenty.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever be the origin of the cauldron, Cúroi is himself undoubtedly a sea divinity. Henderson calls him "a great magician, really an otherworld power, at any rate a water demon like Grendel."<sup>2</sup> Cúroi's combat with Cuchulinn is referred to in an ancient Welsh poem, which calls the ocean Cúroi's "broad fountain," and in another phrase connects him with the southern sea.<sup>3</sup> In *Fled Bricrend* from LU., it is expressly said that the giant Terror, who is merely Cúroi in disguise,<sup>4</sup> lived in a lake: "To Terror at his Loch they went. . . . [Terror] departed into the Loch."<sup>5</sup>

Cormac's cup of truth and his cauldron of plenty are described in the *Echtra Cormaic*.<sup>6</sup> The *Coire Aisic*, or cauldron of plenty, "used to return and give to every company their suitable food. . . . No meat was found therein save what would supply the company, and the food proper for each would be taken thereout." The *Echtra Cormaic* does not tell the origin of the cauldron of plenty, but it does say that the cup of truth, which evidently belonged with the cauldron, and was perhaps identical with it, came from Manannán mac Lir, the well-known Irish sea god. This cauldron, therefore, like the others, probably belonged to Under-Wave-Land.<sup>7</sup>

#### IV

The best-known vessel of plenty in ancient Welsh tradition is the *mrwys* or basket of Gwyddno Garanhir, which has been repeatedly compared to the Grail.<sup>8</sup> The description of it in *Kulhwch and Olwen*,<sup>9</sup> a tale which, as has

<sup>1</sup> *Siaburcharpat Conculaind* (in LU. 113, I, a MS. of 1100), ed. Crowe, *Proc. Roy. Hist. Soc. of Ireland*, 4th. ser., I, 385 f., 1870-1871. Cf. *Ériu*, II, 20 f.

<sup>2</sup> Henderson, *Irish Texts Soc.*, II, 197.

<sup>3</sup> Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I, 254-255; text, II, 198; Rhys, *Proc. of Royal Soc. of Ant. of Ireland*, XXI, 642 (1891).

<sup>4</sup> "Iwain," (*Harvard*) *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 53, 76.

<sup>5</sup> *Irish Texts Soc.*, II, 96-99.

<sup>6</sup> *Irische Texte*, III, 205-206. The MS. is of the fourteenth century, but a story by this name is mentioned in a list of ancient stories in Rawlinson, B. 512. This list has been attributed to the tenth century; see d'Arbois, I, 355.

<sup>7</sup> Commonly written *Tír fá Thuinn*. Compare the golden cup of Finn, which was one of a collection of treasures. The whole collection, according to the eighth poem of the *Duanaire Finn*, came originally from Manannán (*Irish Texts Soc.*, VII, 118-120; text, pp. 20-21). (These poems of the *Duanaire*, although late in form, may record ancient tradition.) Compare also the green cup which Teigue had, and which would turn water into wine. It was brought to him out of the sea by a whale (*Silv. Gad.*, II, 395). For other cauldrons of plenty, in less ancient stories, see O'Donovan, *Battle of Mag Rath*, *Irish Arch. Soc.*, pp. 51 f. (1842).

<sup>8</sup> Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 312.

<sup>9</sup> Nutt's edition of Lady Guest's translation of the *Mabinogion*, p. 123 (1910); Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 244. In references to the so-called *Mabinogion*, the page of this English translation will always be given first, and then the volume and page of Loth's French version.

been remarked, dates back to a period before the rise of French romance, is as follows :

The basket of Gwyddneu Garanhir, if the whole world should come together, thrice nine men at a time, the meat that each of them desired would be found within it.<sup>1</sup>

Gwyddno's epithet *Garanhir*, if it means, as Rhys thinks,<sup>2</sup> "long crane," doubtless implied that Gwyddno was a fisherman. His fisherman character is all but proved by references in four ancient Welsh poems which have been printed and translated by Skene.<sup>3</sup> The first two of these poems are in a MS. of the third quarter of the twelfth century,<sup>4</sup> which is generally admitted to be uninfluenced by French romance. The third may fairly be dated as early as the first, and the fourth, the Gododin poem, is probably older still.

In the first poem Gwyddno Garanhir is represented in connection with Gwynn ab Nudd, who, as will be seen, is probably an ancient sea god. In the second poem Gwyddno tells how the sea overflowed his land, which from other documents we learn was *Cantrëf y Gwaclod*, a region in Cardigan Bay. The author of the poem is obviously endeavoring to represent Gwyddno as a historical character, but the story is most naturally explained as a rationalization of a myth concerning a sea god whose dominions lay beneath the waves. The fourth poem connects Gwyddno's son with the flowing sea.

The connection indicated between Gwyddno and the sea is close, and such an epithet as "Fisher King," although we do not find it actually applied to him, would be perfectly appropriate. That the *mwys* was the object of a quest by Arthur,<sup>5</sup> just as in the French romances the Grail is the object of quests by Arthur and his knights, is probably significant.

<sup>1</sup> "Mwys Gwyddneu Garanhir. Kyt delei y byt y gyt bop trinaw wyr. Y bwyt a vynno pawb wrth y uryt a geiff yndi." Rhys and Evans, *Text of the Red Book of Hergest*, p. 122, line 4.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 316. It is proper to note, however, that Ivor John (*Mab.*, p. 376) would identify the first part of *Garanhir* with *carn*, "haft," and would translate, "long weapon." He compares *Peredur paladyrhir*, "Peredur long-spear."

<sup>3</sup> *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I, 293 (text, II, 54). The poem is a dialogue between Guitnev Garanhir and Gwynn ab Nudd. It mentions a terrible battle before Caer Vandwy. Caer Vandwy, according to *Preiddeu Annwn*, was one of the names for the place where the cauldron of Pryderi was kept: "Except seven none returned from Caer Vandwy"; see below, p. 245. From *The Black Book of Caermarthen*.

I, 302 (text, II, 59). "Guitnev" tells in this poem how the sea overflowed his country. From *The Black Book of Caermarthen*.

I, 363 (text, II, 162). This poem relates that Urien "made an expedition" to the country of "Gwyddno," an expression which suggests an *imram* or otherworld voyage. From *The Book of Taliesin*.

I, 384 (text, II, 71). This poem mentions "Issac, son of Gwyddneu," and adds, "his conduct resembled the flowing sea." Gwynn is mentioned in the verses following. The Gododin poem, from *The Book of Aneurin*.

<sup>4</sup> *The Black Book of Caermarthen*, autotype by J. G. Evans, 1888, p. xiii f.

<sup>5</sup> "Kulhwch and Olwen," *Mab.*, p. 123; I, 244.

Concerning Gwyddno's *mwys* Rhys<sup>1</sup> has made three additional points:

First, it was not a vessel for cooking, but for holding food, like the Grail. It could be opened like a chest: "The budget, basket (or weel), of Gwyddno Garanhir: if provision for a single person were put into it to keep, a sufficiency of victuals for a hundred persons would be found in it when opened."<sup>2</sup>

Second, Gwyddno was the owner of a marvellous fishweir: "At that time the weir [*cored*] of Gwyddno was on the strand between Dyvi and Aberystwyth, near to his own castle, and the value of an hundred pounds was taken from that weir every May eve."<sup>3</sup>

Third, like the Grail, which at the last "remained not in Britain," the *mwys* of Gwyddno ultimately disappeared beyond the sea: "Thirteen Rarities of Kingly Regalia of the Isle of Britain [of which the *mwys* was one] were formerly kept at Caerleon on the river Usk in Monmouthshire. These curiosities went with Myrddin, son of Movran, into the house of glass in Enlli or Bardsey Island."<sup>4</sup>

For these three points Rhys is dependent upon the prose tale of *Taliesin*, which exists in no MS. older than the sixteenth century (although Gwyddno's weir is mentioned in verses included in the tale, which are probably much older than the prose),<sup>5</sup> and upon Bardic tradition recorded in the eighteenth century. It must in fairness, however, be admitted that no cogent reason can be alleged for doubting the value either of *Taliesin* or of the Bardic tradition. What they say about Gwyddno has plainly not been fabricated in the interests of any theory, nor does it show any trace of the influence of French romance. It is not antagonistic to the brief records of Gwyddno Garanhir in the ancient poems which have been examined, but it appears to be something more than a development from these records.

It may be wise in the present state of knowledge to put aside the evidence of these late documents. Without them, records the antiquity of which is undoubted suffice to indicate that Gwyddno was in origin a kind of sea god, or sea fairy, who might naturally have been called a Fisher King. The

<sup>1</sup> *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 312-326.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Edward Jones, *Welsh Bards*, II, 48, London, 1802. The text is: "Mwys (neu bwan) Gwyddno Garanhir; bwyd i ungwr a roid ynddi, a bwyd i gannŵr a gaid ynddi pan egorid."

<sup>3</sup> Quoted from *Taliesin* in Nutt's edition of Lady Guest's *Mabinogion*, p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted from Jones, II, 47. The text is: "Llymma tri-thlws-ar-ddeg o Frenhin Dlyseu ynys Prydain: y rhai a gedwid yn Nghaer-Lleon ar Wysg ac a aethant gyda Myrddin ab Morfran i'r Ty Gwydr, yn Enlli."

<sup>5</sup> *Mab.*, p. 298. The text is: "Ni chaed yn ngored Wyddno," and the translation: "Never in Gwyddno's weir was there such good luck as this night." One may conjecture that the *cored* of this passage in "*Taliesin*" was in origin identical with the *mwys* of "*Kulhwch and Olwen*" and of Bardic tradition. A *cored* was made of wattles. Pughe's *Dictionary* defines *mwys* as "a pannier or hamper," and *mwys bara* as "basket for bread." The passage just quoted from Jones gives as a synonym for *mwys* the word *bwan*, which the dictionaries explain as "a straw vessel to hold corn," "a basket."



explanation of Gwyddno as originally a divinity of the water is supported by the connection indicated in the ancient poems of *The Black Book of Caermarthen* between him and Gwynn ab Nudd, concerning whom a few observations may be of interest.

In *Kulhwch and Olwen* this personage is called "Gwynn Gotyvron," and in the *Black Book*<sup>1</sup> we meet with a "Gwynn Godybrion." The epithet seems to mean "under the water." Davydd ab Gwilym calls the mist "the desert border land of Gwynn and his family," and refers to "the high projecting towers of the family of Gwynn," doubtless seen beneath the waves. He also calls the morass "Gwynn's fishpond" and says it is the dwelling of Gwynn's family.<sup>2</sup> A Welsh Triad mentions "llys Gwynn ab Nudd," "Gwynn's castle," as "one of the invisible things of the Island of Britain."<sup>3</sup>

Stern has identified<sup>4</sup> Gwynn ab Nudd with the Irish Finn mac Núadha Necht.<sup>5</sup> Nudd, Irish Núadha, was probably an ancient Irish sea god, or Celtic Neptune. Of the numerous identifications proposed by Rhys none is better substantiated than that of Nudd with the sea divinity (*Nudons*, *Nodonti*) anciently worshiped at Lydney Park on the west bank of the Severn.<sup>6</sup> Rhys quotes from Bathurst<sup>7</sup> an account of the remains of a temple to this god found at Lydney Park in Gloucestershire. A bronze ornament pictures the god surrounded by tritons. Another fragment of the ornament represents a triton with an anchor in one of his hands, and opposite him a fisherman in the act of hooking a fine salmon. Oars and shell trumpets are also pictured, and in the mosaic of the temple floor marine animals are represented.

Gwynn, the son of this Núadha (Nudd), is, in modern Welsh popular belief, a king of the fairies who dwell in the fenland and the sea. It is fair to hold that the association between Gwynn and Gwyddno marks them both as belonging to the Land-beneath-the-Waves. Indeed, one character seems to be little more than a doublet of the other.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mab.*, p. 111; I, 216; Skene, I, 262.

<sup>2</sup> Stern, *ZFCP.*, III, 608-609 (1901); Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 252.

<sup>3</sup> Stern, *ZFCP.*, VII, 233 (1909). <sup>4</sup> Stern, *ZFCP.*, IV, 579 (1903).

<sup>5</sup> On Finn mac Núadha see Keating, *Irish Texts Soc.*, VIII, 331.

<sup>6</sup> Rhys, *Celtic Folk-Lore*, II, 446.

<sup>7</sup> *Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park*, London (1879).

<sup>8</sup> Gwyddno probably means "the knowing one," from *gwydd*, "knowledge." Cf. Pwyll, lord of Annwn, whom Rhys (*Arthurian Legend*, p. 283) has sought to identify with Pelles and Pellam. Pwyll seems to mean "intelligence" (Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, s.v. "Pellus"). These parallels add to the likelihood of Stokes's explanation of the Dagda as "the cunning one" (see above, p. 239 and cf. also the epithets of the Dagda, "lord of great knowledge," etc.). Gwynn seems to be the same as Gwynhan in *Kulhwch and Olwen* (*Mab.*, p. 110; I, 211), "his [son's] dominions were swallowed up by the sea." That both Gwynn's son and Gwyddno lost their dominions by the sea favors the notion that Gwynn and Gwyddno are doublets. Rhys believes (*op. cit.*, 315-316) that Gwynn is identical with the personage whom Chrétien calls Gonemans, and Manessier, Goon Desert.

## V

Other well-known magic cauldrons in early Welsh literature are the cauldron of Bran, that of Caridwen, and that of Pryderi.<sup>1</sup>

Bran's cauldron of regeneration which restored the dead to life was originally brought by a yellow giant and giantess out of a lake in Ireland called *Llynn y Peir*, "the Lake of the Cauldron."<sup>2</sup> The story is in "Branwen the Daughter of Llyr," one of the four genuine branches of the *Mabinogi*.<sup>3</sup>

The cauldron of Caridwen is described only in the late prose tale of *Taliesin*: "She boiled a cauldron of inspiration and science for her son . . . which from the beginning of its boiling might not cease to boil for a year and a day, until three blessed drops were obtained of the grace of inspiration."<sup>4</sup> This cauldron belonged to Caridwen and her husband Tegid Voel, "and his dwelling was in the midst of the lake Tegid."<sup>5</sup> Like other Celtic magic vessels, therefore, this cauldron probably belonged to Under-Wave-Land. Another evidence of this is the connection indicated with Gwyddno Garanhir, who, as we have seen, belongs to the water-world: "The horses of Gwyddno Garanhir were poisoned by the water of the stream into which the liquor of the cauldron of Caridwen ran."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following objects may be left out of account since other details concerning them or their owners cannot be ascertained: "the bottles of *Gwiddolwyn Gorr*" which alone will keep heat in the blood drawn from the slain sorceress *Gorddu* (*Mab.*, p. 125; I, 247); the dish of Llwyrr son of Llwyryon, which contained a *penllad* (twenty-four bushels of oats), *Mab.*, p. 123; I, 244; the cauldron of "Diwrnach the Irishman," *Diwrnach Wyddel*, in which meat was boiled, and which Arthur carried away full of money (*Mab.*, pp. 124, 140; I, 246, 273).

The "table-cloth or dish," *llaiu neu dysgl*, of Riganed is mentioned in Jones's *Welsh Bards*, II, 47-48, among the thirteen "rarities" of the Island of Britain. Whatever victuals or drink were wished for, this table-cloth instantly supplied. Another of these "rarities" is the cauldron of Dyrnog the giant (cf. *Diwrnach* above), which "would not boil the food of a coward."

<sup>2</sup> It has been objected that a cauldron of regeneration, like Bran's, is not a cauldron of plenty, cf. Heinzel, *Ueber die franz. Gralromane*, p. 97: "Der Kessel Brans hat so gut wie keine Aehnlichkeit mit der Gralschüssel." Those who desire may reject Bran's cauldron from this discussion. But even proceeding cautiously, as I wish to do, it seems difficult not to connect the regenerating Celtic cauldron with the cauldron of plenty. The Grail preserved from death and old age those who were in its presence. (*Parzival*, ed. Martin, 469, 14 f.) On the powers of the Grail cf. T. P. Cross, *Mod. Phil.*, X, 293, n. Nutt's association of Bran with Brons should be remembered (*Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 218.) According to the *Mabinogi* Bran's head miraculously supplied with food seven men at Gwales in Penfro overlooking the ocean (*Mab.*, p. 41; I, 93-94). Bran, like his brother Manannán, was evidently a water god. He waded through the sea in the story of Branwen (*Mab.*, p. 35; I, 83. Cf. Nitze, *PMLA.*, XXIV, 405). He was wounded in the foot much as the Fisher King was wounded (*Mab.*, p. 39; I, 89). Brian, "god of the Tuatha Dé Danaan" and son of Brigit, grandson of the Dagda (Cormac, tr. 145), is perhaps the same person.

<sup>3</sup> *Mab.*, p. 31; I, 76.

<sup>4</sup> *Mab.*, p. 295. Cf. Skene, I, 297.

<sup>5</sup> Rhŷs, *Celtic Folk-Lore, Welsh and Manx*, I, 376, shows that the notion that Lake Tegid (Bala) covers a submerged town is current in the neighborhood to-day. The same idea is in Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Mab.*, p. 296. Some will feel that a cauldron of inspiration is not a cauldron of plenty. But the fact that the owners of this cauldron dwelt in a lake seems worthy of attention.

The cauldron of Pryderi is described in an obscure poem called "Preiddeu Annwn" in the Book of Taliesin,<sup>1</sup> a fourteenth-century MS., but the poem is apparently uninfluenced by French romance. Arthur is represented as sailing in his ship "Prytwen" through a stormy sea in quest of this cauldron. It was at *Caer Sidi* or *Annwn*, the Celtic otherworld, and belonged to *Pen* ("the head of") *Annwn*. According to the *Mabinogi*,<sup>2</sup> Pryderi was called *Pen Annwn*, and this vessel was in Welsh tradition known as the cauldron of Pryderi. It would not boil the food of a coward or of one forsworn. It was rimmed with pearl and warmed by the breath of nine maidens. That it was a cauldron of plenty is not expressly said, but is probable. It was beneath the sea in *Annwn*,<sup>3</sup> which is also called *Caer Pedryvan*, "the four-cornered castle"; *Caer Wydyr*, "the castle of glass"; *Caer Golud*, "the castle of riches"; and *Caer Vandwy*, "except seven none returned from *Caer Vandwy*." The inhabitants of Annwn were in pitch darkness except for "a torch burning before the gate." They were people exempt from old age and death, and spent their time "quaffing the rich wine."

## VI

It appears from Irish story that the cauldron of the Dagda came from Murias, which seems to mean the sea; that the cauldron of Gerg is at the bottom of a lake; that Cúroi, the owner of another magic cauldron, was a sea god; and that Cormac's cauldron was the gift of Manannán mac Lir, the best-known of all Celtic sea gods.

In Welsh story it has been seen that the magic cauldron of Branwen was brought by a red-haired giant out of a lake; that the cauldron of Caridwen belonged to Caridwen and her husband Tegid Voel, whose dwelling was in Lake Tegid; that the cauldron of Pryderi was the object of an obscure quest beyond the sea, and was apparently beneath the sea in a tower of glass (*Caer Wydyr*). And finally, that Gwyddno, who owned the famous *mwys*, was lord of a country submerged by the sea, and was connected in many other ways with the watery realm. This *mwys* was carried away by Merlin (Myrddin) into the tower of glass (*Ty Gwydr*), thought of as beyond or under the sea.

It is interesting further to observe that recently collected Irish popular tales commonly connect vessels of plenty with subaqueous folk. A good instance is in *Giolla an Fhiughha*,<sup>4</sup> where a cauldron of plenty is carried away and remains beneath a lake. In *Waifs and Strays*, Finn's cup of victory is

<sup>1</sup> Skene, I, 264-266 (text, II, 181-182).

<sup>2</sup> *Mab.*, p. 9; I, 38.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Skene, I, 274-276 (text, II, 153), from the Book of Taliesin: "Complete is my chair in *Caer Sidi*. No one will be afflicted with disease or old age that may be in it. It is known to Manawydd and Pryderi. Three utterances around the fire will he sing before it, and around its borders are the streams of the ocean. And the fruitful fountain is above it." (See Rhŷs, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 301.) Cf. also Skene, I, 285: "There is a *caer* of defense under the ocean's wave," etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Irish Texts Soc.*, I, 48.



carried off by the "Muilearteach," who is the eastern sea personified as an old hag.

No similar tale collected in modern Wales is at hand, but names like Cawellyn, "lake of the basket, or cauldron,"<sup>1</sup> together with the fact that Cawellyn and other similar lakes are believed to be inhabited by subaqueous folk, suggest that similar stories must have been current in Wales till recently. The evidence is cumulative that magic vessels, most of which are cauldrons of plenty, whether in Irish or Welsh, have been associated from the earliest times with the water-world, and especially with the Land-beneath-the-Waves.

## VII

Except the epithet "Fisher King," no evidence has, I think, hitherto been pointed out to connect the Grail and the sea, but a careful examination of the oldest Grail romances seems to reveal traces of such a connection. Novel as at first thought it may seem to believe that the Grail originally belonged to Under-Wave-Land, the idea is really not out of line with general tradition. Every one knows the story of King Arthur's sword Excalibur, which came from the Lady of the Lake, and finally went back to her into the lake. Excalibur is the same as the Irish sword *Caladbolg*,<sup>2</sup> and that in turn is identical with the sword of Nádha, one of the four "jewels" of the Tuatha Dé Danaan. Nádha, as we have seen, was a sea god. The evidence of these pages tends to show that the Grail, which, though not so closely identified with Arthur as Excalibur, is always mentioned in connection with him,<sup>3</sup> may go back to the cauldron of the Dagda, another one of the four "jewels," and, like the sword, originally belong to the Land-beneath-the-Waves.<sup>4</sup>

In Wauchier's account of Gawain's visit to the Grail castle,<sup>5</sup> which Miss Weston has given reasons for thinking is the most archaic of all,<sup>6</sup> the palace of the Fisher King is far out on the sea, and is reached by a long

<sup>1</sup> Rhÿs, *Celtic Folk-Lore*, I, 32, suggests that Cawellyn is the same as *cawell-lyn*, "creel or basket lake," and tells a number of stories collected in the neighborhood which deal with fairies that dwell in this lake. Of another lake in the neighborhood, Corwion, Rhÿs gives similar stories (I, 68), and tells of a supposed submerged village there and of a family in the neighborhood reputed to be of fairy origin, who are said "to have arrived in the parish at the bottom of a *cawell*," "a creel or basket carried on the back." Evidently they were thought to have been brought out of the lake in a basket. Not to attach undue importance to details, a connection between the sublacustrine folk and a basket or cauldron seems clearly indicated.

<sup>2</sup> See my "The Bleeding Lance," *PMLA*, XXV, 33 f.

<sup>3</sup> Brugger, *ZFS*, XXXVI, *Referate und Rezensionen*, 189-190, has pooh-poohed the idea that, because all Grail stories are connected with Arthur, the connection must be old. But he gives no reasons, and it still seems to me a highly probable hypothesis that the Sword, Round Table, Grail, etc., belong together, and were associated very early with Merlin and with Arthur.

<sup>4</sup> For a rather different view see Windisch in the Leipzig *Abhandlungen*, XXIX, 197 f. (1912), a publication that came to me since this paper was in type.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Potvin, 19639-20333. Wauchier's date is about 1190.

<sup>6</sup> *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 229 f., 286 f.

wave-beaten causeway. Gawain's horse took the bit in his teeth and entered, against the will of his rider, the forbidding opening<sup>1</sup> to this passage. Some idea of the length of the causeway is gained by noticing that Gawain rode over it from nightfall till midnight before he drew near to the Grail palace. If we take the description literally, the Grail castle must have been a *crannog*, or lake dwelling, far out in a large lake or bay. The description is most naturally explained as a euhemerization of a castle beneath the waves. Gawain was carried thither on the back of a particular horse which knew the way. Next morning when he awoke from sleep he found himself "on a lofty cliff beside the sea." No house, castle, or trace of man was visible. Some veil of illusion had evidently covered both them and the causeway over which Gawain had ridden the previous night. In an earlier form of the story it is probable that this mysterious veil was the surface of the sea. The thoughtful reader of the romances will be reminded of the description, in the prose *Lancelot*, of the surface of a lake as a veil of illusion for a fairy abode.<sup>2</sup>

Chrétien's version, although older in time of composition<sup>3</sup> than Wauchier's, is apparently more modified by the constructive skill of the author than is the latter. In Chrétien's version are several points which may indicate that the castle of the Grail was, in a more original form of the story, an under-wave-abode. Perceval found the Grail king fishing from a boat which was upon a broad, deep water. When Perceval inquired about a lodging place for the night, the fisherman told him to follow a cleft made in the rock, adding that when he arrived at the top he would see before him in a valley a house with streams and woods. Perceval went to the top of the hill, but at first could see nothing but sky and land. For several moments he blamed the fisherman for misdirecting him. Then he saw before him in the valley the top of a tower with beautiful turrets.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Moult i fet hideus entrer" (MS. Montpellier). On the perilous entrance to the other-world, see my "Iwain," (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, 75 f., and cf. the "cleft made in the rock" in Chrétien's account below.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 249, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> About 1175.

<sup>4</sup> The text in Baist's edition is as follows:

Montez vos an par cele frete (says the fisherman)  
 2992 Qui est en cele roche fete  
 E quant vos la amont vanroiz  
 Devant vos an un val verroiz  
 Une meison ou ge estois  
 Pres de rivières e de bois.  
 Maintenant cil s'an va amont  
 E quant il vint an son le mont  
 Si garda avant devant lui  
 3000 E quant il vint an son le puy  
 Si ne vit mes que ciel e terre  
 E dit: que sui ge venuz querre  
 La musardie e la bricoigne!  
 Dex li doint hui male vergoigne  
 Celui qui ca m'a anvoié  
 Si m'a il or bien avoié

This sudden appearance of the castle with its towers and turrets below the knight may most naturally be explained as a rationalization of an earlier form of the story in which the tower of the Grail castle lay beneath a lake. The peculiar "opening made in the rock"<sup>1</sup> would then be a rationalization of a perilous entrance to a subaqueous domain. Chrétien, however, wished to represent the story as entirely natural, and mentions no further difficulty in the way of Perceval's attaining the castle. But the next morning, when Perceval awoke, the castle was empty, and no search of his could reveal the whereabouts of its inhabitants.

Doubtless one should be cautious about attaching excessive importance to these apparent traces of an original location of the Grail castle in the sea. Yet they demand some explanation, and it is a striking fact that it is precisely in the oldest known Grail writers (Chrétien, Wauchier) that they appear. If Chrétien had a Celtic source which represented the Grail palace as beneath the sea, he would be sure, according to his usual procedure,<sup>2</sup> to rationalize this into a location on the edge of the sea, and would give us something like what we have in his lines, and in those of Wauchier.

4 (Continued)

	Qu'il me dist que ge verroie
	Meison quant ca amont seroie;
	Chevaliers ( <i>Pescières</i> Mons MS.) qui ce me deis
3010	Trop grant desleauté feis
	Se tu le me deis por mal.
	Lors vit devant lui an un val
	Le chief d'une tor qui parut
	L'an ne trovast jusqu'a Barut
	Si bele ne si bien asise
	Quarree fu de pierre bise
3017	Si avoit [deus] torneles ator
	La sale fu devant la tor
	E les loiges devant la sale.

With verses 3012-3019 above may be compared the account of the Irish Book of Fermoy: "Manannán settled the Tuatha Dé Danaan in the most beautiful valleys, drawing round them an invisible wall, which was impenetrable to the eyes of men" (p. 238 above); and of the Welsh poet Dafydd ab Gwilym: "The high projecting towers of the family of Gwynn" (p. 243 above).

With the great fire in the Grail palace, insisted on in Wauchier and in Chrétien:

ed. Baist, 3055	Si ot devant lui un feu grant
	De sesche busche bien ardant,

3143	Antor le feu qui cler ardoit;
------	-------------------------------

and in *Parzival*, "So great a fire was never seen at Wildenberg" (ed. Martin, 230, 10); cf. the fire by the cauldron of Gerg (p. 239 above), and the burning torch in Pryderi's castle (p. 245 above).

<sup>1</sup> The words "*frete . . . fete*" (ll. 2991 f.) can hardly mean a natural cleft in a rock.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Yvain*, in which Chrétien has euhemerized an original *fée* into the haughty *châtelaine* of a mediæval castle; and the "Joie de la Cort" episode in *Erec*, where something thoroughly supernatural has plainly been toned down. Of course Chrétien's sources, assuming them to have been essentially Celtic, may have been already somewhat rationalized.



That every ancient Welsh and Irish magic vessel turns out to be connected with the sea is a remarkable coincidence, if nothing more.<sup>1</sup> Other points, such as the association of the Dagda, not only with a cauldron of plenty, but with a lacustrine smith, just as the Fisher King is associated with the Grail and with a smith who dwelt by or under a lake, seem to make the hypothesis of a mere coincidence unlikely. Núadha, who, as we have seen, was brother and associate to the Dagda, was, according to ancient Irish tradition, a wounded king<sup>2</sup> who lost his kingdom on that account, like the Grail king. The *mæys* of Gwyddno, considering how little we are told of it, is a remarkable parallel to the Grail. All of these Celtic stories have been shown to antedate Chrétien.

What may be perhaps thought new in this paper is the indication of a persistent association between Celtic magic cauldrons and the Land-beneath-the-Waves, and the pointing out of traces of an original location of the Grail castle upon or beneath the sea. It has been seen that the Celtic hypothesis can readily explain the epithet "Fisher King" and other features which connect the Grail castle with the watery realm. This, it is thought, must tend to increase the probability that the Grail story, whatever be the ultimate origin of the elements from which it is composed, took shape in the fancy of the Celts.

<sup>1</sup> No one can deny the possibility that a Celtic description of a Land-beneath-the-Waves may have formed the basis of Chrétien's account. In his *Lancelot* he mentions two *felons passages* to Gorre, a land which has a number of points in common with the otherworld. The passage chosen by Gawain was called:

Li Ponz Evages,

Por ce que soz eve est li ponz (ed. Foerster, 661).

The prose *Lancelot* relates that a water fairy (cf. *merfeine merminne*, *Lanzelet*, 194 f.) carried the infant Lancelot away to her residence beneath a lake:

"La damoisele qui lanselot emporta el lac estoit une fee" (p. 19). . . . "En chel lieu ou il sambloit que li lais fust plus grans et plus parfons avoit la dame moult beles maisons et moult riches. . . . La samblanche del lac le covroit si que veus ne pooit estre" (p. 22). *Vulgate Version*, ed. Sommer, vol. III. Compare the *pucilles des puis* of the "Elucidation" (*Perceval*, 29-62), who used to rise out of the water of springs bearing golden cups and food for the wayfarer. For numerous references to the Under-Water-Realm in the romances see Miss Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology*, pp. 167 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Celt.*, XII, 61.



# THE DYING INDIAN

FRANK EDGAR FARLEY

The American Indian was, as every reader knows, an object of lively curiosity to Europeans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the literature of the time every effort was made to satisfy that curiosity. Any book treating of the history, topography, manners, morals, or arts of America or its inhabitants, from Captain Smith's *True Relation* down through the period of the Revolution and beyond, was almost sure to make some mention of the Indians, and not a few such books were chiefly devoted to their affairs. This eager interest may be accounted for in two ways. Of course, whatever could be learned of the red man's origin, language, religion, ethics, mode of government, habits, and manners had scientific value.<sup>1</sup> But further than that, the Indian was to a greater or less degree on the white man's conscience. The white man had cheated him out of his lands, debauched him with rum, and dealt treacherously with him in various ways, and yet the Indian was a brother man, and at bottom he retained many of the virtues of the unspoiled child of nature. He was on the whole, in spite of his fiendish cruelty, a pathetic figure, — not without nobility, and indubitably possessed of an immortal soul for whose welfare the less hardened of the whites felt some measure of embarrassed responsibility.<sup>2</sup> As the eighteenth century wore on, with its ever increasing talk of "sensibility" and "the return to nature," the white, although he continued to ply the Indian with fire water and to defraud him of his hunting grounds,<sup>3</sup> interested himself more and more deeply in the sentimental aspects of the Indian's character and fate.

No trait of the red man was oftener dwelt upon than his stoical endurance of hardship, especially when subjected by his enemies to torture. Hundreds of anecdotes of such fortitude may be found in the literature of the

<sup>1</sup> For a recently published example of such scientific inquiry (a physician's), see "Letters of Samuel Lee and Samuel Sewall relating to New England and the Indians," edited by G. L. Kittredge, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Vol. XIV, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Much was written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on the subject of Indian missions. Samson Occom, the celebrated Indian preacher, who visited England in 1766-1768 on behalf of Wheelock's Indian Charity School, collected there over £12,000 as a result of some four hundred sermons and other addresses. Occom was presented to George III and met many other distinguished people. See Love's *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England*, Boston, 1900, chap. viii.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Indian Dispossessed*, by S. K. Humphrey, Boston, 1905.



eighteenth century alone.<sup>1</sup> It was natural that these recitals, always shocking but often thrilling, should fire the imagination of some of the poets, for the victim was usually represented as chanting a death song in which he derided his enemies.<sup>2</sup> We have in consequence a number of poems in which the central figure is an Indian singing his death song at the stake. The notes comprising the present article had their origin in the curiosity aroused in the writer's mind by some songs of this character which were composed in the eighteenth century. Investigation revealed several other poems belonging to the same epoch which exhibit the Indian in various sentimental situations. A few of these songs and other poems are here briefly described and annotated. They cannot be held to portray the Indian accurately. None of them has high poetic merit. That degree of praise can hardly be bestowed upon even the best of Freneau's compositions. But they afford one more illustration of the interest in the emotions and the virtues of barbaric races which the English literature of the second half of the eighteenth century frequently reveals, and which may be regarded as one of the manifestations of that vague impulse commonly known as the Romantic movement.

It remains to be said that the poems reviewed in these notes are confined to the eighteenth century and to the English language, and that the writer has not by any means exhausted all available sources of information.

1. Of the songs supposed to be sung by Indians who are dying under torture, the following is on the whole about the best that has survived:

#### THE DEATH SONG OF A CHEROKEE INDIAN<sup>3</sup>

The sun sets in night, and the stars shun the day,  
But glory remains, when their lights fade away.  
Begin, ye tormenters: your threats are in vain:  
For the son of Alknomock can never complain.

Remember the woods, where in ambush he lay,  
And the scalps which he bore from your nation away.  
Why do ye delay? . . . 'till I shrink from my pain?  
Know, the son of Alknomock can never complain.

<sup>1</sup> For typical examples see the *London Magazine*, XXXII, 459 (1763), and the *American Museum*, II, 594 (1787). The periodicals of the time abound in such instances. So do the many narratives of individual captivity, and such books (their number is legion) as Major Robert Rogers's *A Concise Account of North America*, London, 1765; James Adair's *The History of the American Indians*, London, 1775; Jonathan Carver's *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, London, 1778; and John Long's interesting *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*, London, 1791. See also the *Jesuit Relations*.

<sup>2</sup> The songs of the dying Indian were often compared with the numerous translations and imitations of the *Dying Ode of Regnar Lodbrok*, a poem of Norse origin which Percy made popular in 1763. See the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, IX, 66, n.2, Boston, 1903. The dying negro slave was also the subject of much sentimental verse in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

<sup>3</sup> As printed in *The American Museum*, second edition (1787).

Remember the arrows he shot from his bow :  
 Remember your chiefs by his hatchet laid low.  
 The flame rises high. You exult in my pain :  
 But the son of Alknomock will never complain.

I go to the land where my father is gone :  
 His ghost shall exult in the fame of his son.  
 Death comes like a friend. He relieves me from pain :  
 And thy son, O Alknomock, has scorn'd to complain.

This composition has been ascribed to three different authors. Its earliest appearance in print seems to have been in the first number of Mathew Carey's *American Museum*, January, 1787 (I, 77). I have not seen a copy of the first edition. In the second (1787) no author is given ; but in the third (the preface of which is dated July 20, 1790) the poem is attributed to " P. Freneau." Royall Tyler introduced the song into the opening act of *The Contrast*, which was performed for the first time in New York, April 16, 1787, and printed in Philadelphia in 1790. A character called Maria, who is disclosed at the beginning of the second scene " sitting disconsolate at a Table, with Books, &c.," sings the Cherokee song and then observes, somewhat stiffly, " There is something in this song which ever calls forth my affections. The manly virtue of courage, that fortitude which steels the heart against keenest misfortunes, which interweaves the laurel of glory amidst the instruments of torture and death, displays something so noble, so exalted, that in despite of the prejudices of education I cannot but admire it, even in a savage." Thomas J. McKee, who edited the play for the Dunlap Society in 1887, prints (facing p. 11) a reduced facsimile of a contemporary broadside containing the words and music and bearing the title *Alknomook, the Death Song of the Cherokee Indians*. He remarks in his Introduction (p. x), " This song had long the popularity of a national air and was familiar in every drawing-room in the early part of the century."

Oddly enough, the song was printed among the *Poems* of Mrs. Anne Hunter, London, 1806, as her own composition, with the title *The Death Song, written for and adapted to an original Indian air*. Maria Edgeworth quotes the poem in her *Rosamond* (Philadelphia, 1821, II, p. 52 of *The Print Gallery*), where she calls it *The Son of Alknomook*. She adds a note by Mrs. Hunter (to whom she ascribes the authorship), explaining that " the idea of the ballad was suggested several years ago, by hearing a gentleman, who had resided many years in America, among the tribe called the Cherokees, sing a wild air, which he assured me it was customary for these people to chaunt with a barbarous jargon, implying contempt for their enemies in the moments of torture and death." The version in Mrs. Hunter's *Poems*, which I have not seen, evidently differs somewhat from that printed in Carey's *Museum* (and reproduced above), but it is said by McKee to be " an exact copy " of

that in Tyler's play. The version printed by Miss Edgeworth, however, not only omits one of Tyler's stanzas ("Remember the woods"), but varies a little in other respects. Compare Mrs. Hunter's version as printed in Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia*, I, 341. The broadside varies slightly from Tyler's version and considerably from Freneau's.

Professor Pattee, the editor of *The Poems of Philip Freneau* (Princeton, 1902-1907), agrees with most authorities in accepting the song as Freneau's in spite of the fact that Freneau never included it among his own works, although he "hoarded his poetic product, especially in his earlier period, with miserly care." McKee, on the contrary, is convinced "after considerable research . . . that *Alknomook* is the offspring of Tyler's genius." The evidence does not seem conclusive in the case of any one of the three candidates.<sup>1</sup>

2. In the *American Museum* for September, 1789 (VI, 193), appeared an anonymous prose tale bearing the title *Azakia: A Canadian Story*. An officer in the French army, St. Castins, becomes enamored of a young Indian woman, Azakia, whom he has saved from death. Although Azakia returns his affection, she remains faithful to her husband, the chief Ouabi, with whom St. Castins takes refuge. Presently Ouabi is made prisoner by hostile Indians and bound to a stake, where he is to be tortured to death. He has already begun his death song when St. Castins, at the head of the chief's followers, disperses the enemy and releases the captive. In gratitude Ouabi surrenders Azakia to the Frenchman and takes a new wife.

This tale was versified, with some changes in names and incidents, by Mrs. Sarah Wentworth Morton, the Della Cruscan, and published in Boston in 1790 with the title *Ouâbi, or the Virtues of Nature. An Indian Tale. In*

<sup>1</sup> For discussions of the authorship of this song see Pattee, *Poems of Freneau*, II, 313 n.; McKee's edition, p. x.; Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, New York, 1856, I, 341 n.; Onderdonk, *History of American Verse*, Chicago, 1901, pp. 80 ff.; Marble, *Heralds of American Literature*, Chicago, 1907 (to which I owe the reference to *The Contrast*), pp. 95 ff.

McKee notes that the song was introduced into another play, *New Spain, or Love in Mexico*, Dublin, 1740. The date is an error. The opera called *New Spain*, sometimes attributed to John Scawen, was published in London in 1790, and according to the title-page received its first performance July 16 of that year, at the Theatre Royal. One of the characters is Alkmo-noak, a Chickasaw chief, who is captured by the Spaniards and who sings the death song in the third act. One stanza ("Remember the arrows") is omitted. The three remaining stanzas vary somewhat from all the other versions, but most resemble the version of Tyler.

In the *American Museum* for October, 1789 (VI, 338), is printed *A Favorite Song. Tune, The Son of Alknomack*. This has nothing to do with Indians. *The Philadelphia Minerva* for December 23, 1797, reprints from the *Weekly Museum* a poem of sixty lines, in rhymed couplets, with the heading *Alknomack, the great Indian chief, when preparing for the war in which he was made prisoner and tormented, is said to have made the following bloody reflections and observations to the virgins and attendants of his wigwam, in the night preceding the first battle*. The beginning indicates that Gray's *The Fatal Sisters* served as a model:

Now the storm begins to come!  
Every yell foretokens doom.  
Hear the warrior's whoop from far,  
Tells us to prepare for war.



*Four Cantos. By Philenia, a Lady of Boston.*<sup>1</sup> The book was reviewed with much enthusiasm in the *Massachusetts Magazine* for December, 1790 (II, 759), by a writer who hails her as "the Seward of America."<sup>2</sup>

One of the best things in the poem is the death song, beginning,

Rear'd midst the war-empurpled plain,  
What Illinois submits to pain!  
How can the glory-darting fire  
The coward chill of death inspire!

This song was printed in the *Scots Magazine* for October, 1793 (LV, 503), with due credit.

A notice of *Ouâbi* which appeared in the *London Monthly Review*, September, 1793, inspired one James Bacon to construct a three-act play in prose, which he called *The American Indian; or, Virtues of Nature*, and which he published in London in 1795 with a dedication to Anne, Marchioness Townshend. The author explains in an introductory note that he began to write from the description in the review. "I had nearly compleated the second act," he says, "when the politeness of the editor of the *Monthly Review*, to whom I had applied for information where I might meet with the poem, furnished me with a sight of the only copy which, it is believed, ever made it's way into England." Bacon departs only slightly from Mrs. Morton's version of the action, and pays her the compliment of reprinting her "justly admired death song" intact.

3. The collection of *American Poems* published by Collier and Buel at Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1793, contains (p. 287) a lively composition by the versatile William Dunlap, entitled *Cololoo — An Indian Tale, thrown into English Verse*. Cololoo, a Cayuga brave, has fallen into the hands of a hostile tribe, who are about to torture him at the stake in revenge for Colwall, one of their own warriors. The poem begins with a spirited account of the preparations for the sacrifice and the captive's indifference to his fate. The singer taunts his captors with the number of scalps they have lost to his nation and presently begins to boast of the fame of the great Cayuga chief, Logan.

Then whilst from every limb the red streams gush,  
And round him glows the fire;  
Whilst thorns and nails transfix the quivering flesh,  
The death song rises higher.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Morton annotated her poem with great care. She acknowledges her indebtedness to "the obliging communications of General Lincoln," and quotes from the letters of William Penn and from Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*.

<sup>2</sup> The same number of the magazine contains *Lines on Female Genius. To Philenia; occasioned by reading her Poem, entitled "Ouâbi, or The Virtues of Nature."* "Mean is the man," writes Philenia's admirer,

who never can bestow  
A leaf of laurel to a female brow;  
When sterling sense and tuneful diction join'd  
Are the twin offspring of a female mind.

The captive sings not only of Logan's valor but of his magnanimity. He reminds his hearers that Logan once stayed his hand when about to take vengeance for the murder of his children, because the white man who had fallen into his power showed no fear of death. Then he jeers again at his tormentors :

Why bring ye not the heated stone,  
To sear and seam my manly breast?  
Why sure the torture is not done!  
Such pain Cololoo bears in jest.

The prisoner's courage and his rehearsal of Logan's generosity have so wrought upon his enemies, however, that

Reldor then with sullen stride,  
His knife was in his hand,  
Advanc'd, and thus aloud he cried, —  
And cut the twisted band.  
  
Reldor takes thee for his son,  
Colwall in battle slain.<sup>1</sup>

The poem was reprinted in *The Columbian Muse*, Philadelphia, 1794 (p. 187).

*Cololoo* is of special interest because of its mention of Logan. The wrongs of Logan,<sup>2</sup> "the white man's friend," whose family is reported to have been barbarously murdered by Captain Michael Cresap in the spring of the year 1774, aroused much sympathy in the eighteenth century. The alleged murder led to "Cresap's War." At a peace conference held near the end of the war, Logan is said to have made a speech which Thomas Jefferson praised<sup>3</sup> as equal to anything in Cicero or Demosthenes. This speech, which was famous two generations ago "in every hemisphere," as Drake quaintly observes, begins, "I appeal to any white to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin

<sup>1</sup> S. G. Drake, in *The Book of the Indians*, eighth edition, Boston, 1841, relates that Logan, "who took no delight in tortures," cut the bonds of a white captive named Robinson and had him adopted into an Indian family. (Bk. v, p. 42.)

<sup>2</sup> The Cayuga Logan, son of Shikellimus, is to be distinguished from the Shawnee Logan who was killed in the service of the Americans during the Revolution. See Drake, Bk. v, 132 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Notes on the State of Virginia*, London, 1787, p. 104. Jefferson's statements with regard to Cresap's part in Logan's misfortune were challenged by Cresap's friends and led to a controversy. The genuineness of the speech has also been questioned. See Drake, Bk. v, 41-48; W. L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant*, Albany, 1865, I, 39 ff.; B. Mayer, *Tah-gah-jute, or Logan and Captain Michael Cresap*, Baltimore, 1851; Joseph Doddridge, *Logan, the last of the race of Shikellimus, Chief of the Cayuga nation. A dramatic piece. . . . Reprinted from the Virginia edition of 1823, with an appendix [by J. R. Dodge] relating to the murder of Logan's family*, Cincinnati, 1868. Doddridge's play, which is in prose, closes with Logan's speech. In the appendix are two poems by J. D. Canning, *The Shade of Logan*, and *Epitaph for the Logan Monument*, both reprinted from *Williams' American Pioneer*. See also a passage in Richard Alsop's travesty of Jefferson's Inaugural (1805), printed in Duyckinck's *Cyclopaedia*, I, 500. Alsop alludes to

That story sad, by fiction's hand adorn'd,  
Where hapless Logan for his offspring mourn'd.

hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not." One sentence, "There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature," suggested a passage in Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming* (published in 1809).<sup>1</sup>

Logan's speech was printed and his story was told in the *Universal Magazine*, LXXXIII, 181 (1788), under the title *Fine Specimen of Indian Eloquence*.<sup>2</sup> He is the hero of a poem called *The Indian Victory, a Fragment Decorated by the Pencil of Fancy*, signed "Lavinia," and contributed to the *Massachusetts Magazine* in 1791 (III, 763).

4. Passing over Joseph Lyndon Arnold's *The Warrior's Death Song*, 1797<sup>3</sup> (a poem inspired perhaps by the *Son of Alknomock*), and Thomas Gisborne's *The Dying Indian*, 1798,<sup>4</sup> a "Pindaric" ode in which the Indian's last moments are oddly contrasted with those of the saint and martyr Stephen, we may dismiss the Indian under torture,<sup>5</sup> and consider briefly a group of poems in which the Indian dies in some other way. In Joseph Warton's *The Dying Indian* (Dodsley's *Collection of Poems*, London, 1782, IV, 220; *American Museum*, II, 414) he is slain by a poisoned arrow. William

<sup>1</sup> See Campbell's own note to Part iii, stanza xvii. Campbell quotes at length from Jefferson.

Washington Irving used a variant of "I appeal to any white," etc., as a motto for his essay on "Traits of Indian Character" in *The Sketch-Book*.

<sup>2</sup> One of the characteristics of the American Indian which the eighteenth century most admired was his native eloquence. The periodicals of that era, as well as the various Travels and Histories are full of alleged Indian addresses or "talks" of one sort and another. Examples may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, IV, 449 (1734); XVIII, 60 (1748); XXV, 252 (1755); *London Magazine*, XVII, 81, 419 (1748); XXVII, 631 (1758); *Scots Magazine*, XXV, 463 (1763); XXIII, 12, 602 (1761); *Monthly Review Enlarged*, IX, 465 (1792); *Critical Review*, IV, 13 (1757); *American Museum*, III, 256, 449 (1788); *Massachusetts Magazine*, III, 355 (1791); *Weekly Magazine* (Philadelphia), II, 410 (1798). Others are in the *Memoirs of Lieutenant Henry Timberlake*, London, 1765, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* by the Honorable Cadwallader Colden, London, 1747, and the works of Carver, Long, etc. Drake prints a great many. William Smith's *Some Account of the North American Indians*, London, 1754, contains a *Speech of a Creek Indian against the Immoderate Use of Spirituous Liquors*, which has an interesting history recounted in *The Works of William Smith, D.D., Late Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1803, II, 214. Speeches in verse may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXV, 526 (1765), and in the *American Museum*, IV, 481 (1788). Compare G. L. Kittredge, *The Old Farmer and his Almanack*, Boston, 1904, pp. 333-378.

<sup>3</sup> See Kettell's *Specimens of American Poetry*, Boston, 1829, II, 80 f.

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted in Gisborne's *Walks in a Forest*, eighth edition, London, 1813, p. 215.

<sup>5</sup> A variant of the tortured-Indian motive was introduced by William Richardson, Professor of Humanity at Glasgow University, in *The Indians*, a five-act tragedy in blank verse printed in London in 1790. At the opening of the third act a young Englishman is disclosed in fetters and surrounded by hostile savages. The captive defies his tormentors in true Indian fashion:

Begin your rites: I scorn them; and defy  
All that your bloody vengeance can inflict.

He is released in the nick of time by a friendly chief.

The *Massachusetts Magazine* for August, 1789 (I, 521), contains a poem called *Rosetta*, in which a white prisoner dies at the stake.



Preston's ample *Poetical Works* (London, 1795) contain a poem which was quoted entire in the *Monthly Review* for February, 1795 (XVI, 168), and again the next month in the *Scots Magazine* (LVII, 173). The title is *Speech of an old savage to his son, who, in a war with a neighboring tribe, was preparing to bear his feeble father on his back*. The savage begs to be left behind. "But first," he cries,

But first strike here; leave not thine aged father,  
To feel their rage, whose kindred he has mangled;  
Nor let his tortur'd members feast the sight  
Of those that hate him and his tribe! — Farewell,  
Be kind and quick. — Thy lance be sharp as now,  
Thine arm as strong, my son, in all thy warfare! <sup>1</sup>

This is virtually suicide.<sup>2</sup> In some poems an Indian expresses his despair at the loss of home and kindred and then destroys himself. In Freneau's *Prophecy of King Tammany*,<sup>3</sup> first published in the *Freeman's Journal*, December 11, 1782, the famous chief immolates himself upon a funeral pyre. In the *Indian Warrior's Lamentation*, printed anonymously in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, IV, 120 (1792), the aged Wimar hurls himself down the rocks of Niagara in the manner of Gray's Bard. Carandoc, the center of interest in *The American Warrior*, an anonymous poem printed in the *Columbian Muse* (1794), kills himself, we infer, in order to join his murdered sweetheart.<sup>4</sup>

5. Freneau's *The Dying Indian, or Last Words of Shalum*, which first appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*, March 17, 1784, deserves a more

<sup>1</sup> It was the custom in some Indian families to put to death, as an act of mercy, the aged and infirm members. John Long prints in the Indian language the "grand medicine song" which the Chippeways use on such an occasion. His translation is as follows: "The Master of Life gives courage. It is true, all Indians know that he loves us, and we now give our father to him, that he may find himself young in another country and be able to hunt." After the ritual, "the eldest son gives his father the death-stroke with a tomahawk: they then take the body, which they paint in the best manner, and bury it with the war weapons." *Voyages and Travels*, London, 1791, p. 74.

A peculiarly revolting incident of this kind is described by Peter Williamson in *French and Indian Cruelty*, third edition, Glasgow, 1758, pp. 22 f. Compare a passage near the end of Joseph Warton's *The Dying Indian*, Chalmers' edition of the Poets, XVIII, 170.

<sup>2</sup> On suicide among the Indians, see G. L. Kittredge, *Letters of Samuel Lee*, etc., pp. 150, 181.

<sup>3</sup> See William Prichard's lines on the *Character of St. Tamany*, in the *American Museum*, V, 104 (1789), reprinted in the *Columbian Muse*, p. 223. Compare Drake, Bk. v, p. 17. See also O. Wegelin, *Early American Plays*, New York, 1905, p. 43, for information about an opera performed in 1794, called *Tammany, or the Indian Chief*.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the lament of Cascarilla for her dead lover in *Cascarilla, an American Ballad*, printed in the *American Museum*, IV, 384 (1788), and again in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, IV, 327 (1792); also the reflections of a jilted lover in Joseph Smith's *An Indian Eclogue*, published in the *Columbian Muse*, p. 160.

In Freneau's *The American Village* (1772) it will be remembered that Colma drowns herself in order that her husband and her child may be rescued in a boat which cannot hold all three. (*Poems*, ed. Pattee, III, 388 ff.)

extended comment. This poem belongs to a different type from any we have yet considered, for Shalum evidently dies a natural death. He is represented as reflecting, as he takes leave of his family, on the sweetness of his mortal life and the probable dullness of the life hereafter. He does not look forward to a Happy Hunting Ground.

No deer along those gloomy forests stray,  
No huntsmen there take pleasure in the chace,  
But all are empty unsubstantial shades,  
That ramble through those visionary glades.

In the edition of his poems published in June, 1795, Freneau changed the title to *The Dying Indian Tomo-Chequi*, perhaps because he had in the meantime given the name Shalum to his Indian Student (1788), and because, further, he was at that time engaged on "a series of papers entitled 'Tomo Cheeki, the Creek Indian in Philadelphia,' in which the manners and absurdities of the Americans are described from the standpoint of an observant savage." These papers were published in successive numbers of the *Jersey Chronicle*, beginning with the issue for May 23, 1795. Two years later Freneau republished them in the *Time Piece and Literary Companion*, with a note explaining that they were "said to be translated from one of the Indian languages of this country."<sup>1</sup>

Tomochichi (the name is variously spelled) is an historical personage, a famous chief of the Creek Indians, who, together with his wife, his adopted son Toonahowi, and a considerable retinue, visited England under the care of General Oglethorpe in June, 1734. The Indians were received with marked respect, and an ode has survived which was composed in the chief's honor.<sup>2</sup>

The somewhat hackneyed device by which Freneau pretends to reproduce the naïve comments of a savage upon the customs of a civilized community will remind every reader of the *Spectator* of an interesting episode in the reign of Queen Anne. In April, 1710, four (some reports say five) sachems of the Iroquois nation visited England, ostensibly to request the Queen to drive the French out of Canada. They were received at court, their portraits were painted by a famous artist and engraved in mezzotint, and they attracted general attention, of which we find echoes in the literature of the day. A catch-penny pamphlet called *The Four Kings of Canada* (London, 1710, reprinted in 1891) gave a meagre account of them, which included their speech to the

<sup>1</sup> Pattee, *Poems of Freneau*, I, lxvi, lxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Georgia, a Poem, Tomo-cha-chi, an Ode.—A Copy of Verses on Mr. Oglethorpe's second voyage to Georgie*, London, 1736. See Charles C. Jones's *Historical Sketch of Tomo-chi-chi, Mico of the Yamacraws*, Albany, 1868, pp. 58 ff.

Accounts of this visit are in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, IV, 449, 450, 571 (1734). Concerning Toonahowi, who was killed (1743) in the service of the English and buried with military honors, see the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XII, 496 (1742), and the *London Magazine*, XV, 622 (1746). See also Drake, Bk. iv, p. 29.

Queen.<sup>1</sup> One of them became the hero of a delightful ballad, *The Four Indian Kings* (telling "How a beautiful Lady conquered one of the Indian Kings"), of which the Harvard University Library has three copies in "broadside" and one in "garland" style. And further, they were made the subject of a *Tatler* paper by Steele (No. 171, May 13, 1710) and of a *Spectator* paper by Addison (No. 50, April 27, 1711). The bulk of Addison's paper is a pretended translation from a bundle of papers left behind by "King Sa Ga Yean Qua Rash Tow" when he quitted his lodgings. This manuscript records a savage's impressions of English customs and institutions, with mildly satirical intent. Swift, in the *Journal to Stella* (April 28, 1711), takes credit for having suggested this device to Steele, and repents that he did not make use of the subject himself.

In the *Scots Magazine* for February, 1742 (IV, 73), is a four-page continuation of the observations in the *Spectator*, "translated from the original manuscript, and communicated by a correspondent to the *Universal Spectator*." This again has a satirical object.

It is interesting to note that the chief's name had been used for satirical purposes before Freneau's time. In 1758 *Tombo-Chiqui: or the American Savage, a Dramatic Entertainment in three acts* was published in London. This play (said to have been "taken from a French piece, entitled *Harlequin Sauvage*") is described in the *Monthly Review* for June of that year (XVIII, 648) as "a satire on the foibles of those European nations, who deem themselves superior to the rest of the world, on account of their *polite* accomplishments: which, in the opinion of the honest American Savage, are only vicious deviations from the original simplicity and integrity of nature."

"The original simplicity and integrity of nature" is the characteristic note in Freneau's *The Dying Indian Tomo-Chequi*, as it is in most Indian pieces of the eighteenth century, with the exception of those which are purely of the *Son of Alknomock* type. In the latter, as we have seen, bravado and manly endurance are the motives. One who is familiar with the sentimental literary tastes of the second half of the century finds no difficulty in understanding why both types of the Dying Indian should frequently appear in the British and American poetry of that era.

<sup>1</sup> The speech alleged to have been made to the Queen was reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XVIII, 60 (1748), and again in the *London Magazine*, XVII, 81 (also in 1748). For further information and references, see Drake, Bk. v, pp. 13 ff.



## HAMLET AND IAGO

ELMER EDGAR STOLL

"He is the counterpart of Hamlet, who tries to find reasons for his delay in pursuing a design which excites his aversion. And most of Iago's reasons for action are no more the real ones than Hamlet's reasons for delay are the real ones. Each is moved by forces which he does not understand." Embedded in this observation of Professor Bradley's lies a truth of fundamental importance, I think, when viewed in the light of historical criticism. Hamlet and Iago are not actuated by the motives which they allege. But, as I see it, their designs excite in them no aversion, and the forces which move them are not obscure.

As has been suggested elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> the Elizabethan soliloquy is the truth itself, and though in real life a liar may lie to everybody, even to himself in a way, Iago cannot be lying when he expresses his ambitious jealousy of Cassio, his sexual jealousy of Othello, and his lust for Desdemona, any more than Autolycus can be lying when he tells the audience that his traffic is sheets and for the life to come he sleeps out the thought of it. The soliloquy or aside, and the confidence of friend to friend, are for information, like prologue and chorus, and in treating them psychologically Shakespearean criticism has ignored dramatic convention, whether it be in England or on the Continent, in ancient or in modern times. By it, in Shakespeare, any curious bit of human nature is labelled, any devious path in the intrigue is placarded. Cordelia is not permitted to say to her father, "Nothing, my lord," without two previous asides to the effect of "love and be silent"; and Desdemona, when merry with Iago as she awaits her lord's belated arrival at the quay, must hasten to apprise the audience that she is beguiling the thing she is by seeming otherwise. How, then, when the placard is misleading, is an audience, before so tenderly guided, to know it, and find its way to the truth behind these confidences of Iago or behind Hamlet's theological reason for sparing the king at prayer? If either character really deceives himself, it is he himself — as Hamlet when he falls a-cursing like a very drab, or Iago when for the moment he dallies with the notion that he is not a villain — that detects it.

Hence we may say that the technique of Shakespeare and his times was incapable of coping with the unconscious or subconscious. The character himself detects the self-deception — and then it is no longer self-deception. Nor

<sup>1</sup> In my article "Anachronism in Shakespeare Criticism," *Modern Philology*, April, 1910.

of a subtler technique had the poet any need. Even the philosophy of his time, of which he had as little as of Greek, knew not the unconscious. The doctrines of Neoplatonism, of Bruno, Boehme, and Paracelsus, the scientific interest in magic, alchemy, and animistic medicine turned the world and every atom of it, as did popular superstition, for that matter, into beings full of passion and knowledge. There were spirits of the heart and brain as well as of earth and water; and by Shakespeare and the other poets Fate, conscience (even in the bosom of a man incapable of one), all the vague stirrings and impulses of the soul, and the sympathetic throes of dumb nature itself are given a voice. "Genug, das Geheimniss muss heraus," as Goethe well says, "und sollten es die Steine verkünden." Motives, when not merely neglected, come boldly to the light of day, instead of betraying themselves casually and unawares as in present-day drama and in real life. So far, indeed, are poet and people from a notion of the relative and unconscious that the motives appear, not in the subdued colors in which they are seen by the soul itself, but in the glaring black or white of vice or virtue, as if a cherub saw them. The poet who made Brutus and Othello so conscious of their own virtue, and Iago and Lady Macbeth so cheerfully aware of others' virtue and the wickedness of their own doings and intents, had not looked much into the dimmer chambers of the soul.

Yet Hamlet and Iago do not act or recoil from action for the reasons they allege. Most of his motives Iago touches on but once, and he demeans himself, as Professor Bradley says, not at all like one stung with resentment, fired by ambition, or consumed with hatred, the poisonous mineral of sexual jealousy, or lust. He takes no particular pleasure in Cassio's place once he has got it, and his glee at the success of his intrigue is not that of an injured husband or a libertine, getting even, wife for wife. Having motives, then, he acts as if he had them not. Shall we, therefore, discard them, and, like the critics, get him new ones of our own? In so doing we discard Shakespeare, and, unawares, cease from criticism. Rather let Iago run his course regardless of motive, like Aaron, Richard III, or Marlowe's Barabas, the badge of whose lineage he bears, being a Machiavel, or stage villain, who is utterly given over to evil and shrinks at none.<sup>1</sup> As such he has a charter to do evil, liberal as the wind. And roundly he goes to work intriguing and destroying, fired by no particular passion, but flaring up again and again with the central flame of hell:

Work on,  
My medicine, work! Thus credulous fools are caught,  
And many worthy and chaste dames even thus  
All guiltless meet reproach.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my article on "Criminals in Shakespeare and Science," *Modern Philology*, July, 1912, pp. 5-6, 17-20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II, iii, 366-369, where he delights in turning Desdemona's virtue into pitch, although he has no grudge against her. "Hell and night," etc.

That Iago loves evil for its own sake Professor Bradley denies, finding in him, on the contrary, traces of the obscure working of conscience, and sub-conscious motives of so neutral a character as a sense of superiority and a delight in the pain of his victim as a proof of his power. Even a safety valve he provides for him, as for that other self-deceived one, Hamlet, to relieve him from the discomfort of hypocrisy. Space forbids me to enter upon the question further than to say that here very evidently Mr. Bradley's counsel is darkened by the notions not only of modern psychology but of modern metaphysics. The Kantian "resistance" of the moral law in every man's bosom (therefore in Iago's), and so monistic a motive as the "sense of power," are ill in keeping with the dualistic Machiavel, who scoffs at conscience, and revels in his villainy and the help he has from "all the tribe of hell." Far from being a discomfort, hypocrisy is part of Iago's program and profession, sweeter to him than honey and the honeycomb. The conscience darkly working within him is no more than that familiarity with the true moral values of which we have already taken notice. He puts himself in the wrong by virtue of his own self-consciousness — by virtue of his maker's naïveté. And the motive-hunting in his earlier soliloquies is no sign of "uneasiness" or "aversion." Coolly and clearly he sees that he has no cause, and therefore acts. The very accumulation of his motives and the uncertainty and flimsiness of his suspicions but show the hellishness of his purpose. Instead of denying the devil a conscience or moral sense, as we should do, for good and all, it is according to Shakespeare's lights to give him one, but perverted, turned upside down.

Nor does this mean that we too discard Shakespeare and discredit Iago in his confidences to gallery and pit. Apart from the impression that Iago is bent upon villainy, Shakespeare saw no necessity whatever of carrying over the motives Iago professes into his part in the play. Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, as for the crown they commit murder after murder, think not of the crown, but of the horrors of murder and the spirits that tend on mortal thoughts. Hamlet, who says that he loved Ophelia more than could forty thousand brothers, kills her father without remorse, and before or after, in his soliloquies or serious moments, never gives her a word or a thought. Timon, in his misanthropic meditations after his friends forsake him, shows no trace of wounded affection, and Lear, Hamlet, and he dwell on the delinquencies of officers of the law, women who lisp and paint, prostitutes, and the incontinent, with all of which they have little or nothing to do. To-day we demand in a work of art concentration and point, not unity only but identity, complete integration and interpenetration of part and part, form and thought, plot and character. If Ibsen's Krogstad and Mortensgard have certain grudges and cravings to satisfy, they are suffered to talk and act only as such men would, and not like scoundrels let loose upon the town. In Iago, on the other hand, Shakespeare keeps to the Machiavel type, and finely as in the



turn of his speech he individualizes him, never thinks of making any particular motive or motives shine through thought or deed.

So it is, I think, with Hamlet. Except, as we have seen, when he himself detects it, he is not deceiving himself, and he honestly believes that the ghost may have been a devil, has the play performed really to catch the conscience of the king, and fails to kill him afterward only because he fears that in so doing he should waft his soul to heaven. No weak-kneed dreamer, when he takes Polonius for the king he kills him on the spot, slips his own neck out of the noose and the two innocent gentlemen's into it with all his heart and soul, grapples with the pirate and boards him, and kills the king at the end of the fifth act as soon as ever the dramatist himself has got ready. And yet

whether it be  
Bestial oblivion or some craven scruple  
Of thinking too precisely on the event —  
A thought which, quartered, hath but one part wisdom  
And ever three parts coward — I do not know  
Why yet I live to say "This thing's to do,"  
Sith I have cause and will and strength and means  
To do it.

Though he brings these vague and conflicting charges of cowardice against himself twice over,<sup>1</sup> he again quite as truly protests that he is no coward.<sup>2</sup> Contradiction upon contradiction, for the play is but a story. In the plot there is the customary Shakespearean explicitness; in the character — witness the four thousand treatises! — an unwonted obscurity and confusion. On the one hand, the heroic quality must be preserved; on the other, some show of reason must be furnished for Hamlet's not killing the king (if the bull may be pardoned me) before the play is over. So he accuses himself, and the contradictory charges and excuses cancel one another. Such motivation as this is an epical device rather than a dramatic. The character is sacrificed to plot, and is rescued like the darlings of the gods in old fable, as it were, by being enveloped in a cloud or mist. "I do not know why yet I live to say 'This thing's to do,'" whereas he avows what can be known by no man — that he hoodwinks himself; and all the other characters in Shakespeare, even those who, like Lear, would in real life have known themselves "but slenderly," know their weaknesses very well. Sooner or later their friends know them too, as the Fool and Kent know Lear's, Lady Macbeth her husband's, Enobarbus Antony's; but Horatio, Ophelia, Gertrude, Laertes, Fortinbras, who at the end avers that as a king he would have proved right royally, even Claudius himself, find in Hamlet none at all. And "bestial oblivion," mere forgetfulness or neglect, which is the main explanation of his delay, — what a reason or dramatic motive have we there! "Remember me,"

<sup>1</sup> See II, ii, final speech, as well as the passage quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> II, ii, 597-604.

the ghost cries at parting, and Hamlet whips out his tables. "Do not forget," he adjures his son when he appears to him in the queen's bedchamber, though so much else there was to say, and the motive has no more psychological import than the "antic disposition" (which, as we shall see, serves not as a safety valve, but, however awkwardly, as a mask for his intrigue), and is almost as naïve and purely outward a touch as the hardening of Pharaoh's heart in the story of the Exodus, the potion of Siegfried, or the lapse of memory in the Edipus of Voltaire. Psychologically taken, how could Hamlet forget—while memory holds a seat in this distracted globe!—and remember anything else? Such an explanation of remissness is familiar to us only as the disobedient child's last shift when it is taken to task, and for you or me can hardly have a deeper meaning. And as with the cowardice and forgetfulness, so with Hamlet's intimation that he thinks "too precisely of the event." It serves the purpose of explaining his inaction, but nowhere does he exhibit the trait. As we have seen and are to see, he is bold and resolute, and the only instance of his stopping to "consider the event," or outcome—when the king is at prayer—is to be taken in another way.

In short, the story is not the embodiment of the character. The dramatist takes it as he gets it from Belleforest and Kyd, instead of inventing it, or much modifying the details of it, to suit the conception of the character formed in his brain. "Story came first with him," says Sir Walter Raleigh, "and to argue from the character to the plot is to invert the true order of things in the artist's mind." "Why did Cordelia not humour her father a little?" he says again. "It is easy to answer this question by enlarging on the character of Cordelia, and on that touch of obstinacy which is often found in very pure and unselfish natures. But this is really beside the mark. . . . If Cordelia had been perfectly tender and tactful there would have been no play." And again there would have been none if Hamlet had struck home at the first chance given. Not all of Shakespeare's heroes in tragedy betray a tragic fault, and Hamlet seems to have no more of a fault than "star-crossed" Romeo. Be that as it may, the details of the drama have not, as in our drama to-day, a secondary, retroactive intention. Olivia's vow for seven years not to show her face and to water once a day her chamber round with eye-offending brine has no bearing on her character further than in the first sullen word she utters:—"Take the fool away!" We, as we sit in the playhouse or con the text, are wont to look before and after, attending not so much to words and things as to their relation and meaning, their echoes or shadows; and so it is that we find in the doubt of the ghost and the sparing of the king at prayer an excuse for delay, and in the killing of Polonius, the hoisting of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern with their own petard, and the boarding of the pirate, instances of the futile activity of one whose will is fluttering but broken. But such meaning there is none, and we have rather to

*cf. Barker*

attend to the words and things. Not before the end of the eighteenth century did men begin to speculate upon Hamlet's character; and the Elizabethans were interested not in the changes of his thought and mood as they appear in deed and demeanor, but in those delectable changes for their own sake, the sentiment and wit, the poetry, the check and countercheck of the plot, the ways in which Hamlet escapes from the toils of Claudius only to entangle himself and Claudius too in them, the sensations, mystery, and "ocular picturesqueness" of the whole. To them these vague and conflicting self-accusations — most of the time Hamlet does but chide and scold himself — may have meant no more (except, as I said, to explain the story) than a friend's self-accusations in real life, which no one takes to heart. Indeed, it is quite probable that one really actuated by craven scruples and reflective cowardice would in those rough-and-ready times have found small favor on the stage. The heroes, the gentlemen in the Shakespearean and Elizabethan drama not branded with infamy or disgrace, are, however under Senecan and Renaissance influence they may bewail themselves, all quick and gallant spirits. Romeo, both before and after he lies on the ground with his own tears made drunk, shows the pluck of a paladin. And rightly Goethe's view of Hamlet, as sinking under a burden too great for him, is held by Mr. Bradley to be sentimental.

Instead of framing the character at first hand, and, as Carlyle says he does, from within outward, the poet again conforms it to a type. This is the Malcontent,<sup>1</sup> the type of another revenger, Marston's Malevole, and, in some degree, of Jaques in *As You Like It*. With Hamlet and Malevole it is a feigned part, though continually confused with reality, and is practically the incarnation of the Elizabethan "humor" of melancholy. In Hamlet's case it comprehends the "antic disposition," which is unlike any other madness in Shakespeare, and it embraces practically all of the rôle (that is not a revenger's) after he sees the ghost. It is the part of critic and cynic, who holds forth in set, professional meditation, inspired by no experience of his own, addressed to no one in particular, and oblivious of the issues in hand, on the theme that all is at last vanity, rottenness, and ruin; and holds forth in equally professional and impersonal satire of the cunning lawyer at last put to confusion, of the painted lady unmasked and laid bare in her ugliness, of lispings, amblings, and incontinence. Traits of a type, they have been taken by the critics for traits of a soul fleeing from its purpose.

At the conclusion that he shows symptoms of ancient and Elizabethan melancholy Mr. Bradley and I, commonly of so different a mind, arrived independently,<sup>2</sup> though he before me. But here we part company. I find in

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account see my article "Shakespeare, Marston, and the Malcontent Type," *Modern Philology*, January, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> I mention the fact, not only because it gives me greater faith in our conclusion, but because I wish to explain that it was owing to ignorance of it that in my article, in 1906, I gave Mr. Bradley no credit.



Hamlet, as I said, a type, a stage figure, whose sombre meditations and satire are mainly impersonal, having to do, like Malevole's, with the base uses to which the dust of the mighty is put, and with the lipping and painting of "my lady" (not Ophelia or Gertrude but women in general),<sup>1</sup> and, together with the mimicry, freakishness, and gibberish of the part, are not definitely related to his own particular grief, but serve, in the plot, mainly as a blind or stalking-horse, and, out of the plot, to tickle the taste of an audience which delighted in rare and extravagant humors. Save for the delicacy of his phrase and the tenderness of his spirit Hamlet might be Malevole as he meditates in the churchyard, or when in "To be or not to be" he speaks of the oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely, the pangs of dispriz'd love, the law's delay, the insolence of office, from which he himself cannot have suffered, and the undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns, though one had just returned to him. He has after all forgotten—not only the ghost but himself!

What I venture to make a matter of dramatic technique Mr. Bradley makes a matter of psychology. For him Hamlet's disease is not feigned. Disposing easily of the previous theories (for in Shakespearean criticism is little of that truth of which Plato avers that it can never be confuted), he shows that by nature Hamlet is neither weak and irresolute nor too much addicted to speculation, but, plunged in melancholy as he is by the loss of his father and by his mother's inconstancy, he is shocked beyond capability of action by the ghost's disclosures. His mind is infected, and he henceforth probes and lacerates the wound in his soul, struggling in vain to perform his vow.

Of all psychological theories of Hamlet this best fits the text, but even as a psychological theory it fails to appease the mind. If by nature Hamlet is not diseased or abnormal, but strong in thought and deed (as many of the saner critics nowadays think him), why should a grief and a plain and simple command like this render him incapable of action, and lead him into feigned madness in the presence of his enemies and pointless eccentricity and aimless meditation in the presence of his friends? I should think he would have taken the ghost's bidding with a cry of relief. How can his "forgetfulness" or "dulness," again, be explained as the "lethargy of melancholy," seeing that he is of all the characters in the play the most active, the keenest, and the wittiest? And what is this melancholy? Mr. Bradley begins with the word

<sup>1</sup> Commonly, and even by Professors Bradley and Brandl, the bitterness against women is thought due to disillusionment in respect to Gertrude and Ophelia. The language of III, i, 147-157 and V, i, 212 does not permit of this interpretation. It is no more likely that Ophelia paints or lips than that she is wanton. By some critics the last charge is actually entertained; but no heroine of Shakespeare's is unchaste, Cressida being no exception. And there is no reason that I can see for thinking as most critics do that Hamlet suspects Ophelia's treachery in the nunnery scene. All of these interpretations are the result of taking Shakespeare's dramatic structure to be as close and compact as Ibsen's.

in the ancient physiological sense, but later uses it as if it were the equivalent of *melancholia*, or even "melancholy" as we use the word to-day. *Melancholia* is out of the question. The melancholy to which Hamlet has succumbed before the ghost appears to him is no more than the despondency of grief; and neither that nor the true Elizabethan variety (which, in this case, we must remember, is feigned, and anyway is a mythical disease which nowadays means little or nothing) is enough, even under a shock like his, to paralyze the powers of one not already enfeebled. Psychological interpretation such as this does not do even what it most plumes itself upon doing — bridge over the centuries and bring the character home to our souls and bosoms.

Still less does it *interpret*. It does violence to Shakespeare's technique and contradicts the spirit of his time. At every turn of the simple old story Mr. Bradley has recourse, like his predecessors, to the subconscious, the safety valve, the pretext. Thus a mere pretext is the "more horrid hent," not, as many have thought, because for an honest reason it is too horrible, but because deep in his heart Hamlet hates to kill a defenseless man. In *The Maid's Tragedy* Evadne is bent upon killing her king body and soul; and in the Elizabethan novel *Jack Wilton*, Cutwolf makes a *bella vendetta* of it, model of Alexander's in the anonymous *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany*, by beguiling his victim into a blasphemous renunciation of God and assignment of his soul to the devil, and then shooting him through the open mouth that he might not recall his words.<sup>1</sup> How is the audience to understand that Hamlet is not, though he says that he is, of a like mind with these? Shakespeare never palters with us in a double sense. If Hamlet indeed disdained to strike a defenseless man, he might have cried, like many another Elizabethan hero, "Draw and defend thyself," and cursed him while he drew. The playwright chose rather to stain Hamlet's character with such a sentiment as this, — a stain even then, — having a matter of two acts still before him.

As I have remarked elsewhere, if here the man were *really* meant to blench, he would be made to do so once more. In all times, and particularly in early times, in order to make a point dramatists have found it necessary to drive it home. If Polonius, at first sensible enough, is to turn ass, he must play the fool *not* in his own house only, but with Hamlet and also with the king and queen. If Brutus is an impractical idealist, he must thwart Cassius's worldly prudence not only in the matter of the oath but also in the matter of letting Antony speak to the People and in the strategy at Philippi. But blenching, if you will, when the king is delivered into his hands at prayer, at his next opportunity to kill a man who, as it seems, is the king, Hamlet kills him, and there is only one thing for an audience, Elizabethan or modern, to think

<sup>1</sup> McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nash*, II, 325. Creizenach cites this instance and the preceding, IV, 223-224.

of that. In the very next scene he has caught the king, he thinks, "about an act that has no relish of salvation in it," and is as good as his word.

Likewise the antic disposition is taken for a safety valve, the play within the play for a subterfuge and evasion, and the doubt of the ghost for no genuine doubt. In drama and story, particularly *Hamlet*, which in various versions all Elizabethans knew, feigned madness had been long established as an artifice of craft and intrigue, to protect the hero, as in Belleforest, and "cunningly to find an opportunity," as in the German *Hamlet*, and was received as the appropriate and natural employment and "business" of the revenger biding his time. Men bore in mind the old story of the crafty madness of the elder Brutus,<sup>1</sup> also a revenger; and quite beside the mark is the prevailing notion that the antic disposition must have a psychological significance because to our minds it is an artifice lacking in prudence or practical point. And if a safety valve Hamlet must have, he need not, surely, be fitted with it forthwith, the ghost's words still ringing in his ears, before he has had a chance to act or to shrink from action; and in nature this is not to be explained away by Mr. Bradley and others as a "forefeeling" of his need. Men, particularly strong men such as Hamlet has been shown to be, believe in themselves longer, if anything, than they have reason:—and he a moment before so eager, with wings as swift as meditation or the thoughts of love, to sweep to his revenge! Here is backsliding before sin or temptation, and, unless Hamlet is meant to be a whimpering hypocritical dastard, the remark about the antic disposition, and the last line of the scene —

O cursed spite  
That ever I was born to set it right —

have to do mainly with the mechanism and movement of the plot.

That the ghost should be a devil sent to tempt him is, according to the folklore and theology of the age, the most natural thought in the world. As Spalding has shown, the Reformers and such theologians as Hooper and James I had denied ghosts the power to walk in these latter days, and had characteristically attributed the phenomenon to the devil instead of refusing it credence. To Hamlet, moreover, the pretext, if such it be, occurs again before he needs it, or can have a forefeeling of it, the ghost having not yet so much as unsealed his lips:

Be thou a spirit of health or *goblin damned*.

Nor is that a sign that his wit is diseased if we remember Brutus's question as he faces Cæsar's ghost:

Art thou some god, some angel, or some devil?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Saxo Grammaticus in this connection, and frequently alluded to in Elizabethan literature.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted to this effect by Spalding.



Even by freethinking Milton a like theory is propounded of oracles ; and for that matter no other scruple than this is that of the elder Hamlet, Orestes, himself surely not weak of heart or of hand, when in Euripides he confesses to Apollo that "there came a dreadful thought into my heart that it was some fiend I had listened to, when I seemed to hear thy voice." <sup>1</sup>

Such are the artistic and religious traditions which Shakespeare knew, accepted, and here instinctively turned to account, and for these we have no more right to substitute our own by way of criticism than in a more primitive age the Tates and Cibbers had to substitute theirs, as they wrote the plays anew. To be a Shakespearean doubter, Hamlet must needs doubt his uncle's guilt after the proof — the mousetrap play — as Leontes continued to doubt Hermione's innocence after the oracle, a thing which he never does.

The mistaking of epical or constructive devices for dramatic or psychological, the misconception of the open-hearted purport of soliloquy and comment in the dramatic economy, and the substitution of modern moral notions for Shakespeare's own, — all these shortcomings are to be found in the ablest interpretation of Hamlet as in the feeblest. Likewise out of the irrelevances and the impersonality in the rôle of Hamlet psychological capital is made — out of the philosophical soliloquies, the discussion of the actor's art, the satire and mimicry. "To be or not to be" follows his words resolving upon the play as "the thing," and precedes the performance of it. There, they say, is the dreamer all adrift! Lost, rather, even to himself. What, even in memory, has become of the *Murder of Gonzago*, or a revenger's duty, or the harrowing look and accents of a father's ghost? Why, that's his *character*, whisper the critics, like Puff at the play; but it is not *his* character, not the same man! Hamlet has not "forgotten," but has been forgotten; and a queer criticism I cannot but think it that lends psychological import to discursiveness, impersonality, laxity of structure. If Hamlet speaks not to the question as to-day he would be required to do, but is, in parliamentary phrase, out of order, so are Lear and Timon, as we have seen, and many another character, as well, in Elizabethan, Greek, and Spanish drama.

By one thing Mr. Bradley is puzzled, the hero's reticence concerning Ophelia. Rightly repudiating the view that Hamlet deliberately put from him all thought of her to hear the higher call, he comes to the conclusion that Hamlet's love for her, though not lost, was mingled with suspicion and resentment; but his silence, especially after the death of her father, he knows not whether to attribute to the deadening influence of melancholy upon his love or to Shakespeare's finding that he had enough to do in showing the state of mind which caused Hamlet to delay his vengeance, without introducing matter "which would not only add to the complexity of the subject but might, from its sentimental interest, distract attention from the main point."

<sup>1</sup> *Orestes*, 1668-1669; and *Electra*, 979.

There is the core of the whole present discussion ; and I for one cannot come to such a conclusion in the one question or suspend judgment in the other. From the silence of Shakespeare we can infer nothing ; his words, of all men's, are neither faint nor few. In this instance he was not inclined to complicate matters, to be sure, by exhibiting Hamlet's love for Ophelia, just as in the character of Desdemona he does not exhibit filial love as well as conjugal, or in that of Cordelia he does not exhibit conjugal love as well as filial. Always it is a simple passion that he portrays. But the root of the matter is that, in the spirit of a less compact and integrated structure than ours, he takes Hamlet at his word when he says that he loves her, and yet thinks nothing of letting him, in his feigned part of Malcontent, or madman, jeer at her, insult her, and, without a thought of her, kill her father. So inconsequently, in the spirit of the same art, now extinct, he lets Hamlet, like Iago, charge himself with various faults and "offenses," — cowardice, forgetfulness, and thinking too precisely on the event, — and in the general tenor of his thinking and doing show scarcely a sign of them.

Granted for the moment that Hamlet is a study in psychology, how strange a study it is ! "So shall you hear," cries Horatio to the wondering Danes at the end,

"Of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts,  
Of accidental judgments, casual slaughters,  
Of deaths put on by cunning and forc'd cause,  
And, in this upshot, purposes mistook  
Fallen on the inventors' heads."

A tragedy of intrigue, fate, and blood ! Others before me have remarked upon the melodramatic quality of the great play, the abundance of sound and fury in it, of all that takes the eye, fills the ear, and shocks both ; and no one so shrewdly as Mr. Bradley himself has noted the quantity of noise required by the old stage directions and implied in the text. Cannon roar whenever the king takes a rouse, the kettledrum and trumpet bray out the triumph of his pledge, and Danish marches, hautboys, and flourishes celebrate his movements. According to the unabridged text of the last scene, the cannon, sturdier equivalent of our melodramatic pistol, as Mr. Bradley says, should be kept booming continually, — when Hamlet scores a hit and the king drinks to him, when Fortinbras draws near on his march from Poland, and when the body of the irresolute dreamer is borne with a warrior's honors to the grave. "Go, bid the soldiers shoot," cries Fortinbras — but never when you or I have been at the play !

There is no irony intended,<sup>1</sup> none, as this cutting shows, that we to-day will put up with, at any rate. It is thought to be a triumph of Shakespeare's art that out of this sensational material — well-nigh every stimulant of popular

<sup>1</sup> See my article "Shylock," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1911, pp. 268-269.

excitement he could collect—he made the most mysterious and inward of his dramas. To my thinking and, if facts prove anything, that of Irving and all our other modern managers as well, the triumph would have been greater were the form better suited to the sense. The world does not move if the earth does, and harmony, not incongruity, is the secret of art in the time of Shakespeare as in the time of Synge. "A strange harmony of discords," says Mr. Bradley, but there is plenty of that sort of thing in Elizabethan art without adding to it this incomprehensible variety. In the sixteenth century, as in the twentieth, no great poet would have chosen to tell, or succeeded in telling, such a tale of the soul as criticism has thought to hear, athwart all this booming and trumpeting, and this mass of violent and bloody action in which man is pitted against man, Hamlet against Claudius, Laertes, pirates, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern, instead of an enemy seated in the depths of his bosom. In the thick of that story there is no place for undermeanings, and no spectator could discover them if there were.



## FROM OUTDOORS TO INDOORS ON THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE

ASHLEY HORACE THORNDIKE

Much active research in regard to the Elizabethan theaters and their methods of staging has provoked during the past ten years an abundance of discussion which now seems leading toward conclusions that will gain general acceptance. Even on the much-debated problems of the curtains and of that portion of the stage which they concealed, we seem to be near a solution. Is not the evidence convincing that curtains were frequently used from the early days of the London theaters, and also that, usually at least, the inner stage which they shut off from the front was not a projecting enclosure, but rather an alcove or some portion at the rear? Has there not been much progress toward agreement in regard to the various purposes for which this inner stage was employed and the extent and importance of its use?

There can, indeed, be little question about the employment of the inner stage for certain specific purposes. First, it was used frequently for scenes requiring a small interior — cave, arbor, study, bedroom. Many cases of such use have been noted from the time of the building of the Theater down to 1642. The inner stage represented a specific locality, and the closed curtains concealed the preparation of the necessary properties. When the curtains were opened, the action could take place on either the inner or the outer stage, as was convenient.

Second, a further use very early suggested itself in scenes requiring discovery or disclosure. Since the main stage extended into the auditorium, with its only entrance from the rear, actors had something of a journey on and off between the door and the front. No disclosures and no tableaux were possible. This lack was supplied in part by the use of the curtain. So, to take only three early plays, in *David and Bethsabe*, "The Prologue speaker, before going out, draws a curtain and discovers Bethsabe with her maid, bathing over a spring: she sings, and David sits above viewing her"; in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, "Friar Bacon is discovered in his cell, lying on a bed, with a white stick in one hand, a book in the other, and a lamp lighted beside him; and the Brazen Head and Miles with weapons by him"; in the *Old Wives Tale*, "The Ghost of Jack draws a curtain and discovers Delia sitting asleep." Numerous other instances might be given; in general, it is clear that wherever there is a discovery the curtains were used.

Third, in various scenes where heavy properties were required, the inner stage provided a background, as in forest or other elaborate outdoor scenes, and in temple, church, or other elaborate interiors. In two of the cases just mentioned, heavy properties were concealed behind the curtains; and the use of the inner stage was early extended to provide for all scenes requiring heavy properties. Whenever a propertied scene was required, the properties were placed on the inner stage while the action was going on before the closed curtains. When the curtains were opened, the inner stage, now an integral part of the whole, supplied the needed localization for the action. This would make it necessary or advisable that the preceding scene should be played only on the outer stage.

Fourth, a further extension in the use of the inner stage led to its employment for the representation of scenes where the specification of locality by properties was desirable rather than essential. Almost any scene might thus be prepared with a background, and the change of place would come to be regularly indicated by the closing or opening of the curtains. To this extensive use of the curtain we may apply for convenience the name, the *Principle of Alternation*, although we must understand that several outer scenes might follow without any use of the curtain, and that the same setting might be employed for different places, as a forest setting for different parts of the forest, or a palace setting for different rooms in the palace. This principle of alternation can best be illustrated by its use to-day, in the employment of drop scenes.

For the first three uses the evidence may be described as clear and direct, but for this fourth use of the inner stage the evidence must be admitted to be indirect and inferential. It is in regard to the extent of this practice that considerable difference of opinion still exists. Yet important as are the first three uses, the fourth is still more important in connection both with the practice of the stage and with dramatic construction. I wish to deal with only one phase of this alternation principle, but with a phase that was, I think, the first to appear and that became the most securely established — the use of the inner stage in sudden alternations, when the actors pass immediately from outside of a house to the inside, or the reverse. The difficulty arises when actors are outside of a house, seeking admission, and in the next scene appear within the house; or, when in one scene they are within a room and start to go outdoors, and in the next scene appear on the street.

There are many such sudden transitions in Elizabethan plays, and it seems probable that when the curtains were used in the three ways already indicated, their use would be further extended to avoid these clashes. On the Restoration stage, flats were very frequently employed to make this change from an interior to an exterior, and Dr. Albright<sup>1</sup> has noted a striking case in a Restoration play, *An Evening's Love*, where the scene is changed with one character

<sup>1</sup> *The Shakespearian Stage*, New York, 1909.

remaining on the stage. We may also accept his inferential evidence that the Restoration methods were derived from the practice of the Elizabethan theaters, directly from that of private theaters. Still, the direct evidence for this use of the curtains on the Elizabethan stage is not quite conclusive. I wish to notice the evidence offered by *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, which has not, I think, been cited before. It seems to me conclusive evidence of the use of the curtains to make this transition from indoors to outdoors, and it also presents an instance of such a change of scene made with one actor remaining on the stage.

Before examining this evidence, however, I may state my opinion that such alternations of exterior and interior scenes did not always involve the use of the curtains. What we may call the fundamental principle of Elizabethan staging is that the main stage was conceived as unlocalized territory. It is only a secondary principle that provides for the localization of scenes by the use of the curtains and the inner stage. We must be cautious in imagining settings for scenes vaguely localized and entirely free from any dependence on setting or properties. Take *Twelfth Night*, for example. It is possible to arrange this in front and rear scenes, and it may have been so played in the private theaters; but the distinction between exterior and interior scenes is very slight and there is no evidence of the use of curtains and no real need of them for actors and an audience who were accustomed to a bare stage. Indeed, in this case there is presumptive evidence that one interior scene was *not* designed for an inner stage. Act I, scene v, may be considered within the house, but there are no properties and it could be acted on the outer stage. At the close Olivia sends Malvolio in pursuit of Viola. If this scene had been played on the inner stage, the scene in which Malvolio overtakes Viola would have followed immediately, as in so many similar cases where it seems probable that curtains were used to mark the change. But this scene of their meeting (II, ii) does not occur until after an act interval and one other front scene. Presumably Shakespeare wished to avoid the incongruity of making the stage appear in successive scenes as the inside and the outside of the house, and yet did not use the curtains to avoid this incongruity. This case may serve as a sort of complementary comment on that of *A Yorkshire Tragedy*.

*A Yorkshire Tragedy* was acted by Shakespeare's company about 1605. It is a short play, "one of the foure plaies in one," and is divided by modern editors into ten scenes. The first four scenes are apparently all within the house, but there are no indications of any use of the inner stage. In Scene iv the Husband enters with the Master of the college, who has come seeking money for the Husband's brother. After some conversation and wine, the Husband says :

Now, Sir, if you so please  
To spend but a few minuts in a walke  
About my grounds below, my man heere shall  
Attend you, etc.



The Master goes out to wait there for the Husband. The scene continues and the Husband murders his little boy and *Exit with his Sonne*.

Immediately following this, comes the stage direction, *Enter a maide with a child in her armes, the mother by her a sleepe*. (Scene v.) Manifestly this is a discovery scene requiring curtains, which are opened disclosing the inner stage. In a moment, *Enter husband with the boie bleeding*. He struggles with the nurse and throws her down; the mother wakes and seizes the youngest child; the Husband stabs her and the child and, after a struggle with a "lusty servant" who comes to the rescue, makes his escape.

My horse stands reddly saddled. Away, away;  
Now to my brat at nurse, my sucking begger.  
Fates, Ile not leave you one to trample on.

Immediately following this speech, we have the stage direction *The Master meets him*. Apparently the struggle and murders have taken place on the inner stage (often employed for scenes of violent horror that could hardly be enacted in the full light of the front stage), and the Husband has rushed down front. There is no direction for his exit, and the curtains must have closed behind him while he was on the front stage. There enters the Master, who has been awaiting him outdoors.

The action (Scene vi) is now clearly conceived as outside the house, for the Husband at once says, "Please you walke in, Sir," and excuses himself for a moment. Both *Exeunt*. The curtains must have been opened again at this point, (Scene vii) disclosing the inner stage just as when the Husband had left it, the servant, wife, and others wounded and groaning. Then *Enter Master, and two servants*, but they immediately go out to pursue the murderer. The persons remaining soon *Exeunt* to seek surgeons. The curtains must have been closed, and the scene is outdoors again, for (Scene viii) *Enter Husband as being thrown off his horse, And falls*.

In this rapid action the curtains have been used (1) to discover an interior room, (2) to change from indoors to outdoors with one of the actors remaining on the stage, (3) to change from outdoors back to the same interior, and (4) to change again from interior to outside. Scene ix, it may be added, is an interior again, the house of the magistrate, before whom the Husband is brought for trial, and Scene x is outdoors before the house. The Husband is on his way to execution and the wife is *brought in a chaire* from the house, now probably represented by one of the doors, or possibly by the curtains.

There is one possible exception, so far as I can see, that may be taken to this analysis. Could not the interior scenes have been represented on the balcony? In many interior scenes acted on the rear stage and separated from the front by a curtain, it is often difficult to prove with certainty whether they were set on the upper or lower inner stage. So here, if these scenes are taken

in isolation, it is impossible to prove absolutely that they were not acted on the upper stage. However, they should not be taken in isolation, but in connection with other similar interior scenes. Because of their length, their action, the probable use of the lower inner stage in Scene ix, and because of their similarity to many other interior scenes, it seems to me highly probable that they were acted on the level of the main stage. Even if they were acted on the upper rather than the lower inner stage, their evidence still holds in regard to the use of the curtains in alternating scenes.

The importance of these scenes from *A Yorkshire Tragedy* in comparison with many other interior scenes in Elizabethan plays is that, in their stage directions, they offer direct and, as it seems to me, conclusive evidence (1) that the curtains were used, and (2) were used to mark immediate alternation of outdoor and indoor scenes.





## THE QUARTO ARRANGEMENT OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

RAYMOND MACDONALD ALDEN

The purpose of this paper is to inquire whether we have reason to believe that the Sonnets of Shakespeare were arranged, either by the author or by any other competent person, in the order appearing in the quarto of 1609, which is followed in nearly all modern editions, and whether this order is therefore significant for their interpretation. This question is by no means identical with the question whether the sonnets are autobiographical or imaginative, much less with the various problems connected with the identification of the persons addressed. Yet it is true that critics who seek to interpret these poems in connection with Shakespeare's personal life are naturally disposed to read them as connectedly as possible, while those who reject the biographical interpretation are perhaps tempted to magnify their diversity and disorder. Since I shall undertake to test somewhat skeptically the prevailing assumption that the quarto arrangement is authentic, it may be as well to grant at the outset (for the purposes of the argument) that the sonnets are, in general, personal and "sincere," that "Mr. W. H." was the person addressed in a large number of them, and that he may be identified as the Earl of Quidlibet; also that Shakespeare was involved in at least one amour of a lawless and disturbing character. Admitting all this tentatively, have we a fairly connected history of the relations of the three persons concerned, in the form of a collection of poems significantly arranged in two parts or series?

If we should approach the sonnets without knowledge of their content, as if discovering them for the first time, our first inquiry would naturally be whether the collection appears on the face of it to be one of the "sequences" so familiar in the Elizabethan age. Of this type of collection the leading traits are well understood. A series of sonnets is addressed to a lady of great beauty, to whom a fanciful name is given (Stella, Diana, Idea, or the like), which commonly forms the title of the whole. This lady is usually cold of heart, and the sequence of poems represents the successive efforts of the writer, her lover, to win her to yield to his passion. Turning to the Shakespeare quarto, we find that the title-page bears no conventional title; no lady's name gives it a name; no lady's name is mentioned (if we may anticipate further exploration) within it. The book is called simply "Shakespeare's Sonnets: never before imprinted." It is not, we may say tentatively, a conventional sequence.

A second approach will naturally be the inquiry whether the volume appears to have been published by the author's authority or under his supervision. The discussion of this would be an important matter of detail, were the facts not all but universally admitted. The quarto is dedicated not by the author but by the publisher, a well-known pirate in his trade; it contains numerous unintelligent misprints; whereas the two poems which Shakespeare is known to have published contain dedications from his hand and seem to have been carefully proof-read. These are the chief considerations which have led critics to agree on the surreptitious character of the quarto of 1609.<sup>1</sup>

In 1640 appeared the second edition of the Sonnets, now printed in an entirely different order, and grouped by the editor with subtitles as the text suggested. In this edition, of course, there is nothing authoritative; the only significance to be found in its character is negative — to the effect that there was no tradition implying a continuous or two-part text as of 1609.<sup>2</sup>

It is clear, then, so far as this preliminary evidence goes, that the burden of proof is on any attempt to call these sonnets a sequence in the usual meaning of the term. If the character of the contents, examined in detail, indicates a consecutive and significant order, then just to that extent we may regard the arrangement of the quarto as important; but we have no warrant for beginning to read the collection with the assumption that it is to be interpreted as one interprets a series of poems, much less chapters of a story, set forth by the author in predetermined form. On the contrary, in the absence of further and conflicting evidence, we should expect to find that we have before us a collection of all the sonnets written by Shakespeare, so far as the publisher was able to get hold of them.<sup>3</sup>

But while the sonnets do not appear to be a sequence of the usual sort, they may perhaps give evidence of being a sequence in an unconventional sense; that is, they may form a series, either from having been written in the present order or from having been carefully arranged. This, if true, is not to be assumed, but to be proved. Our next task should be, therefore, to read the collection through with a view to asking, not how far it would be possible to conceive the sonnets to be significantly consecutive if we knew that they had been put in this order by the writer, but how far they imply such consecutiveness when we know nothing of the circumstances of their arrangement. Here, of course, there is room for great diversity of judgment. Nor do the limits of

<sup>1</sup> There is one dissident voice worthy of respect, — that of Mr. George Wyndham (Introduction to *The Poems of Shakespeare*, 1898); but his arguments have been sufficiently answered, — for example, by Dean Beeching (*The Sonnets of Shakespeare*, 1904), who is nevertheless a believer in the authoritative order of the quarto text.

<sup>2</sup> On this point see Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> This expectation will perhaps be strengthened when we remember that two of the sonnets included, numbered 138 and 144, had been published together ten years earlier (1599) in another pirated collection, called *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

the present paper admit of a detailed explanation of my own answer to the question. All that can be done is to give the results of such a reading as has just been described, in the attitude of one who does not set any limit to the probability of the existence of a large amount of continuity, but who requires to see evidence of it in the text.<sup>1</sup>

These results involve the grouping of apparently connected contiguous sonnets as follows :

- 1-17 A man friend is urged to marry.
- 18-19 A pair of sonnets on the power of poetry to "eternize" a friend.
- 26-28 Sonnets in absence.<sup>2</sup>
- 33-35 Estrangement, due to a fault of the friend addressed.
- 40-42 The theme of estrangement renewed, and the fault revealed as the theft of a lady's affections.<sup>3</sup>
- 43-45 Sonnets in absence (the poet having journeyed).
- 46-47 A pair of sonnets on the conceit of Eye and Heart.
- 50-52 Sonnets in absence.<sup>4</sup>
- 54-55 A pair on the "eternizing" theme.
- 56-58 Sonnets in absence (the friend having journeyed).<sup>5</sup>
- 63-65 A pair on the "eternizing" theme.
- 66-68 The friend's beauty contrasted with degenerate times.
- 69-70 A pair dealing obscurely with scandal or slander.<sup>6</sup>
- 71-74 The poet's death anticipated.
- 78-80 A rival poet compared with the writer.<sup>7</sup>
- 82-86 The theme of the rival poet continued.
- 87-93 A threatened estrangement between poet and friend.<sup>8</sup>
- 94-96 A fault on the friend's part.
- 97-99 Sonnets in absence (summer and spring).

<sup>1</sup> For a somewhat fuller outline of the collection, including the sonnets omitted in the following table, the reader may be referred to my Introduction to the Sonnets in *The Tudor Shakespeare*, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> The two following sonnets, 29-30, on love as consolation, may be regarded as a pair. They may have been brought together, on the other hand, merely from similarity of theme.

<sup>3</sup> These sonnets, apparently connected with 33-35, are separated from the latter by four sonnets which have nothing to do with the theme of the two trios, and one of which (36) has to do, on the other hand, with a fault on the poet's part.

<sup>4</sup> Since 47 also implies absence, one may read 43-48, or even 43-52, continuously; but there is no link between 45 and 46, 49 is apparently unconnected with absence (anticipating a theme developed later in 88-93), and 50-51 seem properly, if they refer to the same absence as 43-48, to precede the latter in order of composition.

<sup>5</sup> To this group 61 would seem to belong, but the intervening sonnets are more general and without links. <sup>6</sup> The immediate connection of these two is by no means certain.

<sup>7</sup> This and the following group are not only on a new theme, but the friend addressed is now viewed from the standpoint of protégé and patron, rather than from that of intimate friendship, hitherto implied.

<sup>8</sup> With this group we return to the tone of personal friendship as distinguished from the relation of patronage. It is odd that Sir Sidney Lee, who emphasizes so strongly the theme of patronage and at the same time disbelieves in the continuity of the collection, should not have remarked on this difference of tone. (It is not certain that 91-93 should be viewed as continuous with 87-90.)



- 100-103 Apology for a period of silence.<sup>1</sup>  
 109-125 An estrangement, involving absence and bitter experiences on the poet's part, reviewed in terms of penitence and devotion.<sup>2</sup>  
 131-132 A pair of love-sonnets to a dark lady.<sup>3</sup>  
 133-134 A pair on a mistress stolen by a friend (cf. 40-42).  
 135-136 A pair addressed to a mistress beloved by "Will."<sup>4</sup>  
 137-138 A pair addressed to a false and guilty mistress.  
 139-140 A pair addressed to a mistress conventionally unkind and proud.<sup>5</sup>  
 141-142 A pair similar to 137-138.  
 143-144 A pair on the theme of 133-134.<sup>6</sup>  
 147-152 A stormy and guilty passion analyzed.<sup>7</sup>  
 153-154 A pair of epigrams on Cupid.

It must be understood that this table includes only those sonnets whose text appears to imply some immediate connection with their immediate neighbors in the collection; the omitted sonnets being those which, in the absence of any theory of sequence, may naturally be read as independent compositions, together with those which are naturally associated with others not standing in contiguity with them. No two readers would be likely to reach identical results in pursuing such an attempt as this, but it is hoped that the method may appear valid for general inferences. What has been the result? Two considerable series of sonnets have appeared, — one with some clearness, consisting of seventeen; the other of less certain extent, possibly reaching the same number. Three short series appear to number respectively five, six, and seven sonnets; there is one group of four; there are eleven sonnet trios, and twelve

<sup>1</sup> The following sonnets, 104-108, are seemingly disconnected, but some of them, it should be noted, are addressed to a beautiful youth in terms suggestive of the earlier sonnets of the collection rather than of those standing nearest them.

<sup>2</sup> It is stretching a point to view these seventeen sonnets as continuous. The obvious groups are 109-112, 117-120, and 123-125; but it is possible and suggestive to read the intervening sonnets in the same connection. Nos. 121, on slanderous misjudgment, and 122, an occasional poem with reference to a gift which the poet has received and in turn given away, seem at first reading definitely to interrupt the sequence; but they can be viewed in connection with the incidents involved in the preceding sonnets, and one may read in the opening words of 123 an allusion to the "lasting memory" of 122.

<sup>3</sup> The dark lady has been introduced in 127 and 130, but no continuity is implied between 130 and 131.

<sup>4</sup> This pair may be read as a continuation of the preceding; the interpretation of the "Will" theme is a classic crux which cannot be discussed here.

<sup>5</sup> Many readers connect this pair with the preceding and the following, and Dowden comments to the effect that the poet "goes on to speak of his lady's untruthfulness." There is a possibility of reading unfaithfulness into the portrait; but surely the whole tone of the two sonnets is distinct from that of their neighbors. When we find "the wrong" done by the lady's "unkindness" developed by means of the conventional conceit — "Wound me not with thine eye," etc., we are naturally disposed to understand by that unkindness the usual *hauteur* of the besonneted lady of the period. In 140, too, is "disdain" the word for the lying mistress of 138 or the adulteress of 152?

<sup>6</sup> Both these sonnets may be individual, the connection of 143 with earlier groups being much less clear than in the case of 144.

<sup>7</sup> The continuity of all six sonnets is by no means certain.

pairs. A few sonnets unconnected with their immediate neighbors seem from their subject-matter to belong in one or another of these groups ; while the remainder (at least thirty sonnets) seem to have the character of complete single poems, unarranged. To the unbiased reader the impression produced by this analysis is in accord with the hypothesis already suggested by the more external evidence, namely, that the publisher of this collection gathered all of Shakespeare's sonnets that he could obtain, in the form of various manuscripts, — some arranged, some unarranged, — and made a rough attempt to set them in order. He placed at the beginning of the book the longest obvious series.<sup>1</sup> In other cases his manuscript furnished him with pairs and trios which he preserved intact ; in still other cases he may have made a pair or a trio of sonnets similar in theme or tone. Finally, observing that the sonnets plainly addressed to women were in the minority, he reserved them for the end of the collection, together with certain other poems on topics obviously different from those dominating the collection.<sup>2</sup>

It may be objected that the want of a clearly continuous thread of thought throughout the collection does not prove it to be inconsecutive ; can one trace such continuity in any of the Elizabethan sequences ? Probably not. But the point in the present case is that the burden of proof has been shown to be on those seeking to view Shakespeare's sonnets as a sequence ; moreover, our survey of the contents has indicated not merely a want of clear continuity but no little evidence of discontinuity. Professor Dowden, one of the critics most sure of their foothold in reading the collection consecutively, describes an Elizabethan sequence as "a chain or series of poems, in a designed or natural sequence, viewing in various aspects a single theme, or carrying on a love-story to its issue, prosperous or the reverse."<sup>3</sup> Would any one examining these sonnets of Shakespeare's without a predetermined theory be led to find them within the scope of this definition ?

Another objection may be stated as follows : admitting that the series is not a sequence in the usual sense, especially the concluding portion, this does not prevent us from regarding the sonnets as standing, on the whole, in the order of Shakespeare's manuscript. Does this mean the order of Shakespeare's original manuscript, — that is, the order of composition, — or that of some final manuscript in which he arranged his sonnets ? The first alternative no

<sup>1</sup> Or, possibly, the series which he knew had been addressed to the person to whom he dedicated the volume.

<sup>2</sup> In this last suggestion there is of course no novelty ; it is accepted by some who believe in the existence of a true sequence in sonnets 1-126. Thus Professor Dowden : "I do not here attempt to trace a continuous sequence in the sonnets addressed to the dark-haired woman, 127-154 [though even here he begs the question of their constituting a "second series"] ; I doubt whether such continuous sequence is to be found in them." (*Sonnets* (1881), Introduction, p. 34.) And Beeching, still more reasonably : "It looks as if all the sonnets not addressed to the friend had been thrown together without arrangement at the end of the series." (*The Sonnets of Shakespeare*, Introduction, p. lxvi.)

<sup>3</sup> Introduction, p. 26.

one supposes to be applicable to the whole collection, for about the only certain inference to be drawn from the text of the poems is that some of those in the "second series" were written at the same time as some in the "first series." The most that is claimed, then, is that sonnets 1-125 are in the original order, — preserved, perhaps, among the papers of the person to whom they are supposed to have been addressed. This view has not been shown to be impossible; but it remains "not proven." And, if accepted, it raises a number of difficult questions, such as why the 18th sonnet, if it followed immediately on the 17th, took a different, not to say contradictory, standpoint;<sup>1</sup> why the person addressed was in No. 70 said to be of "pure unstained prime," after having been charged somewhat earlier with no trifling misdemeanors; and how it happened that two or three groups of sonnets apparently concerned with the same situation were interrupted by single sonnets of independent and conventional character. Some of these things, of course, may be due to trifling misplacements. Dean Beeching observes of No. 75, "This sonnet is perhaps misplaced; it would come better after 52," and of No. 81, "This sonnet is plainly misplaced; its theme is conventional." But if such misplacements have occurred, how are we to set a limit? If a wanton breeze or a careless maidservant once disarranged the manuscripts of the Earl of Quidlibet, what may not have happened? The only answer is, again, that we must fall back on the intrinsic character of the text as it stands. As to the second alternative, that the existing order represents Shakespeare's wishes at the time the sonnets were collected, we have already seen what the probabilities are that Shakespeare made any copy for the purpose of publication, and it is a bold assumption that he brought all his sonnets into one manuscript for any purpose whatever. But if he did this, it has already appeared that either he did it very carelessly, or at certain points his manuscript was disarranged. And again we must ask, if at certain points, at how many?

It is time now to inquire more particularly why the view that the quarto arrangement of the sonnets is authentic has taken such strong hold. The chief reason, no doubt, is the mere natural desire to find a connected story, and the fascination that comes from discovering that it is possible to do so. Professor Dowden has connected the sonnets (up to 126) into an alluring narrative, by a process sometimes akin to that followed by a certain insane theologian who used to draw startling conclusions by bringing together two apparently remote texts of Holy Scripture. When asked for his authority, he would reply: "I apprehend that, when I draw a line from this verse to that, I connect them." A more important source of the dominant theory is to be found in the circumstance that all the sonnets up to 125, and including the

<sup>1</sup> That is, in 1-17 the poet claims that future ages can have no idea of his friend's charms unless they are perpetuated through descendants; whereas in No. 18 he claims that his own verse will be solely sufficient to that end.



pseudo-sonnet numbered 126, may be read as addressed to a boy or man, whereas of those following 126 but few can be so read, and on the other hand several of the latter have to do with a woman (or women).<sup>1</sup> But why should a distinctive character in the last portion of the collection imply that it was separated from the rest *by the author*? If its character is clear to us, was it not equally clear to the publisher? Is it not, then, the simple explanation of the present arrangement, whoever made the arrangement? It may be said that the bipartite character of the collection suggests that the first part was kept together, in the hands of the person addressed in the "first series." But this begs the question whether the whole "first series" was addressed to one person; and even if we decide that it was, we have already seen that this does not guarantee that the sonnets in that group remain in any significant order.<sup>2</sup>

We have still to consider the so-called "envoy," numbered 126. Says Dowden: "That the sonnets are not printed in the quarto, 1609, at haphazard, is evident from the fact that the Envoy, 126, is rightly placed; that poems addressed to a mistress follow those addressed to a friend; and that the two Cupid and Dian sonnets stand together at the close."<sup>3</sup> The second of these reasons—and the third by implication—has already been considered. But as to the "envoy"—what is it to be *rightly placed*? Why, to be placed at the end of the "first series." And how do we know it is an envoy? Because it is placed at the end of a series. And how do we know that this is the end of a series? Because here stands the envoy! Now this "envoy" is a poem in twelve lines, six couplets, beginning "O thou, my lovely boy." It has no apparent connection with the sonnets immediately preceding, but one may easily conjecture why it was set here. The editor or publisher thought it was an imperfect sonnet, as he indicated by adding two pairs of brackets marking the lines which he supposed had been lost. But it was addressed to a boy, and so did not belong in the "appendix" with sonnets on women and miscellaneous topics. Nothing more natural, then, than to put it just here; and in this sense it may be called a coda or envoy to its predecessors. But if we look more closely, and ask whether there is the slightest ground for supposing that it was meant by the poet as a conclusion to a preceding series, we find none. On the contrary, there is ground for believing just the opposite. If the "lovely

<sup>1</sup> There are in the "first series," to be sure, a good many sonnets which *may* have been addressed to women, and would be thus interpreted were it not for their connection with those in which a person of the other sex is referred to. Examples are 21-24, 29-30, 46-47, 99, 115-116.

<sup>2</sup> Dean Beeching offers a kind of variant of the argument, as follows: "The fact . . . that some of the sonnets in the appendix throw light on those addressed to the friend, confirms the theory that the sonnets do form a sequence and are not a mere bookseller's haphazard collection." (P. lxiv.) One wonders why. It may confirm the theory that the sonnets in question are based on some actual occurrence; but how the fact that certain sonnets near the end of the collection were written at the same time and on the same subject as some which appear earlier, shows that the order either of these sonnets or of the whole collection is consecutive, it is difficult to see.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction, p. 24.

boy" here addressed is the beautiful youth to whom Sonnets 1-17 and many of the others were written,<sup>1</sup> the poem is very naturally connected with the opening group of the collection, and with other sonnets standing at some distance from 126, in which the youth is warned of the flight of time and the approach of age. Here he is told again that, though for the present his beauty triumphs over Time, Nature will in the end insist on her sovereignty and render him up. The poem may be conjectured, with little hesitation, to have been written at the same time with the series 1-17. Now, is there anything of the same character in the sonnets standing near the end of the "first series"? On the contrary, their theme and tone are entirely different. If we assume the continuity of 109-125, there has been separation, estrangement, suffering, penitence, and this (possible) series is devoted chiefly to the hope that friendship will outlive these vicissitudes and put to shame the "fools of time." Now, suppose Shakespeare to be arranging the sonnets in some final form, and to be setting an epilogue or envoy to the series (a somewhat daring supposition),<sup>2</sup> what will the envoy be? It may be on love, on friendship, on the steadfastness of a "true soul" (end of 125), on the struggle of personality and friendship with evil days and "policy" the heretic, it may be a return to the ever recurring theme of the power of poetry to eternize a friend, it may be almost anything, one might venture to say, rather than a return to the relatively trivial theme of the danger of the decay of the friend's youthful beauty. The assumption, then, that this little poem is an epilogue written by the poet for the whole preceding collection comes near being entitled to rank as a curiosity of criticism.

Certain other arguments have been advanced in support of the consecutiveness of the quarto text. Professor Dowden suggested, some time ago, that the use of *thou* and *you* in different parts of the collection implies a development such as a true sequence might show.<sup>3</sup> But he has not been followed in this belief, and has been sufficiently answered by Beeching.<sup>4</sup> Dean Beeching, however, willing to replace one conjecture with another, advances a similar theory based on "the fact that a printer's error of *their* for *thy* occurs fourteen times in the series of sonnets from 26 to 70 inclusive, and only once besides, viz. in 128."<sup>5</sup> His "fourteen" should read *thirteen*, by his own computation as given on another page, and these thirteen instances are found in nine sonnets, distributed as follows: 26, 27, 35, 37, 43, 45, 46, 69, 70. Admitting the utmost which these facts can imply, namely, that the misreadings of *their* for *thy* indicate that the manuscript of the sonnets in question was in a different

<sup>1</sup> Sir Sidney Lee, to be sure, seems to think that the lines are an address to Cupid. (*Life of Shakespeare*, p. 97 n.)

<sup>2</sup> One would suppose, from the readiness with which the "envoy" theory has been accepted, that it was customary to conclude Elizabethan sequences with something of the kind, in distinct metrical form. This is, of course, by no means the fact. The only thing of the kind that I recall is the three "conclusions" (lyrics considerably longer than sonnets) which Robert Toft appended to the three parts of *Laura*. <sup>3</sup> Introduction, p. 25. <sup>4</sup> *Sonnets*, p. lxiv (note). <sup>5</sup> P. lxx.

handwriting from later ones, we can apply the argument only to the twenty-one sonnets from 26 to 46; and the recurrence of the error in 69 and 70, after an interval without it, suggests that we may have come back to the same manuscript, and that consecutiveness has been lost!

In this connection it is instructive to notice how a skilled editor like Dean Beeching, bound by the theory of an authentic order, meets the difficulties which arise. Sonnets 36–39, as we have seen, intercept two apparently connected groups. Dowden finds, however, the necessary links of thought, as usual; but Beeching points out that his view is untenable, and that we must admit that “the sonnets from 36 to 39 refer to a different topic.”<sup>1</sup> How, then, explain the recurrence in No. 40 of the subject of the friend as thief of the poet’s mistress? Beeching is here less charitable to the unknown friend than any other critic; he thinks the offense has probably “been repeated during the poet’s absence referred to in 39”! In other cases, as we have seen, he admits misplacement; in others, observes simply, as on 105, “This sonnet has no connection with the subject of the previous five sonnets.”

These two editors, Dowden and Beeching, are the best who have handled the sonnets with thoroughness in recent years, and they meet our mooted question more fairly and frankly than most of the other editors who hold the same view. Tyler remarks simply that it is “assumed that the order given in the First Quarto is the right order; and this must certainly be maintained until the contrary has been proved.”<sup>2</sup> Mr. Wyndham, in his valuable edition, disposes of our question by saying that all critics “not quixotically compelled to reject a reasonable view are agreed that the order in the First Series can scarce be bettered.”<sup>3</sup> Professor Herford rests the case on the vague assertion: “Displacement may be here and there suspected; but on the whole they form a connected sequence, passing by delicate gradations through a rich compass of emotion.”<sup>4</sup> So they do; and so they would if shuffled in any one of a dozen ways. But the possibility of such a manner of reading, in itself intelligible, is not proof of its authenticity.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Praetorius Facsimile, p. xxvi. The remark shows the necessity that has been pointed out of considering the matter of the burden of proof. <sup>3</sup> P. cix. <sup>4</sup> *Eversley Shakespeare*, X, 374.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Sidney Lee has truly observed that “if the critical ingenuity which has detected a continuous thread of narration in the order that Thorpe printed Shakespeare’s Sonnets were applied to the booksellers’ miscellany of sonnets called *Diana*, that volume . . . could be made to reveal the sequence of an individual lover’s moods . . . quite as convincingly as Thorpe’s collection.” (*Life*, p. 96 n.) To which Herford (p. 374 n.) rejoins, “He may be invited to try.” For myself, I should dislike to make the experiment with the monotonous pages of the *Diana*; but if only Wordsworth’s minor poems, including his sonnets, had come down to us without date, author’s title, or note, in an order perhaps determined by the convenience of the publisher, I should cheerfully undertake to put them in a plausible sequence, and even to show that that sequence went far toward solving the one mystery of the poet’s life — the personality of “Lucy.” I should follow her among the lakes, along the River Duddon, and the vicinity of Tintern Abbey, show why she was instrumental in preventing the poet from visiting



One recent editor, Professor W. A. Neilson, has shown the courage of agnosticism, and, in his brief introduction to the Sonnets, taken safe and reasonable ground.<sup>1</sup> Still another, Mr. C. M. Walsh, in his edition of 1908, has not only dared to say that "Thorpe's arrangement of the sonnets is of no more help in our understanding of their development than is the Folio-editors' arrangement of the plays," but has printed them in a new order, not — as had been done already — according to one more unprovable hypothesis, but with reference to general indications of theme and style. These are perhaps happy omens of a time when the prevalent but unwarranted faith in the arrangement of 1609 will no longer dominate criticism; the way will then be open for dating or interpreting any sonnet or group of sonnets on the merits of the evidence.

Yarrow, indicate the influence on him of her views on the Visitation of the Sick, Old Abbeys, and the Emigrant French Clergy, and probably demonstrate that she was a daughter of the Leech-gatherer and a niece of Simon Lee.

<sup>1</sup> *Works of Shakespeare*, 1906, p. 1170.

## POSSIBLE FOREIGN SOURCES OF THE SPANISH NOVEL OF ROGUERY

J. D. M. FORD

The novel of roguery, otherwise termed the picaroon (picaresque) romance or novel, has been regarded as essentially a Spanish creation. Scholars — and scholars in this country<sup>1</sup> have not been amongst the least industrious in dealing with the subject — have generally agreed in attributing to Spain the genesis of the perfected novel of the type, although they have been careful enough to recognize, for matters of detail, the indebtedness of Spanish writers to antecedent literature of various categories and of both foreign and native origin. So it is that Professor F. W. Chandler,<sup>2</sup> summing up his own researches and those of other scholars, says, "Although the picaresque tale was indigenous to Spain, its elements had existed earlier and elsewhere in literature." He proceeds, even while he claims priority of perfection of the form for Spain, as he has a right to do, to enumerate various foreign factors that enter into its make-up. Among these are the late Greek novels — and here he doubtless has in mind such works as the *Theagenes and Chariclea* and the *Leucippe and Clitophon* — with their adventures of pirates and robbers, to say nothing of the chief characters, who were certainly "chevaliers d'industrie" and ladies of easy habits, not unlike those found in the *Guzmán de Alfarache*, the *Marcos de Obregón*, and other fully developed Spanish novels of roguery; the comedies of Plautus with their intriguing slaves and parasites, who used their wits for gain's sake in a way resembling the methods of the Spanish *pícaros*; the Latin novel, represented by the *Satyricon* of Petronius, with its disgusting pictures of low life and debauchery, and, more particularly for our purpose, by the *Asinus Aureus* of Apuleius, in which a satirical description of masters and their ways is given by one in servitude; mediæval documents such as the *Dit sur les états du monde* and the *Dance of Death*, in both of which the different ranks and callings in life are made the subject of review; the *Facetiae*, the Italian *Novelle*, and the *Beggar Books*, with their accounts of cheating and practical jokes, some of which were anticipated by the *Roman de Renart*, with its knavish beasts playing the part of anti-heroes.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. De Haan, *An Outline of the History of the Novela picaresca in Spain*, The Hague and New York, 1903; id., "Pícaros y gánapanes," in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, Madrid, 1899, II, 149 ff.; F. W. Chandler, *Romances of Roguery*, New York, 1899; id., *The Literature of Roguery*, Boston and New York, 1907; F. M. Warren, *A History of the Novel*, New York, 1908, pp. 284 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Romances of Roguery*, p. 3.

To the foreign literary contributors to the Spanish novel of roguery we may add others of native origin, and of these the *Libro de buen amor* of Juan Ruiz and the *Celestina* are especially to be stressed. Into the element of fact underlying the novels of roguery it is not the present purpose to enter. Undoubtedly they offer in no slight degree pictures of real rogues and transcripts of real knavish happenings in the Spain of their day, and they have much satirical comment upon the life of the time. It is meet to point out, however, that too much stress should not be laid upon the *pícaro* stories as documents valuable to scholars who would write the history of Spain in her glorious period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Back of the knavery and sordidness which inform these stories there is all too much of a literary paternity, and, with a slender basis of living fact, the resourceful Spanish novelists of the period could parade them as contemporary records. However this may be, it is obvious to all who read that the writers of the Spanish novels of roguery placed themselves in deliberate opposition to the purveyors of novels of chivalry, which had been and were still captivating the many in Spain. As Professor Warren<sup>1</sup> says: "The *picaresco* novel was not only a study of a rascal, but it was, besides, a protest against the predominance in literature of the aristocratic type. In carrying its hostility to the romances of chivalry so far as an entire forgetfulness of their spirit, the insurgent went to the other extreme and busied itself with portraying the exact opposite of the manners and ideals of a true and perfect knight. And undoubtedly this feeling of revenge and irony made the heroes of realism from the very start the embodiment of all that is mean and crafty."

The correctness of Professor Warren's statement can hardly be questioned. The novel of roguery stands in conscious antithesis to the aristocratic type of romance, but the present writer believes that this antithesis had already become an actuality in literature outside of Spain before the Spanish novel of roguery had become a fact, and on that account he is prompted to suggest as additional literary material utilized by the Spanish authors certain noted Italian works. These are the *Morgante*<sup>2</sup> of Luigi Pulci and the *Baldus*<sup>3</sup> of Teofilo Folengo.

The work of Pulci, completed by 1483, is essentially a romance of chivalry, but it is marked by tendencies frankly bourgeois, verging at times upon something like satire of the deeds of derring-do, without becoming absolutely this. As Byron<sup>4</sup> has said,

Pulci was sire of the half-serious rhyme,

and, in general, he succeeded in remaining at least half-serious and in avoiding a really satirical attitude with regard to chivalry, its ideals and achievements. Yet, in one famous passage of his *Morgante*, he seems to put forward,

<sup>1</sup> *A History of the Novel*, p. 289.      <sup>2</sup> Cf. ed. by G. Volpi, 3 vols., Florence, 1900-1904.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ed. by A. Luzio, *Merlin Cocai, Le Maccheronee* (in *Scrittori d'Italia*), 2 vols., Bari, 1911.

<sup>4</sup> *Don Juan*, iv, 6.



with decidedly comical and satirical effect, a personage who has the very opposite of the chivalrous characteristics and is even the very embodiment of roguery. This is the demi-giant Margutte. Margutte tells his story himself (and here it should be borne in mind that several of the leading Spanish novels of roguery are autobiographical), making therein a confession which extends through nearly thirty-three octaves and convicts him of offenses against all the laws of God and man. He has done all the things that a chivalric person should not do and he exults in the fact. As the *Morgante*<sup>1</sup> had been translated into Spanish and published at Valencia by 1533 (it was reprinted at Seville, 1552, in this translation), it was accessible early enough to the makers of the Spanish novels of the type of the *Guzmán de Alfarache*. Moreover, so many Spanish men of letters had been in Italy as soldiers or in other capacities that a knowledge of Italian was common with them.

Let us quote some of the lines of Margutte's confession, showing that he is really giving us a roguish autobiography. Morgante, the giant, has encountered in a wood the demi-giant Margutte, and now asks the latter to account for himself; this he proceeds to do.

xviii 114

Disse Morgante: "Tu sia il ben venuto;

Dimmi più oltre, io non t'ho domandato,  
Se se' Cristiano, o se se' Saracino,  
O se tu credi in Cristo o in Apollino."

115

Rispose allor Margutte: "A dirtel tosto,  
Io non credo più al nero ch'all'azzurro,  
Ma nel cappone, o lesso o vuogli arrosto;  
E credo alcuna volta anco nel burro,  
Nella cervogia e, quando io n'ho, nel mosto,  
E molto più nell'aspro che il mangurro;  
Ma sopra tutto nel buon vino ho fede,  
E credo che sia salvo chi gli crede.

117

La fede è fatta, come fa il solletico:  
Per discrezion mi credo che tu intenda:  
Or tu potresti dir ch'io fussi eretico:

118

Questa fede è come l'uom se l'arrecà:  
Vuoi tu veder che fede sia la mia?  
Che nato son d'una monaca greca,  
E d'un papasso in Bursia là in Turchia;  
E nel principio sonar la ribeca  
Mi dilettaì, perch'avea fantasia  
Cantar di Troia e d'Ettorre e d'Achille.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, s.v. *Pulci*; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela* (in *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*), Vol. I, p. cxlii, Madrid, 1905.

- 119 Poi che m'increbbe il sonar la chitarra,  
 Io cominciai a portar l'arco e 'l turcasso :  
 Un dì ch'io fe' nella moschea poi sciarra,  
 E ch'io uccisi il mio vecchio papasso,  
 Mi posi allato questa scimitarra,  
 E cominciai pel mondo a 'ndar a spasso ;  
 E per compagni ne menai con meco  
 Tutti i peccati o di Turco o di Greco,
- 120 Anzi quanti ne son giù nell'inferno.  
 Io n'ho settanta e sette de' mortali,  
 Che non mi lascian mai la state o 'l verno ;  
 Pensa quanti io n'ho poi de' veniali !  
 Non credo, se durassi il mondo eterno,  
 Si potessi commetter tanti mali  
 Quanti ho commessi io solo alla mia vita :  
 Ed ho per alfabeto ogni partita."

In a number of verses following he acknowledges his gambling propensities, his gluttony, and his lechery. Sacrilegious theft he glories in :

- 134 " S' tu mi vedessi in una chiesa solo,  
 Io son più vago di spogliar gli altari,  
 Che 'l messo di contado del paiuolo :  
 Poi corro alla cassetta de' danari ;  
 Ma sempre in sagrestia fo il primo volo,  
 E se v'è croce o calici, io gli ho cari,  
 E' crocifissi scuopro tutti quanti,  
 Poi vo spogliando le Nunziate e' santi."

And so he continues, accusing himself of robbing henroosts and clotheslines, of being a highwayman, forger, and perjurer, and concludes with the statement that he has omitted mention of a number of his vices.

With Folengo's heroi-comic *Baldus*<sup>1</sup> in macaronic verse we need not deal in detail. First published in Italian in 1519 and later amplified greatly, it appeared in a Spanish translation at Seville, 1542, and was probably known in Spain in its original form before that date. It is a medley of many things, but is chiefly a transformation of the chivalrous romance. Baldus, the protagonist, although descended from Rinaldo, is brought up in base surroundings. He becomes a vagabond, and, accompanied by the giant Fracasso, who is a scion of Pulci's Morgante, and by other rascals, notable among whom is Cingar, the son of Margutte, he wanders about everywhere, performing deeds of violence and knavery. Baldus is the degenerate knight developing into the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the excellent account of it by F. Flamini, *Il Cinquecento* (in *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, etc.), pp. 150 ff.

rogue. Cingar is entirely the rogue and is so described by Folengo, who declares him to be

Accortus, ladro, semper truffare paratus.

It is hardly necessary to stress further the fact that the *Baldus*, like the *Margutte* episode of the *Morgante*, could easily furnish inspiration and material to the Spanish authors of novels of roguery. Rabelais<sup>1</sup> knew well the writings of Folengo; the chances are that Spanish writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries knew them too.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, p. 154; B. Zumbini, *Il Folengo precursore del Cervantes in Studi di letteratura italiana*, Florence, 1894, pp. 163 ff.





# THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN TOLSTOY'S ETHICAL SYSTEM

GEORGE R. NOYES

In *My Confession* Tolstoy has given the world a stirring spiritual autobiography. Born and educated in the Orthodox Church of Russia, he lost while still a mere boy all faith in the dogmas of that church ; and grew up, like the vast majority of educated Russians, without definitely formulated religious belief. But questions of personal conduct never ceased to occupy him ; the moral law was ever present with him as a potent, if not always a controlling, factor in his personal life. At last, in his mature years, doubts and questionings on religious and moral problems began to present themselves to him with ever increasing vividness. What is the aim of life ? What profits it a man to toil upon earth not knowing the purpose of his labors ? These questions Tolstoy could neither solve nor forget. The riddle of fate would not let him rest, and at forty-six, rich and famous, surrounded by a family whom he loved and who loved him, he found himself on the verge of suicide. He must solve the riddle or perish. He sought an answer in science, but could find none ; science would answer questions of the chemical constitution of matter, or of the laws of light, but of man's destiny it knew nothing. Rather it confirmed his belief that life is void and meaningless ; reason taught him that life is contrary to reason. Distrusting his own powers, Tolstoy turned for help to the sages of different times and nations, to Solomon, Socrates, Buddha, and Schopenhauer, and found that they shared his belief that life is evil and death better than life. Secure in the truth of his despair, Tolstoy divided the society in which he lived into four classes. First came those — “ mostly women or very young or very stupid people ” — who fail to recognize that life is evil and senseless ; from them he could learn nothing. Next were the men of the world, the Epicureans, who see the futility of existence, but provide themselves relief from it in transitory pleasures. The third class was composed of logical and brave people, who, seeing the futility of existence, commit suicide. The fourth class included the weaklings, among them Tolstoy himself, who, recognizing the worthlessness of life, nevertheless fail to kill themselves.

This division seemed inclusive. But suddenly Tolstoy saw that it applied only to men of his own class in society ; that the millions of toiling peasants belonged to no one of his four divisions. They recognize the problem of life with surprising clearness ; they are certainly not Epicureans, and they regard

suicide as a fearful crime. Their solution of the riddle is the faith of the church, with its doctrines of "God as one and three, the creation in six days, devils and angels, and all that which I cannot accept so long as I am possessed of reason." Yet this illogical faith justifies life for them, and gives to their existence a dignity utterly wanting in that of men of higher station. Tolstoy's course was clear; he set aside his reasoning powers and became a faithful member of the Orthodox Church, cheating himself into believing, or professing that he believed, doctrines that were repugnant to his intellect.

Other features of the church, however, revolted not only Tolstoy's intellect, but his moral sense as well. His Orthodox Church, forgetting the precepts of Christian love, cursed and reviled Catholics and Protestants, though it had no more foundation for its pride than had the Sumski Hussars for their confidence that they were the leading regiment in the Russian army. Furthermore, in the war between Russia and Turkey, the church pronounced its blessing on the Russian armies. Now Tolstoy, ignorant though he might be, knew with his whole soul that any church that blessed murder was an immoral church. He forthwith left the church — the doctrines of which he examined in his *Critique of Dogmatic Theology*, and pronounced to be "the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost," the absolute contradiction of the teaching of Christ — and proceeded to build up a religious system of his own. Studying attentively the Gospels, he strove to separate their central truths from the rubbish wherewith they were overlaid. The details of his study he gave to the world in his *Harmony and Translation of the Four Gospels*; the general results of it in his treatise *My Religion*.

Of Tolstoy's theological opinions the most striking is his entire denial of temporal immortality; no warrant for a belief in a life beyond the grave can be found in the discourses of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> To questions of doctrine, however, Tolstoy pays scant attention; the nature of God is unknowable, so that speculation upon it is worse than fruitless. For Tolstoy the central truth of the Christian faith is that one should not resist evil by force. To this are added four other precepts: (1) Be not angry, live at peace with all men; (2) Be pure, never regard as good the feeling of love for woman; (3) Take no oaths, submit your will only to the will of God; (4) Love all men, making no distinction between your own nation and others. These commandments, it will be noted, by implication destroy all existing society; a man who will neither submit his will to that of another nor impose it on another by force can take no part in the labor of government.

Thus from Tolstoy's personal ethics there results immediately his attitude to modern civilization, as expounded in his book *What Shall We Do Then?*

<sup>1</sup> In time Tolstoy changed his opinion. His *Course of Reading* (Moscow, 1910) is full of expressions of faith in immortality, such as, "Only those disbelieve in immortality who have never seriously thought of death" (I, 117).



This volume opens with an indictment of the existing social system, which is based on violence, on the enslavement of man by man. At present the chief means of enslavement is private property, expressed in money, the chief object of which is the subjection of the poor to the rich. The first duty of a righteous man is to appreciate his share in the unrighteousness of society. He will then feel bound to divest himself of property, to labor with his hands instead of being supported by the labor of others, and to live a simple life in the country instead of a luxurious life in the city. Manual labor for man, and childbearing and the care of children for women, are the proper tasks for regenerate humanity. All luxury, including most modern art and science, will disappear. The world will be transformed, not by an external change such as that advocated by the socialists, but by the change of character in individual men and women.

Obviously Tolstoy's spiritual development and his ethical system, despite the logical scheme into which he so often casts them, contain national and personal elements. The contrast between an idle, irreligious upper class and a toiling, religious peasantry, which gave the impulse to Tolstoy's conversion, is certainly not true in our own country, and perhaps even in Russia the lines of cleavage are not so clear as Tolstoy represents them. Further, it is not self-evident that non-resistance to evil is the leading thought of the gospel teaching; an equally honest inquirer might find the essence of primitive Christianity in the belief in an all-wise and all-loving personal deity; he might even find an otherworldly tint in the discourses of Jesus, with an emphasis on the life beyond the grave. So a critic of modern society might see its chief evil not in the presence of violence, but in the absence of justice, and might regard the use of force in the resistance of evil as quite consistent with the spirit of the Christian teaching. In order to appreciate the true character of Tolstoy's theory of morals we must look for its sources elsewhere than in the Gospels, from which he believed it to be derived, and we must define its central characteristics in a somewhat different fashion from that adopted by Tolstoy himself. Studying the whole development of his thought, we may find that these essential elements of his ethical system are (1) individualism, (2) a dislike of artificial, civilized society, (3) pessimism, and (4) asceticism.

In all his novels, the greatest of which precede his ethical works, Tolstoy is primarily interested in the personal life of his heroes; their participation in government or in any sort of social work he regards as useless or even as harmful. In *Anna Karénin* the hero is Lévin, a solitary farmer, who refuses to bother with governmental activity. In contrast to him Karénin, the high-placed official, lives in a world of paper and ink rather than one of flesh and blood; his weakness is seen when he comes face to face with a real problem in his relations with his wife. In *War and Peace* Prince Andrei, the most

energetic and practical of Tolstoy's men, wins success in governmental work, only to turn from it in disgust. The real hero of that novel, Pierre Bezúkh, ludicrous as a masonic functionary, attains peace and calm only in his family life and in his own spiritual progress. Yet in *War and Peace* Tolstoy deals continually with the mass movements of humanity, with the marching of armies, with the glow of patriotic enthusiasm that seizes the Russian nation when Napoleon invades the country. Notice, however, that individuals have no influence on these mass movements. Napoleon did not cause the invasion of Russia, but only fancied that he did so. Kutúzov, Tolstoy's favorite among the Russian generals, sleeps during a council of war and lets events take their course. The history of mankind is directed by a blind fate, over which individuals have no power. Each man must care for his own moral life and cease to hope that he may influence society.

Tolstoy's individualistic heroes represent his personal traits. He was temperamentally opposed to any coöperative movement. From his boyhood he refused to affiliate with any political or social party; he might be affected by the ideas of liberals or Slavophiles, scientists or socialists, but he would never account himself a member of an organized body. His position was that of his hero Lévin, who, when called a "reactionist," proudly replies: "Really, I never thought who I am; I am Constantine Lévin and nothing else" (*Anna Karénin*, part ii, ch. 17). Once or twice, to be sure, Tolstoy did engage in social work. As an arbiter of the peace after the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 he showed courage, but soon abandoned a position for which he was ill adapted and in which he must submit to irksome compromises. In 1891 he became a chief worker for the relief of the Russian famine, forcing himself to use means, such as money, that were in flat contradiction to his own principles. A saving grace of inconsistency only emphasizes his fundamental individualism.

This individualism resulted from Tolstoy's temperament rather than from any logical reasoning. A strong element of contradiction pervaded his whole character. In conversation he was prone to take the opposite side in any discussion that might arise. In his early life his hot temper led him into continual quarrels, so that he retained few constant friends. His passion for sincerity and his analytic bent led him to detect insincerity in all about him, and sometimes, particularly in the case of men of intellect, to refuse forgiveness to human weaknesses.

Tolstoy's individualism was fostered by his environment. A wealthy aristocrat, he never had to work for his living. His views might develop unchecked by the conflicts of business or professional life. Their progress was aided even by the government. A despotism is the best soil for the growth of extreme social theories. Men whose efforts at practical reform are hampered are prone to indulge all the more freely in abstract social dreams.

Extremes of character result ; many men perish in sloth or vice, while a very few become saints or speculative geniuses.

Intimately connected with Tolstoy's individualism, as a revolt from conventional standards, is his admiration for the life of primitive, half-savage men, and for that of uncultivated, illiterate peasants. His early novel *The Cossacks* pictures the Russian inhabitants of the base of the Caucasus mountains, who live in constant warfare with the Circassians and have come to resemble them in manners and morals. These men Tolstoy describes with enthusiasm, not hiding their cruelty, lustfulness, and drunkenness, but finding in them a natural vigor that is absent in the Russians of his own class. A similarly negative attitude towards his own comrades may be seen in his *Sevastopol Sketches*. The officers in the Russian army are actuated only by vanity and ambition ; each is ready to sacrifice thousands of lives in order to gain a decoration for himself. The common soldiers, on the other hand, are modest, brave, self-sacrificing ; forgetful of themselves, they obey orders and aid their wounded comrades. In the story *Childhood* the one representative of the religious life is a half-witted peasant mendicant ; in the existence of the upper classes there is little nourishment for the religious emotions.

Tolstoy's scorn of civilized society greatly resembles Rousseau's condemnation of the arts and sciences as degrading influences in the history of mankind. One is not surprised to learn that at an early age Tolstoy almost worshipped Rousseau, reading all his works and wearing a medallion of him about his neck. The likeness between the two men is, however, purely on the negative side. Tolstoy found in Rousseau a systematic exposition of his own instinctive dislike of a civilization, an art, and a science that rest on the servitude of millions to a select few. When he later built his own system he went far beyond his master. Rousseau regrets the rise of the arts and sciences, but now that they are here he cannot dispense with them ; he will strive to mitigate their evil effects. Since primitive liberty has perished forever, he will strive to organize society on principles of justice. Patriotism is the controlling motive of his *Social Contract*. Since the pure Christianity of the Gospels is inconsistent with patriotism, he will replace it by a civil religion, designed to uphold the laws. Tolstoy sees with equal clearness the inconsistency between the Gospels and patriotism, and forthwith denounces patriotism as one of the greatest of sins. The state organization must disappear because it is incompatible with true religion, the religion of the heart. With it there must perish all science and all art not directly devoted to the service of religion. Tolstoy accepts Rousseau's fundamental principles, but carries them out with greater logical rigor, and with greater courage.

Though Tolstoy found inspiration in Rousseau's criticism of human society, he could not always accept his view of human nature. According to Rousseau human society is bad, but human nature is good ; to Tolstoy, in the



years immediately preceding his religious conversion, human nature itself seemed bad. Schopenhauer, not Rousseau, was the writer who then had most influence over his thought; Tolstoy became a pessimist, believing that life is empty and meaningless and that death is better than life.

Though this statement has the authority of Tolstoy himself in his *Confession*, it must be received with important reservations. Tolstoy's pessimism, as applied to human life in general, rather than to existing human institutions, or to the class in society of which he was a member, was a passing intellectual opinion rather than a deep-seated temperamental conviction. Pessimism is a belief that the non-existence of the universe would be preferable to its existence. Such a belief steals into our minds as we read the novels of Hardy or the tales of Guy de Maupassant. The offense lies not in the portrayal of sin and shame, but in the denial of any possibility of improvement or in the negation of all standards of right and wrong. Tolstoy's novels are of different stuff. They are books wherein "all noble lords and ladies" "shall find many joyous and pleasant histories and noble and renowned acts of humanity, gentleness, and chivalry. For herein may be seen noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue, sin. Do after the good, and leave the evil, and it shall bring you to good fame and renommée." And, unlike Malory, Tolstoy is so convincing in his picture of this checkerboard world that "all noble lords and ladies" find themselves constrained "to give faith and believe that all is true that is contained herein." Tolstoy's pessimism remained external; the vital force that saved him from suicide kept his picture of the world from ever becoming black and despairing.

Such novels might seem quite as much at variance with asceticism, the denial to oneself of simple and natural pleasures, as they are with a permanently pessimistic philosophy. But such is not the case. Asceticism was a fundamental element in Tolstoy's temperament. Its influence, already visible in his earliest works, constantly increased, until it became all-pervading in the writings of his latest years. It was the central element in his religious system, and in time it became almost the sole element, so that the last phase of Tolstoy's religion approximates to mediæval monasticism.

Tolstoy's early life was, to be sure, anything but ascetic; it was that of a young man swayed by strong animal passions. This wild-oats period is reflected strongly in his novels, with their descriptions of scenes of debauchery and violence. Tolstoy could hardly have rebuked the sins of the world with so fervent an eloquence had he not himself shared in them.

Moreover, asceticism implies a contempt of wholesome physical pleasures, a Puritanic disregard of all that is beautiful and graceful, such as no one is at first sight likely to impute to the author of *War and Peace* and *Anna Karénin*. A fervent joy of life fills the description of the hunt in *War and Peace*, when



Nikolai Rostov gallops over the open field or prays the Lord that the wolf may come his way. So Tolstoy feels to the full the delight of Natasha at the great court ball when he writes, "She was at that highest pitch of happiness when one becomes wholly good and kind and does not believe in the possibility of evil, unhappiness, and grief" (*War and Peace*, part vi, ch. 17).

The truth is that in Tolstoy there were two different spirits, one that of the healthy animal, enjoying his own strength and the fineness of his perceptions; the other that of the moralist, analyzing the experiences through which he passes and tending more and more to reject all joys of the flesh, and even all delight in beauty, as distinct from morality. In his earlier writings, up to his religious conversion, the instinctive elements predominate; in the later they gradually disappear under the influence of an ascetic ideal. To sins of the flesh, resulting from a thoughtless animal nature, Tolstoy was merciful. In *Anna Karénin* the thoughtless, good-humored Stiva, while he violates all the commands of the Decalogue, amuses rather than enrages the sternly Puritanic novelist. Again, in Tolstoy's view, animal debauchery does not wholly defile a man so long as he recognizes it as something bad and degrading; it becomes fatal only when it is regarded as something fine and elevating, as it is by so many poets and artists. To be more explicit, even in his youthful years Tolstoy was never a conscious hedonist; as an ideal he never recognized pleasure even of the highest sort, not to speak of animal enjoyment. Beauty and strength he admired, and his keen appreciation of them gives to his great novels their glorious vitality; but they never entered into his moral ideal. From his own ideal of art he finally banished beauty and pleasure; and even in his earliest writings, so soon as he begins to reflect, he becomes an ascetic, preaching self-sacrifice and self-abnegation, however much, as a spectator of this world's motley show, he may understand the appeal of types of character to whom self-sacrifice is unknown. His most extreme religious tracts only expand a point of view that is already implicit in his novels, though it is there so overshadowed by other elements, that, had Tolstoy died at the age of fifty, it might have passed unnoticed.

Tolstoy's individualism accounts for the anarchic character of his social criticism. Concentrating his attention on the single man, he is impatient of any social restraints that hamper the growth of universal love, expressed in self-abnegation. Patriotism, the preference of one's own countrymen over foreigners, forthwith becomes a cardinal sin; since some of its fruits are evil, none can be good. Since all coöperation involves compromise, Tolstoy comes perilously near condemning all coöperative effort. Herein he is sharply distinguished from the socialists, whose condemnation of modern society is much the same as his own. No change in economic arrangements, no laws of the state, administered by imperfect men, can regenerate the corrupt modern society; and perfect men, by their very perfection, are forbidden to make or

administer laws that lay compulsion on their fellows. Hence as a leader of constructive reform Tolstoy has been without influence. The greatest apostle of peace in modern times, he opposed the movement for international arbitration, since, resting as it does on the recognition of government and armaments, it must remain a hollow mockery.

Yet Tolstoy believed himself a constructive reformer. The Christian Church, he exclaims in *My Religion*, offers men either a monastery, entire retirement from the world, or base compromise with it. He himself will remain in the world as a servant of humanity. But the ascetic element in his ideal is often more prominent than that of service;<sup>1</sup> and finally, as he advances in life, his ideal becomes monastic in all but name, differing from monasticism only in its anarchic exaltation of disobedience rather than obedience, and in being put forward as an ideal for all men instead of being enjoined as a formal rule for a few elect spirits. A sketch of his changing point of view on one concrete problem, that of sex relations, will make this plain.

Of all the passions that fettered the young Tolstoy that of lust was the most fierce and untamable. He recognized the sinfulness of his life, but could not change it. The men in his novels are reflections of their creator, preserving their ideal aspirations in the midst of external debauchery. But they do not shroud their lusts with any poetic charm, as do the Roman elegists, to say nothing of their modern successors. Sexual inclinations in Tolstoy's novels are sordid, base, animal. Prostitution and light and graceful society adultery are mentioned with whole-souled contempt, mingled with charity it is true, but with no sympathy. True poetry surrounds only the relations of a man with the woman whom he will marry, who will be the mother of his children, and to whom he will be devotedly faithful all his life. In thinking of her he anticipates a lifelong spiritual companionship, made holy by love of her and of their children.

A happy family life saved Tolstoy from lust and from despair. Accordingly the family ideal dominated *War and Peace*; the charming maiden Natasha ends as a portly and somewhat untidy housewife, caring for her chubby children. Infraction of this ideal brings about the tragedy of *Anna Karénin*. Perhaps the most eloquent positive pages that Tolstoy ever wrote are those in praise of motherhood, at the close of *What Shall We Do Then?*

Then came a change. Tolstoy's latest writings are occupied not with praises of family life, which in the last analysis depends on sexual attraction, however regulated, and however atoned for by self-sacrificing love of children, but with the tremendous power for evil of this same sexual attraction. *The Kreutzer Sonata* shows this changed point of view. The hero is a

<sup>1</sup> "Jesus Christ nowhere bids us give to the poor in order that the poor may be well fed and content; he says that a man must give all to the poor in order that he himself may be happy," *Harmony of the Gospels*, Geneva, 1892-1894, II, 126.

man who has lived loosely, and whose sins lead him first to the murder of his wife and then — to asceticism, to the condemnation of all sexual impulses, as productive only of evil. The destiny of the human race, as it advances spiritually, is to die physically, to cease to reproduce itself. The result is tolerable to Tolstoy because of his pessimistic view of the world as it is now organized ; the means to reform is consonant with his whole moral system. Asceticism and pessimism make him an unsafe guide in personal ethics as in social reconstruction.

These conclusions concerning Tolstoy's ethical system have been negative, even as was Tolstoy himself in his conclusions upon the world. Tolstoy was as broad, impartial, all-embracing, and sympathetic as Shakespeare or Chaucer in his picture of society ; in his theories of it he developed a system founded on the duty of self-sacrifice, which, as it grew more logically consistent, grew more narrow, partial, and intolerant. Yet, as the years go by, Tolstoy's religious writings may prove to be of equal import with his novels. As a maker of an ethical system Tolstoy was weak, faulty, even absurd ; as a religious leader he has had few superiors. A theorist upon ethics may broaden our concepts of right and wrong, but his abstract distinctions, his cold, impersonal attitude can hardly arouse moral enthusiasm. A religious leader enunciates a few dogmas, a few rules of conduct, and makes them splendid by the force of his enthusiasm and his readiness to act on them. He gathers followers and transforms their lives, founds an organized church, and after his death his enthusiasm stiffens into a lifeless creed. Tolstoy was such a leader, a man of the type of St. Francis. But from the very extremity of his position, and from the peculiar character of his personality, his doctrine is not likely to become the creed of a lifeless church. He himself repelled the idea of organizing his followers, and was only distantly interested in their abortive attempts to organize for themselves. The few men who accepted his system as a whole were not as a rule inspiring personalities. On the other hand, no one writer of our own time has so quickened the consciences of men without subjecting them to his own. He was like Emerson in his fearless independence of tradition and convention and in his spiritual purity ; but he differed from him in attacking concrete problems rather than abstract concepts ; he was a realist, close to the earth ; his novelist's genius for observation never failed. Tolstoy himself might finally reach a monastic ideal ; the effect of his writings is to show the weakness of such an ideal. A prophet of anarchy, he leads his readers to work for a better social order. In an age that emphasized material and financial standards he was the most potent spokesman of spiritual and moral worth. In his personal life, groping as it was, and often even grotesque, he was the greatest idealist of his time, the man who dared most fully to act in obedience to his own conscience against the judgment of the world.





# MEDIÆVAL LIVES OF JUDAS ISCARIOT

EDWARD KENNARD RAND

The imaginary career of Judas Iscariot proved a fascinating subject in the Middle Ages, and received something like canonization in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacopo da Voragine, which presents the earliest Latin form of the legend hitherto discovered. But the familiar story there told presupposes, as Gaston Paris declared,<sup>1</sup> an earlier and simpler account. The versions treated in the present paper, while still leaving many questions unanswered, may bring the investigation of this subject somewhat nearer to the goal.

An immediate precursor of the account in the *Golden Legend* may be found in a Vatican manuscript, Palatinus 619 (=V), dated s. XII/XIII in the catalogue of Stevenson-De Rossi. The manuscript contains sermons, legends, and other ecclesiastical matter. On fol. 18 there begins an *Hystoria de Iuda Proditore* thus: "Mathias apostolus in locum Iude substitutus est. Sed primo ortum<sup>2</sup> et originem ipsius Iude proditoris breviter videamus. Legitur enim in quadam historia quod fuit quidam vir in Ierusalem nomine Ruben, qui alio nomine dictus est Symon de tribu Iuda, qui habuit uxorem quae Ciborea nuncupata est." These are almost the words of Jacopo,<sup>3</sup> except that the latter cautiously adds *licet apocrypha* after *historia*, and makes Ruben of the tribe of Dan.<sup>4</sup> The text of the Vatican manuscript agrees thereafter with that of Jacopo word for word, saving a few scribal vagaries, until the strictly Biblical part begins. Just there Jacopo adds: "Hucusque in praedicta historia apocrypha legitur, quae utrum recitanda sit lectoris arbitrio relinquatur, licet sit potius relinquenda quam asserenda." These words are not in V, which has, however, all of the remainder, including the moralizations at the end. Since the script of V is clearly before the date of Jacopo (1230-1298), we have here the source which he incorporated, almost without change, in his *Golden Legend*. It is precisely the text the existence of which Gaston Paris had prophetically surmised and the date of which he had assigned to the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Critique*, IV (1869), I, 412 ff., in a review of D'Ancona, *La Leggenda di Vergogna e la Leggenda di Giuda*. Another important review is that by R. Köhler in *Jahrb. für romanische u. englische Lit.*, XI (1870), 313 ff. In these articles and in L. Constans, *La Légende d'Edipe*, 1881, references to earlier treatments of the subject will be found. There has been no recent examination, so far as I am aware, of the sources of the Latin story of Judas.

<sup>2</sup> ortu V. In the different texts here published I have cited only the most important errors or variants.

<sup>3</sup> *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Graesse, sec. ed., p. 184. I will refer to the version given in Jacopo as *L*.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 312. *L* adds *vel secundum Hieronymum de tribu Ysachar*.

<sup>5</sup> *Revue Critique*, IV, 413.

Another important document is represented by two copies, one in a Munich manuscript, Latinus 21259 (= *M*), written in a beautifully clear script of the very end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century,<sup>1</sup> the other in Paris, Arsenal 387 (= *A*), s. XIII, formerly of St. Victor. The text of *A*, though in general less perfect than that of *M*, is an independent and therefore indispensable source. In *MA* (=  $\mu$ ), after the story of Pilate, there follows (fol. 231<sup>v</sup>) *De Ortu Iude Scariothis*,<sup>2</sup> which begins: "Fuit in diebus Herodis regis Pylato preside vir in Iudea Ruben nomine<sup>3</sup> ex tribu Iuda,<sup>4</sup> qui noctis in tempestate legalibus uxoris sue Cyboree alligabatur amplexibus." The subsequent account is virtually identical in its details and in many of its phrases with *V*, though there are numerous variations and amplifications. Thus *V* says of the birth of Judas: "Procedente igitur tempore cum filium peperisset, parentes plurimum timuerunt et quid de eo vellent<sup>5</sup> facere cogitare ceperunt. Cumque filium abhorrerent occidere nec vellent destructorem sui generis enutrire, ipsum in fiscella positum mari exponunt, quem marini fluctus ad insulam quae Scharioth dicitur propulerunt."  $\mu$  works out this idea with a touch of an Ovidian *suasoria*, in which, naturally, the feelings of only one of the parents are described: "Ruben vero multis modis et inexplicabilibus involvitur curis. Nefarium enim filium ducit occidi, scelerosum totius gentis destructorem enutrir. Tandem seponitur pietas, preponderat<sup>6</sup> impietas. Cistella vimine contextitur, in qua maris fluctibus iniectus ad insulam Scarioth propellitur."

The casket is found, according to *V*, by the Queen of Scarioth: "Regina autem loci illius carens liberis ad litus maris causa spaciandi processit et fiscellam a marinis fluctibus iactari videns, ipsam aperiri precepit. Inveniensque ibi<sup>7</sup> puerum elegantis forme suspirans ait: 'O si solatiis<sup>8</sup> tante subleverar<sup>9</sup> sobolis, ne regni mei successore privarer!' "<sup>10</sup> Puerum igitur secreto nutriri fecit et se gravidam simulavit. Tandem se filium peperisse mentitur et per totum regnum fama haec celebris divulgatur."

The word *precepit* implies that the queen was not alone when she made the discovery. This suggestion is developed by  $\mu$ , in which the queen's attendants are given an important part in the action: "Tunc regina huius comitata pedissequis fortuito ad litus maris processit spatari, viditque infantulum procellosis maris fluctibus fluctuari. Pedissequae dum accurrunt et vultum pueri diligentius intuentes regieque pulchritudini comparantes domine disserunt<sup>11</sup> et

<sup>1</sup> The Munich catalogue of Schmeller-Halm, etc., gives "s. XIII et XIV (mixtus)" as the date, but s. XIV surely does not apply to the part containing Godfrey of Viterbo and the life of Judas. Waitz, in his edition of Godfrey (*M. G. H. XXII*, 14), calls the manuscript s. XIII.

<sup>2</sup> So *M* fol. 231<sup>v</sup>. *A* begins without title, fol. 70<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Ruben nomine *om. A*.

<sup>4</sup> rubem *A*.

<sup>5</sup> nollent *V*.

<sup>6</sup> seponitur pietas preponderat *A*; se p(re)ponit(ur) p(re)pond(er)at (pietas *om.*) *M*. The complicated error of *M* shows that the text of that manuscript has already had something of a history.

<sup>7</sup> id' *V*.

<sup>8</sup> solacie *V*.

<sup>9</sup> subleveret *V*.

<sup>10</sup> These words suggest Dido's appeal in *Aen.* IV, 327 ff.

<sup>11</sup> deserunt *M*. Perhaps *de eo* should be supplied before the verb.

de longinquis partibus in illas profluxisse asserunt.<sup>1</sup> Regina itaque linimenta corporis pueri preconsiderans et diligenti oculorum intuitu prenotans ait: 'O si solatiis tante subolis sublevarer, ne regni mei successione<sup>2</sup> privarer!' Pedisseque infantulum nutrirī suggerunt ut vidua sterili permanente habeantur heredes. Regina obsequitur hancque regiam peperisse prolem terram promulgatur in omnem."

In certain details, it will be noticed,  $\mu$  is a bit briefer than  $V$ . This feature is especially prominent at the end of the narrative, where, without the lengthy comment on the thirty *denarii* or the moralizing on the manner of Judas's death,  $\mu$  has simply: "Hic autem a Domino diligebatur pre ceteris donec consilium iniit cum Iudeis et XXX Dominum vendidit argenteis. Videns autem quia innocentem condemnauerat, proiecto in templo sanguinis precio laqueo se suspendit et medius crepuit. *Explicit iste liber.*"

Without denying that  $\mu$  may be directly based on the version of  $V$ , with now an expansion and now a contraction of the original, I incline to the opinion that both  $\mu$  and  $V$  follow a source (I will call it  $\gamma$ ) which, though simpler than either, presented the same essential features of the narrative. These I define as the names of Judas's parents, Ruben and Ciborea; the dream of Ciborea; the exposure of the child in the casket; his discovery by the queen of Scarioth; his quarrel with the real prince, born shortly after Judas's arrival; his detection of his real origin and his flight after slaying the prince; his kindly reception by Pilate; his murder of his own father, a deed wrought by Judas while stealing fruit from the latter's orchard for Pilate; his espousal of his own mother, a favor granted by Pilate in recompense for the stealing of the fruit; the lamentation of the woman over the unhappy fates that had overtaken her child, her husband, and now herself; Judas's immediate recognition of his two-fold sacrilege; his repentance; his entry into the service of Jesus; his betrayal of his Master; his death. A *terminus post quem* is fixed for the script of  $M$ , though not necessarily for the composition of the narrative, by the fact that it is immediately preceded, in the same hand, by the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo, a work finished certainly before 1191, the year of the author's death. A *terminus ante quem* is offered by the script of  $M$ , which, if not still in the twelfth century, should be dated, I am convinced, very early in the thirteenth. To this same period  $V$  should likewise be assigned. Whatever the exact genealogy of our versions may be, it is safe to assume that a life of Judas comprising the elements given above was known and amplified at least as early as the end of the twelfth century.

This evidence does not solve the fundamental query raised by investigators of our subject; it pushes farther back the date of the version adopted by Jacopo da Voragine, but does not account for the growth of the material of

<sup>1</sup> pedisseque aute(m) accessera(n)t (dum accurrunt . . . profluxisse om.) *A*.

<sup>2</sup> successione *A*, *m*. 1 *M*; successore *m*. 2 *M*.



which the story is itself composed. We may next examine a curious modification of the legend, to be found in a manuscript at Reims, 1275 (= R), s. XIII. As often, a *Vita Pylati* immediately precedes. I give the *Vita Iude Scarioht* in full (fol. 2 ff.) :

Pater Iude Scarioht de tribu Dan duxit uxorem generis sui secundum legis preceptum.<sup>1</sup> Qui ingressus ad eam impregnavit eam. Ipsa autem nocte vidit mulier presagium malorum in sompno, videlicet presagium malorum suorum. Videbat ignem de utero suo egredientem qui paulatim crescens primo maritum suum corripuit eumque penitus consumens donec in favillam deficeret post paululum domum eius in qua iacebat conflagrabat. Qua consumpta prodigiosum monstrum in eosdem ortus<sup>2</sup> hoc est in utero suo mater agnovit. Ignis vero non totum terrendum dabat sed<sup>3</sup> interiecto longi temporis spacio inde iterum quasi moderacius se subducebat et subito in altum excrescens primo Iudeam et Galileam deinde omnem circa regionem afflabat et penitus concremabat; ad ultimum urbem regiam David Iherusalem et arcem Syon una cum sancto et venerabili templo corripiebat et omnia in cinerem et favillam redigens concremabat. Ita mulier in medio visu subito exterrita evigilavit et ingenti clamore et gemitu horrorem visionis sue testata maritum excitavit; querenti quid esset, quod haberet, quid clamaret, quid fleret, visa sua exposuit. Ille prodigioso sompno attonitus diluculo surrexit et cum uxore in Iherusalem abiit (erat enim in vico Scarioht qui est ante Iherusalem ad aquilonarem urbis plagam unus de sacerdotibus Domini, magni vir<sup>4</sup> meriti) venitque ad eum cum uxore sua seorsumque abducens prodigialem illius visionem ei indicavit. Qua ille audita visione permotus ingemuit diuque stupens et quasi mutus tandem in hanc prophecie vocem ora resolvit.

"Ha! mulier misera, filius<sup>5</sup> quem concepisti magni doloris causa erit tibi, patri autem prius, deinde omni Iudeorum genti et regioni et sancte urbi et templo sempiternus interitus. Sed placate Deum precibus penitencia votis et muneribus ut avertat Dominus iram sue indignationis a vobis."

Hec dixit et tristes ac metu magno consternatos eos dimisit. Evoluto autem tempore quo conceperat mulier peperit puerum satis quidem scitum<sup>6</sup> sed in suam et multorum perniciem natum. Vnde anxii propter<sup>7</sup> visionem et sui vatis divinationem decreverunt eum statim necare et parricidas<sup>8</sup> se sui sanguinis esse. Sed non est possibilitatis humane convertere consilium ordinationis

<sup>1</sup> p(re)ceptum R. *Ae* is nowhere found in the present text. I omit reference to other compendia, save in cases of especial importance. As *ci* for *ti* occurs in certain words, I have followed this spelling in resolving several abbreviations as in that for *Eciam*.

<sup>2</sup> The sense seems to require something like *regredi*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sed* is generally written *f3* in this text, and perhaps should be spelled *set*.

<sup>4</sup> viri R.

<sup>5</sup> filium R.

<sup>6</sup> The phrase suggests Terence, *And.* 486: Per ecastor scitus puer est natus Pamphilo.

<sup>7</sup> p(ro) R.

<sup>8</sup> p(er)ricidas R.



divine. Ille de quo postea passivus pro salute mundi dixit Filius Dei, "Melius illi erat si natus non fuisset homo ille," cum natus statim debuit occidi, reservatus est in perdicionem sui, in traditionem Domini Iesu <sup>1</sup> Christi, in <sup>2</sup> nutrimentum ignis eterni, in memoriam patrum suorum, et in recordacionem precati misere matris sue. Pugnaverunt diu affectus pietatis et amor <sup>3</sup> patrie. Noluit diu pater pius esse, noluit ipse prius nocens esse interficiendo eum quem nondum noverat, aliquid quod morte puniri deberet commisisse. Porro autem pie sollicitabatur pro salute patrie mallens unum innocentem adhuc et filium suum suis maioribus interire quam per illum succedenti tempore pocius patrie ruinas videre. Vicit tandem amor patrie utrosque paventes clausumque in cistella lignea puerum superata pietate proiecerunt in mare. Inhorruisse ferunt pelagus mox ut sensit prodigiale honus, totis fluctibus frementes torsisse vertices et futurum sui conditoris venditorem tortis impulsisse fluctibus ut et <sup>4</sup> futurum latronem dissecaret et collideret suis molibus et occultaret profundis gurgitibus priusquam venditor audax horrendum seclis omnibus perpetraret facinus. Miser Iuda et infelicissime, quo tuo vel tuorum parentum crimine contigit tibi tot tantisque malis natum esse? Cur <sup>5</sup> misera illa mater tua cum te concepit <sup>6</sup> non statim abortivit? Cur autem natus? Cur <sup>5</sup> exceptus genibus? Cur <sup>5</sup> lactatus uberibus? Esset certe modo tibi melius parricidari; tantum <sup>7</sup> crimen fuisset tuis miseris parentibus tuo crimine venalius. Cur <sup>5</sup> autem vel in mare proiectus non statim es mersus et a tanto abyssu suffocatus? Esset tibi vel mare vel aliquis beluinus venter sepulchrum nec postea celo terreque perosus tam infelici morte perisses inter utrumque. Sed cum mori poteras adhuc sine crimine, pepercit tibi inter fluctus nescio quis deus, quamvis ether, venti et pelagus ut perires totis pugnabant viribus. Incertum est, inquam, quis deus hoc discrimine te eripuit; et elementa dum te laborant obruere, visa sunt pocius obsequium prestitisse. Actus enim tot fluctibus fertur unius diei et noctis spacio, ab Ioppe civitate Galilee transvectus per tot maria usque ad horam Illirici maris usque Bitradum et ad introitum pervenit, ad hanc <sup>8</sup> famosam alitricem Iude traditoris. Vbi mare piscator quidam ingressus sagenam suam in mare misit, quam vacuum quidem piscibus sed honeratam cistella <sup>9</sup> Iude ad littus adduxit. Quam acceptam mox ad uxorem suam attulit dicensque <sup>10</sup> magnum thesaurum invenisse qui eos inopia sublevaret gratulabundus ostendit. Sed effracta cistella et detecta spes expectati thesauri nulla fuit. Nihil enim in cistella aliud invenerunt nisi puerum vagientem et membranam parvulam hec continentem: *Hic infantulus est Iudas natus de vico Scarioht qui est ante Iherusalem.*

Mulier, mota visceribus humanitatis, "Maiorem," inquit ad maritum, "expectato nostro dii <sup>11</sup> nobis dederunt thesaurum, hunc elegantis formae puerum,

<sup>1</sup> ih(es)u R.

<sup>2</sup> in om. R.

<sup>3</sup> timor (?) R.

<sup>4</sup> et ut R.

<sup>5</sup> cui (?) R.

<sup>6</sup> cepit R.

<sup>7</sup> parricidari; tantum] parricida|rit aut(em) (?) R.

<sup>8</sup> ad hanc] adhuc R.

<sup>9</sup> cistellam R.

<sup>10</sup> dicens q(ui?) R.

<sup>11</sup> di(i)s? R.

quem quia non habemus proprium hunc adotivum habebimus proprium." Hec dixit, marito facile in id ipsum consenciente, puerum de cistella exposuit, et nesciens quam magnum malum aleret in perdicionem sui et multorum eum nutritiv. Qui postquam adolevit Grecorum disciplinis et studiis se exercitando cito perfecit. Erat acer corpore et ingenio animi. Factum est autem ut consuetudinaria institutione decreto principum Bithordi<sup>1</sup> quinquennalis agon in honore Iovis Olipiadis<sup>2</sup> celebraretur, et ubique<sup>3</sup> de urbibus, vicis, castellis, oppidis agrisque studium ostendendae<sup>4</sup> virtutis et cupido laudis et spes palme multos alliceret. Iudasque affuit inter alios et super ceteros agonistas clarissimus victor emicuit. Quod aliqui invidentes et indigne ferentes cum<sup>5</sup> captivus et advena indigenis et nobilibus civibus se comparare auderet, cum gravi opprobrio conviciantur<sup>6</sup> ei eumque de agionali ludo non sine iniuria expellunt. Ille gravi ira permotus ad matrem, quam adhuc credebat suam, furibundus venit, exsertoque<sup>7</sup> in eam nimis ferociter gladio, quis ipse aut unde aut cuius filius esset aut quomodo illuc venisset aut cur<sup>8</sup> tanto tempore matrem eius se mentita<sup>9</sup> fuisset, eam fateri coegit. Illa unde aut quando illuc venisset aut quomodo a marito suo piscatore inventus, quomodo ab illa nutritus qui adoptivus filius esset ei indicavit. Ceterum quis aut cuius filius esset, quomodo etiam illuc venisset se nescire respondit, simul et cartulam cum illo in cistella inventam ei protulit. "Et si tantus amor est," ait, "tibi te ipsum cognoscendi, scis patriam nomenque tuum.<sup>10</sup> Inquire gentem et genus tuum et quomodo veneris huc." Ille hiis auditis attonitus iram tunc quidem compressit, tempus vero opportunum nactus Bitrodum quasi Andropolim iturus reliquit. Inde navim conscendens in<sup>11</sup> Syriam proficiscentem paucis post diebus in Ioppen portu expositus ad urbem Iherusalem pervenit. Erat eo tempore in Iherusalem Poncius Pylatus procurator rerum publicarum a Romanis in Iudea missus. Ei Iudas officiosissime deserviendo adhesit, nichil de gente et cognatione sua fortunisque suis cuiquam locutus pro officio suo brevi tam presidi quam clientibus eius fuit carus. Accidit autem quadam die ut Pylatus deambulet per solarium domus in qua manebat. Aspiciens vicum Scarioht vidit in orto unius pauperis dactilos in palma pendere et desideravit ex eis comedere. Vocansque unum ex astantibus misit et de fructu sibi afferre iussit. Ille servus abiit, sed prohibente domino pomerii capere suos fructus, inanis ad presidem rediit. Ille ita commotus, "Et quis," ait, "adhuc ibit pro nobis?" "Ego," Iudas et abiit. Erat autem ortus ille Symonis qui erat pater Iude. Irruens Iudas cum furore palmam excussit, deinde quod excusserat fructus collegit. Et conversus contumax turbatis oculis in patrem suum (nesciebat autem quia<sup>12</sup> pater suus esset), "Cur<sup>13</sup> non," inquit, "o decrepite senex et me repellis? Cur non et mihi contradicis?" "Et

<sup>1</sup> bithor *R.*    <sup>2</sup> olipiadi *R.*    <sup>3</sup> et ubique] ubi *g R.*    <sup>4</sup> ostend(er)e *R.*    <sup>5</sup> cur (or cui?) *R.*

<sup>6</sup> eiciu(n)t *R.*

<sup>7</sup> exc(ri?)toque *R.*

<sup>8</sup> cui (?) *R.*

<sup>9</sup> mentitam *R.*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* ii, 10, "Sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros," etc., and note also the dactylic rhythm at the end of the sentence.

<sup>11</sup> eu(m) *R.*

<sup>12</sup> q(ui) *R.*

<sup>13</sup> cui (?) *R.*

rogasse quam rapuisse equius fuerat," senex respondit, "et depone quod meum est. Depone, inquam, quod meum est," ingeminavit et quod collegerat de palla illi excussit. Iudas ut leo frendens nil id tale promeritum senem patrem suum fuste percussit diminutoque eius cerebro morientem et suam ulcionem deo clamantem dimisit et recollectos fructus paterno sanguine<sup>1</sup> respersus presidi attulit. Audita morte innocentis fit de tota urbe concursus, oritur gravis sedicio et furentis populi confusa vociferacio illis clamantibus, "Homicida exhibeatur," aliis autem succinentibus eciam, "Et preses cum sua domo ignibus subiciatur." Preses cogitans esse optimum ad evitandam tali tempore seditionem, viros sapientes et discretos mittit ad populum, quam sedicionem temere<sup>2</sup> inceptam illis mediantibus facile compescuit.<sup>3</sup> Accitaque muliere cuius erat maritus occisus consilio seniorum et amicorum suorum factum est ut Iudas eam in uxorem duceret rediretque per hoc in eius gratiam cuius maritum nullis premissis inimiciis sed ira precipitante occiderat. Ne quid<sup>4</sup> ergo nephas intactum, ne quid<sup>5</sup> scelus illi esset inausum, fit ipsius parricida matris maritus et ut omnino veritas attestaretur sompno, in suos ortus monstrum<sup>6</sup> revolvitur. Sed nichil tam occultum quod non reveletur neque absconditum quod non sciatur. Parum temporis fluxerat quam una nocte mulier illa misera inter amplexus mariti sed filii recordata eius quam aliquando viderat visionis suspirare graviter cepit et modo ad memoriam revocando filium parvulum in mare mersum modo autem maritum ab eo quem modo habebat interfectum<sup>7</sup> cepit abhorrere tales nupcias. Cepit detestari sua tempora in que nimirum infelicer vivendo pervenerat. Iudas tacito auscultans uxorem et eandem suam matrem cepit diligenter ab ea scrutari et querere textum huius tragedie. At vero postquam omnia audit seque et ex visione matris et ex litteris secum in cistella inventis recognovit detestatus patris parricidium, obscenum matris adulterium, "Et que crudelis fortuna me miserum persequitur?" dixit, "Et quis erit modus miseri sceleris? Si parricida patris, si adulter futurus eram matris, nonne melius fuerat adhuc latuisse sub undis? Nonne melius fuerat opprobria nobilis Grecie pertulisse quam tam infami crimine me ipsum perdidisse?" Sic ait et amens exiliit stratis exertoque gladio, "Hic certe," dixit, "iugulus piabit et adulterium matris et mortem patris et crimen non iam filii sed parricide," et verso in suis visceribus mucrone incumbere voluit. Sed misera mater eadem obscena uxor librantis dextre ictum sustinuit. Correcta itaque temeraria ira filii mariti et amencia ut tandem ille in hominem rediit, consulit et persuadet ut ambo communiter eant ad sacerdotem illum cui ipsa aliquando visionem suam retulerat, quique ex magna parte quod iam evenerat divinaverat. Eunt igitur ambo et fuis genibus omnia quae sibi evenerant seriatim indicant. Quid faciant quomodo hec crimina expient orant cum lacrimis ut sibi consulat. Ille attonitus rerum novitate et sui vaticinii veritate nullum super habere consilium

<sup>1</sup> sanguitiae (?) *R.*

<sup>2</sup> demere *R.*

<sup>3</sup> gpestuit *R.*

<sup>4</sup> q(ui) *R.*

<sup>5</sup> quam *R.*

<sup>6</sup> monstro *R.*

<sup>7</sup> interfectorem *R.*



in se esse dixit. Tamen consulit ut Iesum magni iam nominis et meriti virum adeant et ut ei suarum miseriarum tragedias narrent, eius super tantis malis et peccatis consilium et auxilium postulent, pietati et misericordie se commendent. Erat enim iam illo tempore Dominus Iesus miraculorum potentia clarus tamquam doctrina et predicatione divina quam signorum mirabilium attestazione; credebatur a fidelibus plus quam homo inter homines esse. Illum Iudas cum matre uxoreque adiit effususque pedibus eius criminis sui omnem historiam ei detexit, veri etiam penitentis habitum, luctum et lacrimas pretendit. Dominus autem Iesus intuitus hominem et quod noverat ab inicio qui essent credentes, sciens quam longe esset a regno Dei, tamen ne desperatione cogeretur amplius periclitari, "Potes," inquit, "adhuc salvus<sup>1</sup> fieri si digne penitueris, sed et hec et cetera peccata deinceps vitaveris nec<sup>2</sup> eciam ad maiora te inclinaveris, et ut omnis occasio peccandi ulterius tibi tollatur, reiectis omnibus impedimentis et secularibus negociis sequere me meque imitando in veritate vitam eternam habere poteris."

The main difference between the Reims version and  $\gamma$  is obvious; while preserving the general outlines of the story,  $R$  omits most of the specifically Biblical parts and shows instead a large infusion of classical, not to say pagan, material. In  $\gamma$  the mother of Judas is called Ciborea, a name appropriately suggested by Sephora,<sup>3</sup> the wife of Moses, who was similarly set adrift by his mother; in  $R$  the woman is unnamed. In  $\gamma$  the father is called Ruben, perhaps with the idea of prophesying grimly the action of his son, since the Biblical Ruben defiled his father's couch;<sup>4</sup>  $R$  has Symon as the name,<sup>5</sup> but, though here using the Scriptures, has not indulged in an invention, for Simon was indeed, according to St. John,<sup>6</sup> the father of Judas. Symon appears as a variant name in  $VL$  but not in  $M$ .  $M$  on the other hand agrees with  $V$  in declaring his tribe to be Juda, with which one might naturally associate Judas, while  $R$  and  $L$  call it Dan, in memory perhaps of Isidore's identification of Dan with Antichrist.<sup>7</sup> This is the only point in which the nomenclature of  $R$  is more subtle than that of  $V$  and  $M$ . Very important for determining the relation between the two accounts is the incident of the casket, which in  $\gamma$  is obviously reminiscent of the discovery of the child Moses by Pharaoh's daughter;<sup>8</sup> the drifting Judas of the Reims version is accompanied by tokens in the ancient style, protected by *nescio quis deus*, and found by a fisher who suggests a familiar character in the *Rudens* of Plautus. The

<sup>1</sup> saluum  $R$ .

<sup>2</sup> n<sub>3</sub>  $R$ .

<sup>3</sup> *Exod.* ii, 21. Since one of the two Hebrew *obstetrices* mentioned in *Exod.* i, 15, was also called Sephora, the name is connected with Moses' birth as well as his marriage and thus suggests, as nearly as anything Biblical can, the mother-wife.

<sup>4</sup> *Gen.* xlix, 4 (cf. xxxv, 22).

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 310, l. 35.

<sup>6</sup> vi, 72: Iudam Simonis Iscariotem.

<sup>7</sup> *Allegoriae quaedam scripturae sacrae*, 42 (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXXIII, 107).

<sup>8</sup>  $VL$  agree further with the Vulgate (*Exod.* ii, 3) in calling the casket  *fiscella* ; in  $\mu$  as in  $R$  it is *cistella*.



fisher and his wife live at Buthrotum<sup>1</sup> in Epirus, where Judas takes part in agonistic sports such as Aeneas had celebrated there before him.<sup>2</sup> There are touches of Livy in the descriptions,<sup>3</sup> while the lament of Judas is Ovidian in flavor and has in one of its sentences a dactylic cadence.<sup>4</sup> The late date of the manuscript and the mention of Dan as the tribe of Judas's father make it not impossible that this version, despite its extraordinary divergences, depended on *L*. As will shortly appear, however, it is more probable that the starting-point is a version still more simple than  $\gamma$ .

I now give in full a form of the story clearly earlier than any thus far considered. It is found in a Paris manuscript, 14489 (= *P*), s. XII, formerly of St. Victor. The codex contains various theological works, among them the *Opuscula Sacra* of Boethius. The latter, written in a hand of the late twelfth century, end at the top of fol. 109<sup>v</sup>. The rest of the page and 110<sup>r</sup> were originally left blank. The life of Judas, which immediately follows the Boethius on fol. 109<sup>v</sup>, is thus a later addition, though the script, I believe, is still of the twelfth century.

Nihil occultum quod non reveletur et opertum quod non sciatur. Qui a malo progreditur et in malo perseverat, non corona sed meriti pena donatur. De Iuda proditore nobis vita innectitur, qui malus in ortu, peior in vita, pessimus extitit in fine. Pater eius itaque quantum apud homines cluebat, divitiis affluens et honorabilis omnibus vicinis suis habebatur. Hic nocte quadam visionem vidit se filium habere qui mortem ei intentaret; iam enim uxor eius pregnans erat. De quo praestigium hoc futurum erat. Nato autem infante pater in eo omen tale consideravit et expavit, tibias illius transfixit atque inter frutecta longius ab urbe Iherusalem collocavit. Cuius vagitum et voces ploratus quidam pastorum intelligentes a loco dimoverunt eum et in Scarioth deferentes a quadam muliere alere fecerunt. Qui nutritus et in robur virile deductus regi iunctus est Herodi atque inter servos eius mixtus cum omni probitate regi ceterisque militibus serviebat. Et tamen, ut moris est servorum, que habere poterat prodige distribuebat et quam plurima sibi furtive vendicabat. Accidit autem quodam tempore ut Herodes sollempne convivium cum primoribus apud Ierosolimam haberet et inter multa ferculorum genera nascentia pomorum rex quereret. Cuius voluntatem Iudas festinavit implere et ad virgultum sui patris descendens, quem tamen suum patrem ignorabat, vi evelebat et eradicabat arborum fructus. Vir vero cuius haec erant animo motus et amaritudine plenus erexit se adversus hominem perversum, sed Iudas invalescens<sup>5</sup> illum percussit et occidit. Commovetur adversus eum tota civitas et

<sup>1</sup> Or Buthrotus.

<sup>2</sup> Virgil, *Aen.* iii, 278-293.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. especially p. 311, l. 5, "paterno sanguine respersus," and Livy i, 48, 7 (of Tullia), "fertur partem sanguinis ac caedis paternae . . . respersa . . . tulisse."

<sup>4</sup> P. 311, l. 29, "adhuc latuisse sub undis."

<sup>5</sup> i(n)nalescens *P*.

insurgentes in eum morti tradere disposuerunt. Iudas autem ad presidium Herodis fugiens mortis periculum evasit. Herodes et ipse turbatus egit quemadmodum ille ab amicis interfecti pacem obtineret, ne re unius mali<sup>1</sup> in aliud maius periculum declinaret. Accepto igitur consilio Herodes uxorem interfecti Iude copulavit, ipso et omnibus ignorantibus quod mater eiusdem esset. Die vero quadam accidit ut Iudas coram matre et uxore nudus apparet et videns illa stigmata plagarum in tibiis, suspicata est filium suum esse, quem olim inter fructa proiectum dimiserat. Unde querit ab eo, quis pater eius extiterat, vel que mater eius, qui parentes, et unde vel ex qua provincia ortus vel a quibus fuerit nutritus. Ille se nescire profitetur sed hoc tantum a sua nutrice audisse quia inter fructa illo in loco iactus fuisset et a pastoribus repperitus in Scarioth delatus ibique nutritus sit. Et cum ad robur virile pervenisset Herodis se inter<sup>2</sup> servientes se miscuisse et suo servicio multis placuisse. His auditis illa corrui et proclamans se miseram dicebat, "Infelix mei visio mariti que a filio completa est et insuper in me malignitatis et peccati redundat insania. Dies meae pereat nativitatis et caligo tenebrarum irruat in eum." Iudas autem tantam a se factam intelligens nequiciam doluit et pro tanto scelere penitens a matre recessit. At tunc temporis Iesus illis habitabat in locis, qui predicando et subveniundo multis corpora sanabat et mentes a diversis peccatis revocabat; gravatos peccatis ad se venientes suscipiebat et more pastoris oves ore lupino raptas ab eorum incursu abstraebat. Cuius virtutem atque pietatem Iudas agnoscens ad eum se contulit et ut sui miseretur rogavit. Assensit Iesus voluntati ipsius, secum quoque ac inter suos discipulos eum esse passus est. Cui etiam que habebat committebat<sup>3</sup> ut sibi ceterisque provideret necessaria. Ille vero sacculos habebat et que poterat furabatur. Et cuius intentionis ipse Iudas esset, in fine apparuit, quia magistrum precio vendidit et Iudeis tradidit. Qui tandem se ipsum suspendit et miserabili morte vitam finivit. Tu autem Domine miserere nostri. Qui perseveraverit usque in finem in bonum, hic salvus erit.

This is certainly the finest of all the versions, with a pathos direct and touching, not far removed from tragedy. The Judas of the mysteries is a comic character, and in the later forms of the *vita* he is well on the road to that end, a subject for as many flaunts and fisticuffs as the reader can bestow. But the Judas in this little story awakens our compassion and the recognition of our common human frailty. "He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved."

The version is also the simplest and hence presumably the earliest. No Biblical names are appropriated for the parents of Judas, and, a point of especial significance, the part of Pilate is here taken by Herod. The appearance of

<sup>1</sup> da(m)pni ss. m. 1 P.

<sup>2</sup> inter om. P. Could the original have had the Insular abbreviation (X) for *inter*? This could easily be mistaken for a deleted *i*.

<sup>3</sup> c(on)mitebat P.

Pilate in the story of Judas occurred at some time after the legend of Pilate had been well developed and it became appropriate to associate those two "wicked birds"<sup>1</sup> as closely as possible. The manner of the exposure of the infant Judas, who is not set adrift but abandoned in the thickets, brings this version nearer than the others are to the story of Œdipus. In two particulars it is connected with *R*, first by the quotation of *Nihil occultum quod non revelatur* and, second, by the motive attributed to the ruler for marrying to Judas the wife of the man he had killed. In  $\gamma$  the act is a reward of merit for Judas, a hideous device appropriate enough for Pilate. In *P* and *R* the ruler, fearing the mob of irate citizens, follows the advice of his council and makes amends, considerably if somewhat naïvely, by providing the widow with a new husband in the person of the murderer of her late one. These important coincidences between *P* and *R* make it probable that the latter version is based on early material rather than on *L*.

Though we must proceed cautiously on this uncertain ground, I venture to suggest a tentative clue for the further investigation of both the Latin and the vernacular<sup>2</sup> lives of Judas in the Middle Ages. From the versions above presented, we may infer the existence as early as the twelfth century, if not before, of a simple *Vita Iudae* based in the main on the story of Œdipus or on one of the similar tales of an unfortunate who kills his father and marries his mother. Judas is here associated with Herod as his partner in vice. This version ( $\alpha$ ), represented by *P*, was then changed by the addition of certain Biblical names, the substitution of Pilate for Herod, and the new account of the exposure of the infant. To this revised form of the legend ( $\beta$ ) some lover of the old authors gave an extraordinarily pagan coloring, as we see in *R*. As the Reims manuscript contains, besides *exempla moralia*, Æsopic tales and Sibylline prophecies, a very extensive collection of the poems of Hildebert, Marbod, and Bernard Sylvester, we may possibly look for the source of this paganized story in the circle of these humanists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The author seems to regard Buthrotum with a special animosity,<sup>3</sup> which, if a Frenchman, he may have acquired as a result of the Crusades. As Robert Guiscard took possession of Buthrotum (Butrinto) in 1084,<sup>4</sup> his troops may have published an unpleasant report of the city upon their return. From  $\beta$  descended a version ( $\gamma$ ) which differed from  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  in inventing a new motive for the marriage of Judas to his mother, in making more prominent

<sup>1</sup> A phrase of Furnivall's in his *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints, with those of the Wicked Birds Pilate and Judas*, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Very important seems the Provençal version mentioned by Constans, *La Légende d'Œdipe*, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 309, l. 29.

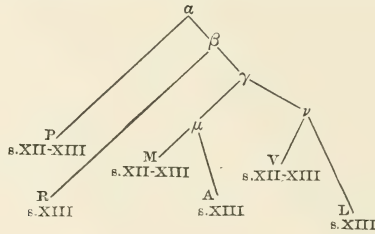
<sup>4</sup> On Buthrotum see Oberhummer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie der Altertumswissenschaft*, III, i, 1084, and Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Tafel No. 84 (for the years 1096-1204). Andropolis lies not far to the north of Buthrotum.



the likeness of the exposure of the child to that of Moses, and in adding still more Biblical names. There is no need to assume with Gaston Paris<sup>1</sup> that those Oriental details are the work of a converted Jew; Christians also were familiar with the Old Testament in those days. From  $\gamma$  descended, with their various enlargements,  $\mu$  and the ancestor of *VZ* ( $=\nu$ ), still in the twelfth century, and  $\nu$  was only slightly modified by Jacopo da Voragine for his *Golden Legend*.<sup>2</sup> Various amplifications of *L* were made,<sup>3</sup> and finally the story was told in verse;<sup>4</sup> one rendering starts pompously with a promise of things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme,<sup>5</sup> and though never rising to the epic height which its author sought, at least achieves the respectable length of seven hundred and twenty verses.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Critique*, IV, 414.

<sup>2</sup> The above relations may be illustrated by the following diagram:



<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g., the Latin versions in Munich, Lat. 12262, s. XV, fol. 206 ff.; British Museum 8 E XVII, s. XV, fol. 125 ff.; *ibid.* 9 A XIV, s. XV, fol. 255 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See G. Schepss, "Judas Ischarioth in lateinischen Versen," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, XXVII (1880), 114.

<sup>5</sup> Munich, Lat. 237, an. 1460, fol. 67<sup>v</sup> begins: Dicta vetusta patrum iam deseruere theatrum | Et nova succedunt que prisca poemata ledunt. | Ergo novis quedam placet ut nova versibus edam | Que discant multi novitatis stemate culti.

## AN EPIC *TENZONE* AND A PARALLEL

MURRAY ANTHONY POTTER

The Baloches, as well as other Asiatic peoples, possess a considerable amount of epic literature, a part of which was published in 1907, with translations and an introduction by Mr. M. Longworth Dames, under the title of *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*.<sup>1</sup> One of its important characteristics has been indicated by its editor in the introduction to the volume: "There is a much stronger personal element than is usual in ballad poetry."<sup>2</sup> Certain "poems are full of satire and invective; they are believed to be the actual utterances of the celebrated leaders whose names they bear, and I can assign no good reason for refusing credence to this belief."<sup>3</sup> . . . These poems form an important part of what may be called the heroic or epic poetry, equally with the purely narrative ballads, and the long speeches and invectives put into the mouths of the heroes of the *Iliad* and other primitive epics must have been derived from originals of this description. In considering poetry intended for recitation to an audience already familiar with the events of the story, it must be remembered that the verses containing the actual words addressed by a hero warrior to his adversaries are quite as important as the purely narrative poems."<sup>4</sup>

The Baloches, then, like other lovers of narrative, are not fretted when its march is halted by the speeches of the chief actors. Rather do these speeches afford a welcome pause, or goad a flagging attention. The historians of antiquity did not hesitate to place in the mouths of famous men whose deeds they were recording, words or harangues never uttered, but which they themselves invented. And their example has been followed down to fairly recent times by those who have loved eloquence as well as facts.

If a Livy or a Sallust permits himself such a liberty, why not the epic poet, who is frequently regarded as an historian, and who knows, no one better, the effect produced on an audience by the spoken word? He will introduce, then, in his poems, speeches; and in the case of the Kara-Kirghiz epic the speeches at times almost crowd out the narrative.<sup>5</sup> Eloquence here is art for art's sake and its only justification.

<sup>1</sup> The following "bibliographical note" is printed on the page preceding the title-page: "Of this work 1000 copies are printed, 700 of which are issued with the title-page of the Folk-Lore Society, and 300 with the title-page of the Royal Asiatic Society."

<sup>2</sup> Dames, *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, p. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xix.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xx.

<sup>5</sup> W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der nördlichen türkischen Stämme*, V. Theil: *Der Dialect der Kara-Kirgisen*, St. Petersburg, 1885.

But in the songs referred to by Mr. Dames there is something more than a mere display of rhetoric. "Certain poems are full of satire and invective." It is their polemic character which makes them so truly epic and therefore so important. It would be incorrect to assume that only combats with weapons, or parts of the body used as weapons, have been regarded as worthy of epic treatment. The definition of weapon must be enlarged sufficiently to include any means employed to inflict an injury, not merely upon the body, but upon the nervous system as well; magic,<sup>1</sup> grimaces, words printed, written, or spoken, and even silence.

Than silence there is nothing more terrible. The unfortunate victim is in a sorrier plight than if he had been wounded or slain. The laws of nature have been circumvented, for the hero who has been deliberately passed over in silence by poet or chronicler ceases to exist, joins the ranks of brave men who lived before Agamemnon and lacked a Homer.

But frightful, too, is the immortality of shame meted out to the victims of the *male chançon*. It is difficult to conceive of anything more tragic than the dismal procession in the French epic and the Italian romances of chivalry which is headed by Ganelon followed by his kinsmen infected with the same taint. Epic poet and epic hero have always fully realized the potency of the spoken word. In the Balochi epic the poet is apparently often the hero, enters into the fight, and defends as well as attacks. The result is a word-combat.

The word-combat appears in more than one form. Sometimes it is incidental in a narrative, sometimes it is independent of any context except that which the reciter assumes the audience to have in mind. Of the examples in the epic,<sup>2</sup> none is more apposite than the scene between Achilles and Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, which would have ended with blows, had not Pallas Athene intervened. "Cease from strife, and let not thine hand draw the sword; yet with words indeed revile him, even as it shall come to pass. . . ." "Then Peleus' son spake again with bitter words to Atreus' son, and in no wise ceased from anger: 'Thou heavy with wine, thou with the face of dog and heart of deer, never didst thou take courage to arm for battle among thy folk or to lay ambush with the princes of the Achaians; that to thee were even as death.' " <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One form of magic closely connected with the present subject is discussed in "Satirists and Enchanters in Early Irish Literature" by Fred Norris Robinson, in *Studies in the History of Religions* presented to Crawford Howell Toy, pp. 95-130, published by The Macmillan Company, New York, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> There are many. As Hermann Jantzen says in his *Geschichte des deutschen Streitgedichtes im Mittelalter* (Breslau, 1896), p. 27, we must take into account an old custom: "dass sich kämpfende Helden vor dem ersten Waffengange erst gründlich mit kräftigen Worten reizen, wie es uns das Hildebrandslied, die Dichtungen von Walther von Aquitanien, das Nibelungenlied hinlänglich zeigen." Cf. also *Beowulf*, ll. 499 ff., *Aliscans* (edition of Wienbeck, Hartnacke and Rasch, Halle, 1903), ll. 1050-1065, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* i, ll. 210-211 and 223-228; translated by Leaf, Lang, and Myers.



Returning to the Balochī songs, Dames says that the long speeches put into the mouths of the heroes of the *Iliad* and other primitive epics must have been derived from originals of this description.<sup>1</sup> The originals which he presents are the following. First, the correspondence of Chākur and Gwaharām,<sup>2</sup> chiefs of the Rinds and Lashārīs and the two principal heroes of the Balochī *Iliad*. The songs are six in number, and are supposed to have been composed after a great battle. In the first,<sup>3</sup> Gwaharām sings of the day on which the Rind Mīr-Hān was slain. He is defiant and exultant, for he has won. "Let the Rinds and the Dombkis come together; let the Bhanjars and Jatois repeat their gibes!" They did and have been defeated. Chākur has fled hence by night, and is now a herdsman. In the second part of the first,<sup>4</sup> Gwaharām again speaks. Narrative, rhapsody, and taunts alternate in more striking fashion, but narrative prevails. "Let me sleep," he cries, "in the good lands of the Baloches; green are the streams at the mouth of the Mullāh. . . . What ailed you, thick beards? You possessed wealthy Bingopur, and the wharfs and markets of lofty Chetarvo. . . . I make a petition to the Creator; may the Lord of mercy be exalted; he gives a hundred and the hope of a thousand!" A long narrative passage follows, and the poem ends with a prophetic gab. "Rēhān and Hasan will churn butter, Khohū will carry buttermilk for the Mīr, and the Elephant 'Alī, that mighty man, will no longer delight the watches in the assembly with his long hair, the delight of women."<sup>5</sup>

Chākur replies to Gwaharām; "For once," he acknowledges, "you were lucky in your game"; but he accuses him of failing to mention a flight "like a stampede of wild asses." As for the present, "You hide under Omar's protection, I will fall on you as a man slain by his brethren. We are the Rinds of the swift mares; now we will be below you and now above; we will come from both sides with our attacks, and demand a share of all you have."<sup>6</sup>

Threat answers threat. Gwaharām declares: "Let the King but give me an opportunity one day, and I will bring together the Sammas and the Bhaṭṭīs and will pour the armies of Thatha on his head. I will place coals of fire on the palms of my hands and blow upon them like the south wind, and will kindle a mighty fire in the houses of the covetous men."<sup>7</sup> Again there is jeering narrative, which now casts discredit on Mīr Chākur, who is pictured in striking language as a notable example of the reverses of fortune.<sup>8</sup> Mīr Chākur in the last two poems replies defiantly, declares emphatically his intention to fight, and scoffs at the degeneracy of the times. "The youths wearing two turbans (*i.e.* of high birth) do not rise up to sport among the tents of the venerable fathers, but they feed on the flesh of fat-tailed sheep, and boil strong liquor in their stills. There is none of them who bears the sign of a ruler."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dames, p. xx.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20-25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>4</sup> Or it might be called the second. Dames numbers this 1 (b).

<sup>5</sup> Dames, pp. 21-22.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

In addition to the correspondence of Mīr Chākūr and Gwaharām, there is the impressive controversy of Mīr Chākūr and Jāro,<sup>1</sup> the poems which relate to the war of the Rinds and the Dodāīs,<sup>2</sup> and the altercation between Bivaragh and Bālāch, which consists, as usual, of narrative, taunt, and gab.<sup>3</sup>

In the Dames collection these poems are assigned to the "heroic or epic ballads dealing with the early wars and settlements of the Baloches."<sup>4</sup> Other examples are given in the "more recent ballads, mainly dealing with tribes now existing, and other tribal ballads";<sup>5</sup> and these are as interesting as those first mentioned. It would appear, then, that the Balochī warriors have always regarded words as effective weapons, to which, on one occasion at least, they have been explicitly compared. "Come, O Rēlān, bard of rejoicings, King and warrior of song, to the assembly of good men. Take the songs I have uttered and carry them to our warlike foes. Shut and open these ten words of mine, replies given head by head, arrows of which a *seer* is as heavy as a *maund*."<sup>6</sup>

The Baloches, of course, are not the only warriors who have seen fit to combat with words. John White, in *The Ancient History of the Maori, his Mythology and Traditions*,<sup>7</sup> gives a "battle of song." "The battles (quarrels) between the Nga-ti-maru, Nga-ti-tama-te-ra and Nga-ti-paoa in which man was killed have been given, but now we will give the account of the battles of song which were waged between these tribes."<sup>8</sup> Five of the songs are translated. In the last, Toko-ahu, among other things, says:

"But hearken to the thoughts within,  
Which sound like booming noisy surf.  
Thus comes the sound of slander from afar  
Across the little peaks, beyond the sea."<sup>9</sup>

and later,

"I still am thy old foe, and still my weapon  
Clashes against thine own in war, as in the days of old.  
And thou canst own I saw thee three times  
In the trench around thy fort at Weta-hara."<sup>10</sup>

"Toka-tapu," says the narrator, "composed a song in answer to this, but the old men who related this history to me could not remember it. . . . So ends the battle of song fought by those old chief-poets."<sup>11</sup>

Better known than the song-combats of the Maoris are the song-duels of the Eskimo, called a pacific people, not alone in acts but in speech. Rink, in his *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, makes the statement that "from their living together in small habitations, a *friendly way of conversing* was necessary; and all high words or quarrelling are considered as unlawful. The

<sup>1</sup> Dames, pp. 27-28.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 34-40.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 44-46.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>7</sup> Wellington, 1888. The "battles of song" are given in volume V, pp. 105-115.

<sup>8</sup> White, p. 105.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

Greenlandish language is therefore devoid of any real words for scolding. The general mode of expressing annoyance at an offence is by silence"; but he goes on to say that "the slightest harshness in speaking . . . is considered as an offence in so far that it may give rise to violent quarrels and ruptures."<sup>1</sup>

The Eskimo, then, are keenly aware of the fact that words are dangerous weapons. At the same time, just because they attached so great an importance to them, they had recourse to satirical songs "for settling all kinds of quarrels, and punishing any sort of crime or breach of public order or custom, with the exception of those which could only be expiated by death, in the shape of the blood revenge."<sup>2</sup> The Eskimo have made of word-combats an institution. As much pomp and circumstance accompanies these duels as any combat on the battle field, or in a tournament. "The songs are always composed by the singer himself."<sup>3</sup> Quoting Rink again: "He invited his opponent to meet him, announcing the time and the place where he would sing against him. Generally, and always in cases of importance, both sides had their assistants, who, having prepared themselves for this task, could act their parts if their principals happened to be exhausted."<sup>4</sup> Rink gives examples of these songs. There is a "Nith-Song of Kukook, who was a bad hunter," which is unaccompanied by an answer.<sup>5</sup>

Sometimes it was no easy matter to reply. In his work on Danish Greenland, Rink mentions a certain Ajakutak who was reproached for neglecting kayak-hunting: "'O! behold this Ajakutak, he will not do like me, . . .'" At that time this Ajakutak could make no answer, but, anxious to revenge himself he made enquiry about the life and behaviour of his adversary, and . . . at the next meeting he gave a song upbraiding him with all his bad habits, and ending: 'To be sure Ajakutak will not be like thee.'<sup>6</sup>

In the *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* Rink quotes a "Mutual Nith-Song between Savdladt and Pulangitsissok."<sup>7</sup> He says that the composition of these songs was sometimes exhausting. Perhaps, after all, these song-duels are seriously epic. In an article which appeared in the *Boston Herald*

<sup>1</sup> Henry Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, Edinburgh, 1875, p. 32.    <sup>2</sup> Rink, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 602.

<sup>4</sup> Rink, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>6</sup> Rink, *Danish Greenland*, p. 276.

<sup>7</sup> Rink, *Tales and Traditions*, pp. 67-68. It will be noticed, that these songs are called nith-songs, and the writer to the *Boston Herald* quotes James Mooney's article on the Eskimo in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*: "A peculiar institution among the central and eastern tribes is that of the so-called 'nith-song' (Norse, *nith*, contention), or duel of satire." E. W. Nelson, in his paper on "The Eskimo about Bering Strait" (*Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part I, 1896-1897, p. 347), says that "songs are composed . . . for ridiculing one another, — these latter are similar to the *nith* songs of Greenland and are said to have been commonly used before white men came to Alaska." One of the sources for information about the Norse nith-song is Eugen Mogk's article on *Norwegisch-isländische Literatur* in Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, II, 660, 673, 681, 703, 720, and 750. On the last-mentioned page, speaking of the *Bjarnarsaga Hildelakappa*, he says: "The quarrels of the rivals are enlivened by *nith* songs for which this saga is the most important source."



April 21, 1912, with the headline "Eskimo dies in Talking Duel," the statement is made that "an explorer recently returned from Greenland," on drawing near an ice hut, "heard a most peculiar rabble of voices. . . . In the centre of a small cleared space stood two of the Eskimos dancing wildly about, and gesticulating in a frantic manner. . . . The disputants were not preparing for fight, but were engaged in a duel of satire and mutual abuse that would have relegated the most mealy-mouthed legislator in Washington to the deepest recesses of mortification. . . . The argument waxed sterner — one of the disputants, frothing at the mouth, suddenly reeled towards his opponent, threw up his hands, and fell face downward on the snow. When the others reached him, he was dead. He had died from his efforts and his opponent was proclaimed victor."

For a parallel the writer has called upon "the legislator in Washington." This may seem a far cry, but readers may remember a scene not dissimilar in Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi*, the word-combat of "Sudden Death and General Desolation," and the "Pet Child of Calamity." The former "jumped up in the air three times, and cracked his heels together every time . . . and flung his hat down, which was all over ribbons, and says, 'You lay thar tell his sufferin's is over.' Then . . . he shouted out 'Whoo-oo! I'm the original . . . corpse-maker from the wilds of Arkansaw! . . . I split the everlasting rocks with my glance, and I squench the thunder when I speak! . . . Stand back and give me room according to my strength! . . . Blood's my natural drink, and the wails of the dying is music to my ear! Cast your eye on me, gentlemen! and lay low and hold your breath, for I'm 'bout to turn myself loose!'" The "Pet Child of Calamity," not to be outdone, shouts: "Whoo-oo! bow your neck and spread, for the kingdom of sorrow's a-coming! Hold me down to the earth, for I feel my powers a-working! I'm a child of sin, *don't* let me get a start! Smoked glass, here, for all! Don't attempt to look at me with the naked eye, gentlemen!"

Here is a genuine combat of words, for the only one who deals blows is "a little black-whiskered chap," who, tried beyond endurance by their altercation, "skipped up . . . jerked them this way and that, booted them around, knocked them sprawling faster than they could get up. Why, it warn't two minutes till they begged like dogs — and how the other lot did yell, and laugh and clap their hands all the way through and shout, 'Sail in, Corpse-Maker!' 'Hi! at him again, Child of Calamity!' 'Bully for you, little Davy!'" Ultimately the disputants "shook hands with each other, very solemn, and said they had always respected each other and was willing to let bygones be bygones."<sup>1</sup>

Is this extraordinary scene pure invention on the part of Mark Twain, and so of no importance whatever in this connection? Long before *Life on the*

<sup>1</sup> Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, the authorized uniform edition, 1906, pp. 32-34.



*Mississippi* was written, — that is, in 1810, — Christian Schultz, Jr., Esq., published his *Travels on an Inland Voyage through the States of New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee; and through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and New-Orleans*. One evening he walked down to the levee at Natchez to give some directions to his boatmen. "In passing two boats next to mine, I heard some very warm words; which, my men informed me, proceeded from some drunken sailors who had had a dispute respecting a *Choctaw Lady*. Although I might fill half a dozen pages with the curious slang made use of on this occasion, yet I prefer selecting a few of the most brilliant expressions by way of sample. One said, 'I am a man; I am a horse; I am a team; I can whip any man *in all Kentucky*, by G-d.' The other replied, 'I am an alligator; half man, half horse; I can whip any *on the Mississippi*, by G-d.' The first one again: 'I am a man, have the best horse, best dog, best gun, and handsomest wife *in all Kentucky*, by G-d.' The other, 'I am a Mississippi snapping turtle; have bear's claws, alligator's teeth, and the devil's tail; can whip *any man*, by G-d.' This was too much for the first, and at it they went like two bulls, and continued for half an hour, when the alligator was fairly vanquished by the horse."<sup>2</sup>

These word-combats, Balochī, Greek, Maori, or Eskimo, are only a few examples of a vast, multiform genre, whose existence must, of necessity, be conterminous with that of man. Not merely are they at home in the epic; they disturb the peace of the Arcadia of the pastoral. They are loved by the militant churchman as well as by a Demosthenes, a Cicero, or any statesman or politician of to-day. The scholar, too, is not always a man of peace, and the din raised by the Humanists of the Renaissance has not utterly died away. In whatever direction you start, parallels swarm about you. Particularly important in this connection are some which come from Provence and Italy.

It is impossible to be much interested in a controversy or a combat unless you know something about those who take part in it. In the Balochī literature, poet and combatant are apparently one and the same person. What is more, there is a sharp distinction between the poet and the minstrel. The latter is simply a medium of publication. It is impossible not to be reminded of the literary activity in Provence at the close of the Middle Ages. In Provence we have the troubadour and the jongleur, but there is no insurmountable barrier separating the two classes.

Provençal literature is famous for its love lyric. At the same time, by force of circumstance, as well as by inclination, the Provençal was a fighter, and this aspect of his character finds striking expression in his verse.

Among the different genres cultivated by the poets, is one called the *tenso*. According to the definition in a Provençal poetics, it is a "contrastz o debatz,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dames, p. 45, where Bālāch, in a tenzone, says of himself, "Bālāch is a tiger, a hail-storm."

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, II, 145-146.

en lo qual cascus mante e razona alcun dig o alcun fag.”<sup>1</sup> A third party passes judgment.<sup>2</sup> This definition is disappointing. More pertinent is the last sentence of the description of another genre, the *sirventes*: “Deu tractar de reprehensio, o de maldig general per castiar los fols e los malvatz, o pot tractar, qui’s vol, del fag d’alquna guerra.”<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, as Stimming has pointed out, this definition lacks completeness, and he has called attention to the relationship between the *tenso* and the *sirventes* and *cobla*.<sup>4</sup>

The *tenso*, then, is sometimes more than a dispassionate argument. Sometimes, starting with the best intentions in the world, the debaters forget themselves, and indulge in personalities which frequently wound and give rise to a heated controversy, or to what sounds uncommonly like one. At other times the tone is bitter and insulting from the beginning. A good example of the hostile *tenso* is the one between Albert, marques de Malaspina, and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, in the course of which Raimbaut says:

“Albert marques, enoi e vilania  
sabetz ben dir e mieils la sabetz far,  
e tot engan e tota fellonia  
e malvastat pot hom en vos trobar, . . .”<sup>5</sup>

This is an excellent example of a *tenso* which is a song duel.<sup>6</sup> But with the *tenso* we link the *sirventes*, and no one thinks of the *sirventes* without recalling a Provençal poet who was a past master in this kind of warfare, Bertran de Born.

The *tenso*, or verse-duel, flourished even more vigorously in Italy, whose literature shows so markedly Provençal influence. Throughout the Renaissance, poets belabored each other with verse invective, generally in sonnet form. Two only need be mentioned here, Dante and Petrarch. Dante was not the first to contribute to the *tenso*. *Tenzoni*, as they are called in Italy, had already been composed, which resembled the more temperate Provençal

<sup>1</sup> *Las Leys d’amors*. See Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Among the Eskimo the audience present at the song-duel acts as judge. Rink, *Tales and Traditions*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Appel, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> Stimming, “Provenzalische Litteratur,” in Gröber’s *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, ii, 24–25. For the polemic *tenso* see remarks made by Diez, *Die Poesie der Troubadours*, 2d edition, 1883, p. 164; Zenker, *Die provenzalische Tenzone*, 1888, p. 10; Fiset, “Das altfranzösische Jeu-Parti,” *Romanische Forschungen*, XIX, 1905–1906, p. 408; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Appel, p. 128. The *tenso* begins with the words,

“Ara’m digatz, Rambaut, si vos agrada, . . .”

<sup>6</sup> Some of the parodies of these song-duels are droll. Cf. the one given by Suchier in his *Denkmäler provenzalischer Literatur und Sprache* (Halle, 1883), p. 336, “Tenzzone zwischen Rostang und dem Herrgott,” beginning, “Bel segner deus, s’ieu vos soi enojos.” A milder one with an occasional strong expression, Suchier, pp. 326–328. Cf., too, a jocose one by Percivalle Doria and Filippo de Valenza in *Romania*, XL, 1911, pp. 454 ff. “Nuovi versi provenzali di Percivalle Doria.”

ones. Among the contributors were Pier della Vigna, Giacomo da Lentino, and Fra Guittone. When we come to Dante, we find him attacked bitterly on more than one occasion by Cecco Angiolieri, but in the matter of *tenzoni*, he is especially associated with Forese Donati. A reader may regard the correspondence between these two men only as examples of the rough, but good-natured, verbal sparring in which friends often indulge. Its resemblance, however, to that of Mīr Chākūr and Gwaharām is striking.

Striking, too, is the parallel in the case of Petrarch. No man in the fourteenth century seems to have had more friends than he, friends who were almost worshippers. But Petrarch was too human to pose forever on a pedestal before the eyes of his admirers, especially when those eyes, though loyal, were as keen to detect weakness as to appreciate strength. Great, then, was the consternation and wrath of a number of Florentines when their idol stepped down rather heavily from his pedestal and accepted the hospitality of the Visconti. The indignation found expression in loud expostulations, to which Boccaccio contributed. Even now the need is felt of defending Petrarch's action. Among his most recent apologists is Novati, who, speaking of the anger of the poet's contemporaries, says: "Not less sharp, at least in intention, than the 'satira' of the good Giovanni, must have been the philippics of Zanobi da Strada, Giovanni d'Arezzo, Forese Donati, and Lapo da Castiglionchio. Gano da Colle wrote instead a sonnet to dissuade Petrarch from his sinister decision, and had the poem sung to him in Milan by a jongleur named Malizia."<sup>1</sup>

This act of Gano da Colle seems an anachronism. It belongs to Provence of the twelfth century rather than to Italy of the fourteenth, when the relations between the poets and their audiences resembled rather those between the same two classes at the present day. As a matter of fact, in the fourteenth century in Italy, publication was largely oral, and we still have the jongleur-publisher and the poet-troubadour. The best evidence comes from Petrarch himself. In a letter to Boccaccio, he speaks of men who live by words of others, and who have increased greatly in numbers. Sterile themselves, they pester unsuccessful authors, whose poems they recite before kings and nobles, and thus fill their purses.<sup>2</sup> To this class of men belonged Malizia, whom Gano called upon to recite his sonnet in the presence of Petrarch.

Petrarch did not reply in a sonnet. In its stead, he wrote a Latin letter which Fracassetti has published.<sup>3</sup> "Malicia salutabis Ganum. Eius vulgare carmen responso non egere idem ipse qui scripsit fateretur, si videre omnia

<sup>1</sup> F. Novati, "Il Petrarca ed i Visconti," in *F. Petrarca e la Lombardia*, 1904, p. 26. The article was printed also in the *Rivista d' Italia*, July, 1904. The same passage, with a slight change in the wording, is on pp. 144-145.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistolae de rebus senilibus*, Book V, letter 3. In the Basle edition of the complete works, 1554, the passage is printed on p. 877.

<sup>3</sup> *Epistolae de rebus familiaribus et variis*, III, 515.



penitus posset," etc. He asks Malizia to repeat these words to Gano: "Super his secundum tuam illam praerapidam eloquentiam disputabis ut tibi videtur viva voce, sed non aspera ut solitus es: suaviter, oro te, sine clamore . . . et sine accentibus horrificis, denique non barbarice, quaeso, sed italice." Here, then, is rather an original *tenzone*-correspondence.<sup>1</sup> Gano da Colle reproves Petrarch in the orthodox sonnet form; but, instead of sending the poem by ordinary channels, he has it memorized and repeated before Petrarch's face. It is one thing to receive an insulting written communication and read it in the privacy of your room, composing your countenance before you issue forth; it is quite another to look absolutely indifferent while stinging words of censure are repeated by a skilled dramatic reciter.<sup>2</sup> And the smarting sense of injury is increased by the thought that this same messenger will publish broadcast, as well as render to his master an account, probably exaggerated, of your confusion during chastisement.

Petrarch apparently was irritated. His answer to Gano is rather contemptuous, but it is Malizia who has to bear the brunt of his anger. Gano is far away — Malizia is present, and has delivered an offensive poem in an offensive manner. He must be punished, and is.

Petrarch is not the only man who has resented being sung at in this fashion. A remarkable parallel is to be found in the exchange of invectives between Mīr Chākūr and Gwaharām. To the latter's abuse, Mīr Chākūr replies: "You injure yourself with that enmity. . . . You took flight from the fort of Dāb, and drew breath at the mouth of the Mullāh, yet I never made such a mock of you, nor sent a bard to taunt you, reciting a song with twanging of strings in front of your noble face."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that this letter is little more than a Latin translation or adaptation of a vernacular *tenzone*.

<sup>2</sup> Coluccio Salutati, censuring a friend for his lack of patriotism, says, "Vellem me coram videres ut adderetur mordaci epistole etiam vultus asperitas et indignantis signa pudibundus aspiceres." The letter from which this passage is taken is the tenth in Novati's edition of the *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, I, 26, and it is addressed to Ser Andrea di ser Conte. Gano evidently more nearly attained this wish than Coluccio.

<sup>3</sup> Dames, pp. 22-23.

# SIDNEY'S *ARCADIA* AS AN EXAMPLE OF ELIZABETHAN ALLEGORY

EDWIN A. GREENLAW

By Sidney and his contemporaries, *Arcadia* was regarded as an heroic poem. Fraunce lists it with the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Æneid*; <sup>1</sup> Harington cites it in his defense of the structure of *Orlando Furioso*; <sup>2</sup> Harvey says that if Homer be not at hand, *Arcadia* will do as well to supply examples of the perfect hero: "You may read his furious *Iliads* and cunning *Odysseys* in the brave adventures of Pyrocles and Musidorus, where Pyrocles playeth the doughty fighter like Hector or Achilles, Musidorus the valiant Captaine, like Pandarus or Diomedes; both the famous errant knightes, like Aeneas or Ulysses." <sup>3</sup> And Meres, after a reference to the *Cyropaedia* as being an absolute heroical poem, this reference, by the way, being lifted bodily from Sidney's *Defense*, says that Sidney "writ his immortal poem, The Countess of Pembrokes *Arcadia*, in Prose, and yet our rarest Poet." <sup>4</sup> As to Sidney's own conception of heroic poetry, it is sufficient to note his reference to Orlando, Cyrus, and Aeneas as types of excellence presented by poets; his theory that it is not riming or versing that maketh a poet; his conception of the *Cyropaedia* as giving the "portraiture of a just empire"; his test of a poet by his power of "feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching"; and the eloquent praise of heroic poetry as the highest of "kinds," even as the poet surpasses, in his power to teach, both historian and philosopher. <sup>5</sup>

This conception of *Arcadia* as being an heroic poem, together with the theories set down by Sidney in his *Defense*, makes it reasonable to infer that the book was thought to conform to the ideas of the time as to the province of this "kind." The Puritan attack on poetry intensified the view, inherited by the Renaissance from the mediæval period, that the great epics should be regarded as allegories. But there is a difference between the interpretation of Virgil given, for example, by Alberti in 1468, and the conception held in the time of Tasso and Spenser. The earlier view was still mediæval: the *Æneid* was an allegory of Platonism and Christianity, which were held to be identical. <sup>6</sup> Of the sixteenth-century interpretations, that of Douglas, as

<sup>1</sup> *Arcadian Rhetorike*, 1588.

<sup>2</sup> *Preface*, 1591.

<sup>3</sup> *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593.

<sup>4</sup> *Palladis Tamia*, 1598.

<sup>5</sup> *Defense*, ed. Cook, pp. 8, 11, 17, 30, 31.

<sup>6</sup> Villari, *Machiavelli*, I, 128.

might be expected from the author of the *Palice of Honour*, is still mediæval. Stanyhurst regards Virgil as a profound philosopher, but says nothing of any theological motive.<sup>1</sup> But Sidney sees in Æneas the portrait of the "excellent man"; "a virtuous man in all fortunes"; "no philosophers precepts can sooner make you an honest man than the reading of Virgil . . . there are many mysteries contained in poetry which were of purpose written darkly."<sup>2</sup> Nash inveighs against "the fantastickall dreames of those exiled Abbie-lubbers" as contained in the metrical romances, but counts poetry "a more hidden and divine kinde of Philosophy, enwrapped in blinde Fables and darke stories, wherin the principles of more excellent Arts and morrall precepts of manners, illustrated with divers examples of other Kingdomes and Countries are contained."<sup>3</sup> This theory of allegory is more fully explained by Harington: "The ancient Poets have indeed wrapped as it were in their writings divers and sundry meanings; . . . for the litterall sence (as it were the utmost barke or ryne) they set downe in manner of an historie the acts and notable exploits; . . . then in the same fiction, as a second rine and somewhat more fine, as it were nearer to the pith and marrow, they place the Morall sence profitable for the active life of man; . . . manie times also under the selfesame words they comprehend some true understanding of naturall Philosophie, or sometimes of politike government, and now and then of divinity: and these same sences that comprehend so excellent knowledge we call the Allegorie, which Plutarch defineth to be when one thing is told, and by that another is understood."<sup>4</sup> In the passages just cited we have a view of allegory quite different from that illustrated by the *Romance of the Rose* or by *Piers Plowman*. The whole theory is excellently summed up by Spenser in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh; in which he says that he has followed "all the antique Poets historicall; first Homere, who in the Persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses hath ensampled a good governour and a vertuous man, the one in his Ilias, the other in his Odysseis; then Virgil, whose like intention was to doe in the person of Æneas; after him Ariosto comprised them both in Orlando; and lately Tasso dissevered them againe, and formed both parts in two persons, namely that part which they in Philosophy call Ethice, or vertues of a private man, coloured in his Rinaldo; the other named Politice in his Godfredo." Finally, we have, in a single sentence in the *Defense*, evidence of Sidney's acceptance of the view that an heroic poem may be written in prose, and that it should have allegorical significance: "For Xenophon, who did imitate so excellently as to give us *effigiem*

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 137.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney, *Defense*, ed. Cook, pp. 8, 17, 57. Webbe in 1586 expressed exactly the same view (*English Poetrie*, ed. Arber, p. 28).

<sup>3</sup> *Anatomic of Absurditie*, in Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 323, 328; *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, 25 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Preface*, in Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 201-202.



*justi imperii* . . . under the name of Cyrus, . . . made therein an absolute heroical poem." <sup>1</sup>

We now need evidence that Sidney regarded his *Arcadia* seriously. According to the views usually expressed in recent criticism, the book was carelessly written, during a period of enforced retirement from court, for the delectation of the writer's sister; it was a mere toy of which its author was ashamed and which he wished never to be published; it has no serious significance.<sup>2</sup> There are three objections to these views. In the first place, it was a point of honor among gentlemen writers in that age to affect contempt for their literary works;<sup>3</sup> moreover, there may have been reasons why Sidney should have hesitated to print a book capable, in those suspicious times, of direct application.<sup>4</sup> In the second place, the testimony of Fulke Greville is that of an intimate friend; it is too earnest to be disregarded; and it exactly fits the character of Sidney as revealed in his conversations and his correspondence. Greville says that it was Sidney's aim "to turn the barren Philosophy precepts into pregnant Images of life." The story, he says, had a twofold character; on the one hand, it was to represent "the growth, state, and declination of Princes"; on the other, "to limn out such exact pictures" that a courtier might know in all ways how to conduct himself toward his Prince as well as in "all other moodes of private fortunes or misfortunes." We are to see, "in the scope of these dead images . . . that when Sovereign Princes, to play with their own visions, will put off publique action, which is the splendour of Majestie, and unactively charge the managing of their greatest affaires upon the second-hand faith, and diligence of Deputies, . . . even then they bury themselves, and their Estates in a cloud of contempt; and under it both encourage, and shaddow the conspiracies of ambitious subalternes to their false endes, I mean the ruin of States and Princes." He speaks of

<sup>1</sup> *Defense*, ed. Cook, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> W. Stigant, in *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, pp. 110 ff., sees contemporary references in the romance, and accepts Fulke Greville's views; but recent opinion is fairly represented by M. Jusserand (*English Novel*, p. 245), who thinks Greville was exaggerating and that Sidney's main object was not politics, but love. Sir Sidney Lee (*Great Englishmen*, pp. 99, 100) is more than usually inaccurate, a specimen being his name "Synesia" for Gynecia, and his statement that she is a "lascivious old queen"!

<sup>3</sup> Of many illustrations of this point, the passage in Puttenham's (?) *Arte of English Poesie* will serve: "I know very many notable Gentlemen in the Court that have written commendably, and suppressed it agayne, or els suffred it to be publisht without their owne names to it: as if it were a discredit for a Gentleman to seeme learned and to shew himselfe amorous of any good Art" (Smith, II, 22). Compare Spenser's dedications for self-depreciation exactly similar to that contained in Sidney's letter to his sister; and note that Sidney speaks of his *Defense* as an "ink-wasting toy."

<sup>4</sup> It will be remembered that the reason for Sidney's retirement was his bold letter to the Queen about the French marriage. That this brought him into great danger is indicated by Languet's letter, October, 1580, from which it is clear that Sidney realized the risk he ran, but wrote the letter because he was ordered to do so, presumably by Leicester (Pears, *Correspondence*, p. 187).

"this extraordinary frame of his own Common-wealth," and, at the end of his biography, insists once more that Sidney's aim "was not vanishing pleasure alone, but morall Images, and Examples . . . to guide every man through the confused Labyrinth of his own desires, and Life."<sup>1</sup> Finally, the discovery of an earlier *Arcadia*, in manuscript form, by Mr. Dobell in 1907, showing as it does that Sidney was making a thorough and radical revision of his book, presents convincing proof that he regarded it seriously. Probably he was at work upon this revision even up to the time when he engaged in the expedition in which he met his death; at any rate, we have the evidence of Greville's letter to Walsingham to show that Sidney left in trust with his dearest friend his revision of his work, and "notwithstanding even that to be amended by a direction sett downe under his own hand how and why."<sup>2</sup> As to the fact recorded by Greville that, when dying, Sidney wanted his manuscript burned, it should be remembered that he had got only half through with his revision and no doubt felt the uselessness of preserving a mere fragment, while the solemnity of the hour of death made him feel the vanity of it all. In a similar mood, Chaucer wished all of his work that we value most highly to be destroyed.

My purpose thus far has been to establish, by *a priori* evidence, the grounds for assuming that *Arcadia* was regarded as an heroic poem; to show what characteristics this "kind" was supposed to have in the view of Sidney and his contemporaries; and to give reasons for thinking that the author regarded his work as a serious attempt to illustrate these theories. We now turn to the work itself for further evidence.

X In the first place, the revision changed the earlier version from a pastoral romance, with the simplicity of a direct tale, into a complicated heroic "poem." The manuscript copies begin with an account of the oracle that sent Basilius into retirement, this fundamental circumstance being fully disclosed at the outset instead of being held in suspense.<sup>3</sup> Philanax attempts to dissuade the "Duke" in direct conversation and with possession of all the facts, instead of through a letter based on imperfect knowledge. Again, the long story of the Captivity, which in the revised form is structural, not an episode, is wholly wanting in the manuscripts. And most significant of all, the epic story of Pyrocles and Musidorus, vitally important as it is to the structure of the revised form, originally appeared in eclogues.<sup>4</sup> The effect of this radical change is to make the Pyrocles-Musidorus story the main plot, not the Basilius-pastoral motive, while the whole is now thrown into the form of an heroic "poem," which follows the

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Sidney*, chaps. i, xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Arber, *English Garner*, I, 488.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar withholding of the fundamental situation, compare the revised *Arcadia* with the *Faerie Queene*, in which we should not know of the plan of the entire poem at all were it not for Spenser's explanation in his letter to Raleigh.

<sup>4</sup> For this account of the manuscripts I am indebted to Mr. Dobell's article in the *Quarterly Review*, CCXI, 76-90.

rules of Aristotle, as Sidney understood them, with considerable accuracy.<sup>1</sup> In its revised form, the first book contains the story of how the two princes arrive in the kingdom of Basilius, and how they meet and fall in love with Philoclea and Pamela, being compelled to conduct their wooing in disguise because of the strange whim that has seized the king. The epic history of Pyrocles and Musidorus is reserved for the second book, which it dominates. It is in this epic history that Sidney presents the chief exposition of his "Ethice, or vertues of a private man." The method is most artful: Musidorus tells the first group of adventures; Philoclea and Pamela follow with explanations of the stories of Erona and Plangus, and Pyrocles finishes the account. But the narration is by no means continuous, being interrupted several times by incidents that either afford comic relief or remind us of the central plot, these interruptions having the effect of interludes.

The ten adventures that make up this epic history are by no means of the haphazard type of the conventional chivalric romance. They fall into two well-defined groups, in the first of which, it seems to me, the influence of the *Cyropaedia* is plain, while the second group finds its unity in the fact that the adventures deal with various sins against love and have a well-defined allegory. The adventures of the first group open with an account of the boyhood and education of the two heroes that parallels with some closeness the account of the education of Cyrus given by Xenophon. In each case there is stress on ethical training; on the study in their sports of the elements of war, and the inuring of their bodies to hardship; this training occupying their time until, in all three cases, they are about sixteen years of age.<sup>2</sup> Then Pyrocles and Musidorus go to aid Evarchus against his enemies, this Evarchus being the uncle of Musidorus, just as Cyrus goes to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.<sup>3</sup> Though Sidney's heroes are prevented by the shipwreck from reaching Evarchus, the parallelism with Xenophon still holds.<sup>4</sup> The strategy

<sup>1</sup> Sidney was in Italy at the time when Aristotle was just coming to be regarded as a literary dictator. His letters to Languet speak of his anxiety to be able to read the works of the philosopher in the original (Pears, *Correspondence*, p. 28). In the *Defense* he shows acquaintance with Aristotelian theory, having gained his knowledge either directly or through the works of Scaliger. A convenient statement of Elizabethan understanding of these rules as applied to heroic poetry is in Harington: The fable should be grounded on history; the action should be limited in time to not more than a year; there should be nothing incredible; the "peripeteia" should be "the agnition of some unlooked-for fortune either good or bad" (Smith, II, 217). It is worthy of note that in this very connection Harington appeals to *Arcadia* as an authority, and that Sidney does indeed observe these rules in his pseudo-historical setting of Greek kingdoms, dynasties, and civil wars; in the limitation of the main action to a few months, while antecedent action is told indirectly; and in the elimination of the supernatural elements so common in the romances.

<sup>2</sup> *Cyropaedia*, I, ii; *Arcadia*, II, vii.

<sup>3</sup> *Cyropaedia*, I, v; II, i; *Arcadia*, II, vii.

<sup>4</sup> Sidney's use of pirates, shipwrecks, etc., to diversify his narrative illustrates, as is well known, his indebtedness to the Greek romances (cf. Stigant, *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, p. 110). Stigant and others have held that he also adopted from Heliodorus the device of beginning in the midst of the action. But he might equally well have got it from the theory of epic poetry held in his time. Tasso thought Virgil and Heliodorus used the same method (Dunlop, ed. Bohn, I, 30).



of Cyrus depends on his power to win various minor kings as allies, on his establishment of better conditions of government by casting out tyranny and righting wrongs, and on his habit of leaving his allies in independent control of their territories while uniting them into a federation. Illustrations are found in his treatment of the Armenians, the Hyrcanians, the wronged Gobryas, etc.<sup>1</sup> Just these methods are used by Pyrocles and Musidorus in the Phrygian episode, in which the wicked prince is overthrown, a new government established, the crown offered to Musidorus, who refuses it; in the Pontus episode, next following, in which precisely the same course is followed with the addition that an alliance between Phrygia and Pontus is arranged; and in the Leonatus-Plexirtus episode.<sup>2</sup> There are other evidences of the influence of Xenophon, such as the correspondence between the ethical and political thought in the two works; the deliberate balancing of Cyrus as a type of the good prince against Cyaxares, the type of effeminacy, envy, and tyranny, which finds a counterpart in the balance between Pyrocles and Musidorus and the various evil princes with whom they have to do; and studies of various admirable types of character. One of the most interesting of these last, from the point of view of our inquiry, is the parallel between Parthenia and Panthea; the two stories are not the same in details, but are closely similar in their beauty and pathos, while Xenophon, like Sidney, distributes his romantic story through a considerable portion of his work.<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted, finally, that Cyrus is praised for the same qualities of justice, personal bravery, and winning personality so well illustrated by the heroes of *Arcadia*.<sup>4</sup>

The second group of adventures in the epic history seems at first sight more difficult to follow, especially as Sidney finds it necessary to give the histories of such characters as Plangus, Erona, etc., as additions to the main story. This involved method is similar to that used by Spenser, and the adventures themselves are like Spenser's in type and allegorical character. After establishing the various kingdoms on firm foundations, the two heroes become knights-errant. The change is marked by a sentence that is significant of the difference between ancient and Renaissance epic: "And therefore having well established those kingdomes . . . they determined in unknowne order . . . to seeke exercises of their vertue; thinking it not so worthy to be brought to heroycall effects by fortune, or necessitie, like Ulysses and Æneas, as by ones owne choice and working."<sup>5</sup> The adventures are those of Erona and Antiphilus, of Pamphilus, of Anaxius, of Chremes, and of Andromena. Unity is gained through the fact that the misfortunes which the heroes now seek to correct proceed not from tyrannical or unjust government

<sup>1</sup> *Cyropaedia*, II, iv; IV, ii, vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Arcadia*, II, viii-x.

<sup>3</sup> The references in Xenophon are IV, vi; V, i; VI, i, iv; VII, i, iii.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the "triumph" of Cyrus (*Cyropaedia*, III, iii) and that of Sidney's heroes (*Arcadia*, II, xxiii).

<sup>5</sup> *Arcadia*, II, ix.

but from sins against love. Erona has blasphemed against Cupid, and is punished by her passion for Antiphilus; this man, as his name indicates, being guilty of sin against love in his unworthiness, in his cruelty toward Erona, and in his selfish desire to save his own life at the cost of hers.<sup>1</sup> The story of Pamphilus, the inconstant lover, is even more in the manner of Spenser.<sup>2</sup> The tone of this portion of the narrative is admirably kept in the interlude which interrupts Philoclea's story of Erona, in which Miso and her ill-favored daughter tell stories that are travesties on love.<sup>3</sup> As to the other adventures, Anaxius represents Pride; the Plangus story introduces unlawful love, which finds a climax in the story of Andromena, while Chremes is the Malbecco-Barabas-Shylock who would sacrifice wife or daughter for his property.<sup>4</sup> This allegorical treatment of sins against love is supplemented by the increasing stress on the guilty passion of Basilius and Gynecia for Zelmane-Pyrocles.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, types of love showing tenderness and beauty are supplied by Palladius and Zelmane, the woman page;<sup>6</sup> while the entire story of Pyrocles and Musidorus is an example of the exaltation of friendship between men so constantly found in Renaissance literature.<sup>7</sup>

It is now possible to summarize this exposition of the virtues of the private man. Sidney has treated his education and his wisdom in dealing with public and private wrongs. He is actuated by the desire for glory, this glory being not personal but subordinated to the duty to right wrong and rescue the oppressed.<sup>8</sup> Love is the guide of all his actions, this love being manifested in his devotion to his friend and in his efforts to stamp out all unworthy and lustful love. The relation of this to the main situation is also clear: Pyrocles and Musidorus, great as is their valor and achievement, are made subject to love, even submitting to fantastic disguises (Zelmane, Dorus) in their obedience to its high behests. This course of development may seem to us somewhat anti-climactic, but to the spirit of the Renaissance it rings absolutely true.

<sup>1</sup> *Arcadia*, II, xii, xiii.

<sup>2</sup> His character is given II, xviii; see especially his "jollie scoffing braverie," Cambridge ed., p. 268. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, xiv. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, xvii ff. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, xvi, xvii. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, xx-xxiii.

<sup>7</sup> This motive is due in part to the admiration for Cicero. Of the many illustrations, the stories of Damon and Pythias and of Titus and Gysippus, as told by Elyot (*Boke of the Governour*, xi, xii) and others, may be cited. The climax of such stories is that a friend will seek to die for his friend if need be, and this motive is several times used by Sidney. There are also resemblances between Sidney's presentation of the various types of love and Spenser's, especially in *Faerie Queene*, IV.

<sup>8</sup> This conception of honor is, of course, a subject constantly treated in Renaissance literature. Sidney begins with the idea that constitutes the theme of the *Cyropaedia*: "For to have been once brave is not sufficient for continuing to be so, unless a man constantly keep that object in view" (*Cyropaedia*, VII, v); on which compare Sidney: "High honor is not only gotten and borne by paine and danger, but must be nursed by the like, or els vanisheth as soone as it appears to the world" (*Arcadia*, II, ix). But Cyrus has in view the definite purpose of building an empire; the knightly progress of Pyrocles and Musidorus is to seek through individual exploits not only to serve others but to exercise their virtues without regard to personal ambition. It is a theory of education, and is preparatory to the work of the Prince.

We come now to Sidney's conception of the Prince. This subject is treated from different points of view. The epic of Pyrocles and Musidorus presents the ideal of his education and the character of his youth. This portion of the book also contains examples of what he should not be: not a follower of lust and pleasure, like the king of Iberia; not melancholy, suspicious, observing a "tode-like retyrednesse," like the king of Phrygia; not a creature of whim and caprice, rewarding without desert and punishing without reason, like the king of Pontus.<sup>1</sup> This last type is more fully delineated in Antiphilus, the base man suddenly exalted, who "made his kingdom a Tenniscourt, where his subjects should be the balles."<sup>2</sup> More direct methods are observable in the exposition of the Machiavellian theory of statecraft. There are three important studies of this subject, presenting Machiavellism under as many aspects. Plexirtus stands for the Machiavellian tyrant: he secured the crown by unjust means; kept it by the aid of foreign mercenaries who were established in citadels, the nests of tyrants and murderers of liberty; he disarmed his countrymen to prevent their return to the cause of his father; he blinded his father and sought the death of his brother Leonatus, following the precept that all who have any claim to the throne must be destroyed; he was crafty enough to hide his faults, thus not only deceiving his subjects but securing for his service good men like Tydeus and Telenor. Even after he was thrust from the throne, he was still able through hypocritical humility to win the confidence of Leonatus, only to seek to poison his brother and secure the throne again. When, finally, he was given a neighboring kingdom as a field in which he might practice his art with less inconvenience, he contrived the death of his faithful Tydeus and Telenor, fearing that their popularity would create faction against him.<sup>3</sup> The second example is found in the story of Clinias, who is the Iago of this Machiavellism as Plexirtus is its Richard III. Sophist, tragedian, hypocrite, he stimulates rebellion against Basilius while pretending to be innocent of wrong and indeed to have been anxious to restrain the mischief-makers. It is a picture of unmitigated baseness and cowardice.<sup>4</sup> The third portrait shows how a man of noble instincts, but more regardful of honor as Hotspur understood the term than possessing any solid qualities, swollen by a windy ambition, outwardly courteous and humane, may be a follower of Machiavelli. Amphialus follows the rules very closely: he accepts the results of his mother's plotting by holding the rightful claimants to the

<sup>1</sup> *Arcadia*, II, xix, viii, ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, xxix.

<sup>3</sup> There are even verbal resemblances that prove the source of this exposition; these I have no space to give, but any one who will take the trouble to read the passage in Sidney will at once recognize how close is the parallel. Every one of the characteristics of Plexirtus is a concrete illustration of principles taken from Machiavelli or from the hostile summary of the theory by Gentillet. That Sidney was acquainted with Machiavelli appears in his correspondence with Languet. In one case (Pears, p. 53) he shows hostility to the central doctrines of this political philosophy.

<sup>4</sup> *Arcadia*, II, xxvii ff.



throne in captivity; he foments rebellion by appeals to the malcontents; he pretends to have at heart only the safety and best interests of the kingdom. In his strategy he follows the rules also: he pays attention to his citadel, his supplies, his selection of the men who are to be nearest him, making use even of their vices. In the jousts, characterized as they are by an outward courtesy, he is the seeker for renown in order to make an impression on others, as laid down in the twenty-first chapter of *Il Principe*.

Sidney shares the feeling of his time that a wise monarchy is the true form of government. His attack on oligarchy as being the cause of the worst of tyrannies prefaces the story of the wise Evarchus: "For they having the power of kings, but not the nature of kings, used the authority as men do their farms."<sup>1</sup> Democracy is no less impossible. The story of the giants of Pontus suggests Spenser's allegorical method.<sup>2</sup> The two chief instances, however, of Sidney's distrust of the commons are found in the account of the rebellion against Basilius and in the depicting, near the end of the story, of the anarchy resulting from the supposed death of the king.<sup>3</sup> In the first of these Zelmane (Pyrocles) asks the rebels what they want, and the confused replies indicate Sidney's conviction that popular rule would bring anarchy.<sup>4</sup>

All these illustrations, however, are merely supplements to that which is the central theme in Sidney's treatment of the Prince: the contrast between Evarchus, the wise prince, and Basilius, king in name only. One of the most eloquent passages in the book is that in which the author paints, in Evarchus, his ideal monarch.<sup>5</sup> Coming to the throne when his kingdom was prostrated by tyranny, he was compelled at first to command respect by severity. After he was firmly established, "then shined forth indeede all love among them, when an awful feare, ingendred by justice, did make that love most lovely." He lived the life he wished his people to live, and lived it among them, not apart from them; he did not regard their persons and their property as instruments for his own pleasure, for "while by force he took nothing, by their love

<sup>1</sup> *Arcadia*, II, vi. On this compare Elyot, I, ii, and *The Courtier*, Book IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Arcadia*, II, ix. The giants represent a mistreated populace, useful to a wise prince, but a source of danger made greater through their ignorance.

<sup>3</sup> *Arcadia*, II, xxv, xxvi. It should be stated that I have confined my investigation to that part of *Arcadia* which is indubitably Sidney's. The second passage (ed. Baker, pp. 564 ff.), though it comes in the portion revised by the Countess of Pembroke, bears the marks of having been written by Sir Philip.

<sup>4</sup> The passage is too long to quote, but the suggestions for tariff reform, change of administration, public improvements, reduction of the high cost of living, the desire of each class for a reduction in all products other than its own, all remind one of the political campaign of 1912; while the blind confidence in a large number of statutes as necessary to the welfare of the state is preëminently American. Less pleasant because of its betrayal of Sidney's aristocratic contempt for the mob, though it is good fun, is his ridicule of the butchers, tailors, and millers, together with the account of the artist, ancestor of the modern war correspondent, who was to paint the battle of the Centaurs and rushed to the fray in search of local color. He got it.

<sup>5</sup> *Arcadia*, II, vi.

he had all."<sup>1</sup> "In summe . . . I might as easily sette downe the whole Arte of government, as to lay before your eyes the picture of his proceedings." Contrasted with this ideal is the course of life pursued by Basilius. The significance of this central idea of the book is not that Sidney wished to portray an ideal life away from the conventionality of the court, but the disasters that come upon a nation when its sovereign, fearful of fate, retires to solitude in an effort to avoid it. Kalander's account of Arcadia: the solid qualities of its people, their love for Basilius, the respect in which the nation was held by neighboring peoples, the peace that encouraged happiness and invited the Muses, all this is sharply contrasted with the evils that follow. The letter of Philanax warns the king against superstition and points out the consequences of his retirement.<sup>2</sup> The rest of the main plot shows how these prophecies came true. The king is the prey to flatterers like Clinias and base upstarts like Dametas; the rebellion of the commons is due to the practices of those who seek to profit by the king's seeming cowardice; lust rules his own life; the people are torn by factions so that Cecropia and Amphialus bring about civil war; utter chaos results, and the larger duties of Basilius to aid Evarchus in repelling hostile nations are neglected. Philanax sums up the indictment when he tells Basilius that his whole duty, as a Prince and the father of a people, is "with the eye of wisdom, the hand of fortitude, and the hart of justice to set downe all private conceits in comparison of what for the publike is profitable."<sup>3</sup> Over against this is set, in the closing pages of the story, the nobility of Evarchus, strengthening his people against expected attack; seeking to form alliances among other nations against a common enemy; going to Arcadia to try to withdraw its prince from burying himself alive; and with calm justice dooming his own son to death in his effort to bring to an end the anarchy he found there.

Thus Fulke Greville spoke with full knowledge in saying that Sidney intended more than idle amusement in his story. Corroborative evidence is found in his account of the conversations between the two friends, and in Sidney's correspondence with Languet. Sidney, we are told, complained of the "neglect" of the Queen in her failure to use the Huguenots as a means of checking the increasing Spanish aggression; it was "an omission in that excellent Ladies Government" that Austria "gained the fame of action, trained up his owne Instruments martially, and got credit with his fellow-bordering Princes," a condition that came through a "remiss looking on"; a yet greater oversight was characteristic of England and France, because "while their Princes stood at gaze, as upon things far off, they still gave way for the Popish and Spanish invisible arts and counsels to undermine the greatness and freedom both of Secular and Ecclesiastical Princes." "In this

<sup>1</sup> Compare the object lesson, on the subject of riches, taught by Cyrus to Cræsus, *Cyropædia*, VIII, ii. <sup>2</sup> *Arcadia*, II, iv. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, xix. This is just what Sidney told the Queen in 1580.

survey of forrain Nations," we are told, "he observed a fatal passiveness generally currant, by reason of strange inequalities between little humors and great fortunes in the present Princes reigning."<sup>1</sup> In this "fatal passiveness," due as it was to "little humors" of those who should be alert, we have the keynote to the interpretation of the story of Basilius. The testimony of the correspondence with Languet is not less explicit: Sidney expresses impatience with the delays and intrigues of Elizabeth and Burghley; "our princes," he says, "are enjoying too deep a slumber; nevertheless, while they indulge in this repose, I would have them beware that they fall not into that malady in which death itself goes hand in hand with its counterpart."<sup>2</sup> At the very time when he was working on his book, Sidney was in disgrace because he had addressed a letter to the Queen protesting against the proposed French marriage. It is this sloth, this foolish fear of fate, this wasting of time in amorous toying while factions were multiplying and plots against the throne grew ripe, that the Basilius story shows forth. Sidney does not hold up the pastoral life of Basilius as a model; he does not find in it an admirable withdrawal from the cares of life; it is no idyllic existence in the forest of Arden, but a criminal evading of responsibility that will bring ruin to any state.<sup>3</sup> Sidney's book, concrete application of the theories of the province of poetry laid down in his *Defense*, springing out of his interest in the problems of government, the object of his care during the ripest and most thoughtful years of his life, is less truly to be described as a pastoral romance than as an "historicall fiction," a prose counterpart of the *Faerie Queene*, having for its object "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline," and to portray "a good governour and a vertuous man." That this intention was not vaguely moral, but was intended by Sidney to apply to political conditions in his own time and to the crisis that he saw was coming upon England, I shall seek to show more fully in another place.

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, Caradoc Press Reprint, 1907, pp. 18 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pears, pp. 58-59.

<sup>3</sup> Even the oracle which led Basilius to leave his duties in order, as he thought, to avoid the loss of his kingdom, finds a counterpart in Elizabeth's superstitious regard for nativities and portents. (Cf. Aikin, *Memoirs*, II, 27.) As to the unpleasantness of that part of *Arcadia* which deals with the lust of Basilius and Gynecia, about which much has been written, we have merely a representation of what the author believes will happen when princes lead slothful lives, with perhaps a reference to immoral and unnatural conditions at Elizabeth's court. Compare Spenser's stinging castigation of these conditions in *Colin Clout*, lines 664 ff., in which he shows the pettiness and selfish hollowness of the court, and makes a similar distinction between pure love as understood by the "shepherds" and the licentious talk of the courtiers on "love, and love, and love my dear." This gallantry, filled with "lewd speeches and licentious deeds," profanes the mighty mysteries of Love. Compare also Languet's letter to Sidney, written soon after a visit to London: "To speak plainly, the habits of your court seemed to me somewhat less manly than I could have wished, and most of your noblemen appeared to me to seek for a reputation more by a kind of affected courtesy than by those virtues which are wholesome to the state" (Pears, p. 167). I have given other evidence of these conditions in my discussion of the relations between Spenser and Leicester (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, September, 1910).





## ASTROLOGY AND MAGIC IN CHAUCER'S *FRANKLIN'S TALE*

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Dorigen, pining by the Breton shore for her husband Arveragus, absent in England, has fallen into a melancholy, a "derke fantasye," which is only increased by the means she takes to relieve it; she cannot look out on the sea over which he must return to her without seeing the grisly fiendly black rocks lying out along the coast, and without thinking of the perils of shipwreck and striving to see through a thicker cloud than the Breton haze, the mystery of evil. Even though her friends try to divert her in a charming inland garden, the menacing rocks seem to be still before her eyes. When the squire Aurelius has revealed his love to her, and she playfully casts about for a gentler way of rejecting him than her first flat refusal, she promises to be his when he shall have removed every stone from the coast of Brittany. He, like many another lover in mediæval romance, attempts neither to forget nor to content her, but takes to his bed; till his more practical brother at last, after the husband's return, bethinks him how by the aid of magic Aurelius may keep the word of promise to her eye and break it to her hope. He fetches an old college mate from Orleans, through whose skill in magic the rocks vanish for a week or two. Thus by a brilliant stroke of dramatic irony the very means Dorigen has taken to rid herself forever of her unwelcome suitor is what puts her helpless in his power, and the very task which her anxious fidelity to her husband has led her to choose threatens to become the cause of her unwilling infidelity. It is only through the rare generosity of her lover, stimulated by that of her husband, that she saves her honor as a wife without prejudice to the honor of her word.

In this tale astrology and magic are more essential than in any other of Chaucer's works except the *Squire's Tale* and the *Complaint of Mars*, and are used with more evident familiarity<sup>1</sup> than anywhere else except in the latter and in the treatise on the astrolabe. Everything hinges on the achievement of a feat of which the lover himself can only say despairingly, when it is proposed,

"This were an impossible."

Since Chaucer has set the poem in pagan times, he might have ascribed the marvel to the power of a divinity, but characteristically of his later manner

<sup>1</sup> It is curious to notice how astrology and its terms were in Chaucer's mind all through the poem: cf. ll. 781, 1033, 1057-1058 (and Skeat's note), 1067-1068, 1246.

he chose a means which brought the poem closer to real life, the astrological magic which the Middle Ages almost universally credited.<sup>1</sup> A long episode precisely in the middle of the poem is formed by the project to bring the Orleans clerk to Penmark, his reception and entertainment of the travellers, their return to Brittany, his watching for a time celestially fit for his rites, and the disappearance of the rocks.

The magician<sup>2</sup> is the most subtly interesting person in the tale, the only character who is always master of the situation; a somewhat complex person, fit to refute the boast of Simkin in the *Reeve's Tale* that

"The gretteste clerkes been noght the wysest men,"

for he is no more notable for his skill in his art than for his practical sagacity and tact, his proficiency in the business side of it. He is still young (1173), but through the reminiscences of Aurelius' brother (1123 ff.) we are allowed a glimpse of him when he was yet younger, as a bachelor of law at Orleans, active, inquisitive, and daring, who neglected his legal pursuits in order to study magic on the sly (1119-1128).<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile he has so progressed in it that when the brothers meet him he can tell them all that is in their minds. Since he is walking about alone with a disengaged look<sup>4</sup> in the outskirts of Orleans on the road which leads from Brittany, we may perhaps infer that he is resolved not to let a rich client slip through his fingers for want of meeting him halfway. When they reach his well-appointed house, which impresses even the wealthy Aurelius (1187-1188), by the prodigality of his supper<sup>5</sup> he prepares his visitors for a high price, and gives tacit assurance that he is worthy of it by presenting shrewdly-selected examples of his skill, taking care however not to weary them (1202-1204). Knowing that his client is the squire Aurelius and not the clerk-brother, as they sit in his study

<sup>1</sup> Magic is also the means in the only ante-Chaucerian analogues which involve a quasi-impossible task, Boccaccio's two versions of the story which are in the *Filocolo* (Moutier edition, II, 48-60) and the *Decameron* (tenth day, novel 5), and the former of which many believe to be Chaucer's source. See Rajna in *Romania*, XXXI, 40-47, and XXXII, 204-267, and Lot in *Le Moyen Age*, 1902, pp. 108-112; but, *contra*, Schofield in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XVI, 405-449.

<sup>2</sup> So called in ll. 1184, 1241, 1295; also called a "maister" (1202, 1209, 1220, 1257) and a "philosophre" (1561, 1585, 1607), general words often used in a specific sense. Cf. the *Oxford Dictionary*, Godefroy, Ducange (s.v. *magisterium*); according to Martinus Del Rio's *Disquisitiones Magicae* (Mainz, 1606), II, 500, the second part of astrology contains *magisterium* and *nativitatus*; cf. also Albertus Magnus's use of *magisterium* (*Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, Brussels, 1898-1906, V, i, 101, 105), and *Zeitsch. für Mathematik u. Physik*, XVI, 373.

<sup>3</sup> It is not quite certain that he is the particular "felawe" whom Aurelius' brother first thought of, for they seem to have belonged to a set in which the clandestine study of magic flourished (1152-1156), but most of the above would apply to any of them. The University of Orleans in Chaucer's day was only a law school.

<sup>4</sup> When they were come almost to that citee,

But-if it were a two furlong or three,

A yong clerk rominge by him-self they mette (1171-1173).

<sup>5</sup> Hem lakked no vitaille that mighte hem plesse (1186).



among his imposing books (1207, 1214) he shows them magic visions of hunting, hawking, and jousting, and finally a cruelly tantalizing vision, enough to break down the last stronghold of their caution, of Aurelius going on the dance with Dorigen.<sup>1</sup> Allowing his hints to work while his guests eat, he takes advantage of their postprandial optimism to state his terms,<sup>2</sup> and after all this he ran small risk of rejection when he "made it straunge" and would have them believe a thousand pounds a low price,<sup>3</sup> and it is no wonder Aurelius "with blisful herte" answers impatiently,

"Fy on a thousand pound!"

to pay which he later realizes would ruin him (1559 ff.). Whenever the clerk speaks, the manner of his words is apt and forceful. He is imperious and shows deference toward his guests in addressing his attendant (1209-1214). But to them he shows a more familiar manner and gentle traits; toward the woebegone lover he is now humorously sympathetic, with his genial chaff,<sup>4</sup> now kindly and effectively zealous, with his usual energy and promptness (1261-1262). Business is business with him, and at the end his cross-examination of his recalcitrant client is a model of terse pointedness (1585-1591); but, in the same style, he announces his magnanimous release of him, when he learns that this is no time for merely business methods (1607-1619). The keen and ambitious clerk responds instantly to the noble example set by the self-controlled knight and the gentle squire. That every one of these interpretations represents what was in Chaucer's mind, who could prove (or disprove)? But when we notice how every touch makes fuller and firmer the outline of a business-like man of science who is a gentleman as well, how can we doubt that this is what Chaucer meant? Chaucer's appearance of simplicity is sometimes due merely to the modern reader's inattentiveness.

But our chief concern is with the clerk's technical skill. In the account of his observances more is meant than meets the ear of the twentieth century, but much of it was doubtless instantly clear to a well-informed reader in the fourteenth. The only planet which he is mentioned as considering is the moon,<sup>5</sup> and there is reason for this: "Luna enim, ut dicunt, significat super

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 1189-1201. Magic illusions such as these were just what Aurelius' brother expected his friend could produce (1142-1151), are discussed by the rabble in *Sq. T.*, 217-219, and are ascribed to "Colle tregetour" in *H. F.*, 1277-1281. Professor Schofield gives various other examples of illusion from mediæval romance (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XVI, 419); cf. also Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio Evo*, Pt. II, ch. x (Engl. transl., p. 360).

<sup>2</sup> At-after soper fille they in trettee (1219).

<sup>3</sup> L. 1225; an enormous sum, of course, for such a service, equivalent to ten or fifteen thousand pounds to-day.

<sup>4</sup> "This amorous folk som-tyme mote han reste" (1218).

<sup>5</sup> And knew the arysing of his mone weel (1287).

And knew ful weel the mones mansioun

Acordaunt to his operacioun (1289-1290).

Cf. 1129-1131.

nigromantiam et mendacium, et ideo lex Lunae erit nigromantica et magica et mendosa,"<sup>1</sup> and therefore should be particularly favorable to magic illusions. As to the phase of the moon we are not told, but if it was considered, the probabilities are that it would be the full.<sup>2</sup> The wizard in the *Filocolo* story (significant as a parallel, whether or not as a source) begins his spells at full moon.<sup>3</sup> Medea in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* expressly waits for it when she is about to rejuvenate Æson.<sup>4</sup> In the *Vedabbha Jātaka*<sup>5</sup> a Brahmin by a spell

<sup>1</sup> Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus* (ed. Bridges, London, 1900), I, 262. Cf. also n. 4, below, and pp. 347 ff. Cornelius Agrippa, speaking especially of the celestial matters to be observed by magicians, says the moon transmits the influences of the other planets, and has more manifest powers than they, her movements must be regarded more than theirs, and by her means we attract the power of higher bodies (*De Occulta Philosophia*, Lugduni, 1531?; Bk. II, ch. 32, and cf. 59). The general connection of the moon with witchcraft is well known. Cf. Lea, *Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, III, 437; also Apuleius' *Apologia* (London, 1825), III, 1398, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii, 174-178. On the peculiar power of the moon, according to the Babylonian paganism, cf. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (New York), pp. 59, 124, 126; "a multitude of mysterious influences" were attributed to the moon (and some are still, even in America). Further, in all "elections of times" the moon was to be considered, "semper in electione aspice locum Lunae" (Joannes Hispalensis, *Epitome totius Astrologiae*, Nuremberg, 1548; sig. R 3<sup>ro</sup>); cf. *Man of Law's Tale*, 306-308.

<sup>2</sup> If this were history, of course we could not assume a full moon at a given time in a given celestial position. But this is fiction, and analogy and the data point to this phase.

<sup>3</sup> "Vide i corni della luna tornati in compiuta ritondità" (p. 53).

<sup>4</sup> Bk. vii, 179-182, 268. This is the source of Boccaccio's account of the magic (Zingarelli in *Rom.*, XIV, 433-441), and must have been known to Chaucer. It is highly characteristic of the two men that the former's account is ancient and literary in source, and Chaucer's is contemporary and "scientific," being based on astrology, as the others are not. From Ovid is also the story of Medea's spells in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, who seems muddled as to time (v, 3957-3958, 3961, 4019, 4115), but puts the end of the process at new moon. He may have had reason for this, but it would seem a very unsuitable time for the magic of the Orleans clerk, for the new moon would be in Capricornus, which is its "fall" or "detriment," the position of least potency (Joannes Hisp., sig. B 1, 3; Henry Coley's *Key to Astrology*, London, 1676, p. 85; Gower's *Conf. Am.*, vii, 1175; *Oxf. Dict.*; Skeat, III, lxxviii). Except perhaps at the precise moment of conjunction, the new moon anywhere would be unfavorable, according to the sixteenth-century Cornelius Agrippa (*De Occ. Philos.*, Bk. II, ch. 30): "nisi forte sit in unitate cum sole," for magical purposes the moon should not be "combust" (and so deprived of power), as it or any other planet within 8° 30' of the sun (or 6° according to Joannes) is said to be (cf. *Oxf. Dict.*; Coley, p. 95; Joannes Hisp., sig. D 4<sup>ro</sup>, E 1<sup>ro</sup> f., F 3<sup>ro</sup>). Joannes also says (sig. T 3<sup>ro</sup>) that the conjunction of the sun and moon is unlucky. Agrippa does not seem to favor the precise moment, at least, of full moon either,—"nec sit opposita soli." Roger Bacon (in his commentary on the *Secreta Secretorum*, quoted by Bridges, I, 403-404) says of the day of the moon's opposition to the sun, "Dies cavenda est in omnibus operibus quia nullum bonum est in ea," and of the day of conjunction with the sun, "In hac die erit luna sub radiis [a technical term]. Nullum bonum nisi in his quae necesse sunt occultari et contegi." But none of this is said with reference to magic. The choice of a waning moon for the riot of witchcraft in the Walpurgisnacht scene of Goethe's *Faust* may be due to a sense of picturesque fitness, though pictures in early works show a moon near the new (Witkowski, *Walpurgisnacht*, 28, 33). Altogether, my supposition as to this baffling subject seems justifiable.

<sup>5</sup> This is the supposed ultimate original of the *Pardoner's Tale*; cf. *Originals and Analogues* (Chaucer Soc.), pp. 418 ff. An oriental parallel is the more likely to be significant because ideas about the lunar mansions were of oriental origin. The translation edited by E. B. Cowell (*The Jātaka*, Cambridge, 1895; I, 121-124) mentions the full moon but not the lunar mansion.

produces a rain of riches when the full moon is in a certain lunar mansion; here, too, the magic depends on the lunar mansions. The full seems also to be the phase of greatest power; according to Joannes Hispalensis,<sup>1</sup> a high twelfth-century authority, the most powerful stage is from opposition to 12° thereafter, the next most powerful being from 12° before to opposition. If the moon is full, this fits in remarkably with other matters. The sun is in the sign Capricornus,<sup>2</sup> and the full moon therefore in Cancer. This sign is the "house" of the moon,<sup>3</sup> that sign in which it is most potent.<sup>4</sup> Further, in Cancer the moon is "lord of the triplicity in common."<sup>5</sup> Now we must note that Chaucer tells us a little more of the date; while it is close to the end of December when the travellers arrive from Orleans,<sup>6</sup> with his utmost haste, watching night and day (1262-1263), it is only "atte laste" that the clerk finds a favorable time (1270), which would naturally bring us into January. This may be significant, for degrees 21-30 of Cancer, which in the fourteenth century the moon (if full) would pass through in about three fourths of a day<sup>7</sup> about

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, sig. F 3<sup>ro</sup>. Roger Bacon puts the matter a little differently: "Nam in istis quadraturis fortissima operatio Lunae est" (*op. cit.*, p. 385); "quando Luna est in augibus suorum circularum, ut in novilunio et plenilunio, tunc sunt fortiores operationes ejus, ut patet in fluxibus maris et in piscibus" (p. 388). He is speaking especially of the influence of the moon on weather, the tides, and living beings. Aristotle mentions the especial influence of the full moon on grubs and children (*De Animalibus Historiae*, Paris, 1854; V, xxiii; VII, xii; and cf. *Pars. T.*, 424).

<sup>2</sup> But now in Capricorn adoun he lighte (1248).

<sup>3</sup> Joannes Hisp., sig. B 3<sup>ro</sup>, C 2<sup>vo</sup>; Bacon, I, 258; Coley, p. 34; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* (ed. Webb, Oxford, 1909), I, 110; Gower, *Conf. Am.*, VII, 1062-1063. In *Troil. and Cr.*, III, 624-628, the moon (near the new), Saturn, and Jupiter conjoined in Cancer produce a great rain; Cancer is *aguosae naturae* (Joannes Hisp., sig. B 3<sup>ro</sup>) and is the exaltation of Jupiter, the conjunction of Saturn and the moon indicates rain (sig. G 2<sup>vo</sup>), and the *conjunctio maxima* of Saturn and Jupiter indicates floods (Bacon, p. 263). The moon itself was thought to have especial influence over rain (Joannes Hisp., sig. G 2<sup>ro</sup>, etc.); therefore Nicholas in the *Miller's Tale* (3513-3521) pretends to have learned from it of an imminent flood.

<sup>4</sup> The five "essential dignities" of a planet are house, exaltation, triplicity, term, and face. In the first it has five "fortitudes" (or units of power), in the second four, and so on down to one in a face. See Coley, p. 88; Joannes Hisp., sig. C 2<sup>vo</sup> f., F 2<sup>ro</sup>; Bacon, pp. 257-261; Skeat, III, lxxviii and 359; *Oxf. Dict.*, s.vv. *house*, *mansion*. (Is there not some error in the last two authorities as to the exaltation?) Note that while each of the other planets has two signs as houses, the sun and moon have only one each.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, by both day and night (Joannes Hisp., sig. B 3<sup>ro</sup>, C 2<sup>vo</sup>; Skeat, III, lxxvii f.), Venus and Mars being lords by day and night respectively. According to Vettius Valens' *Anthologiae* (ed. Kroll, Berlin, 1908; Bk. II, ch. i, p. 56), a Greek work on astrology of the second century A.D., often quoted by later writers, these three are lords of the triplicity in Cancer, but the moon takes third place both day and night. Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584), p. 398, gives the lords as the moon, Venus, and Jupiter.

<sup>6</sup> And this was, as the bokes me remembre,  
The colde frosty seson of Decembre (1243-1244).  
Janus sit by the fyr, with double berd (1252).  
And 'Nowel' cryeth every lusty man (1255).

<sup>7</sup> The moon advances an average of 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ ° daily, the tropical month (or time it takes the moon to return to a given right ascension) being about 27 $\frac{1}{4}$  days.



the second or third,<sup>1</sup> are the "face" of the moon.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, at exactly the same time (or within a couple of hours) the moon would enter the fourth term of Cancer, which includes degrees 20–26 and belongs to Jupiter, according to Joannes Hispalensis,<sup>3</sup> or 21–27 and belongs to Venus, according to Henry Coley, a seventeenth-century authority.<sup>4</sup> These two planets are respectively the greater and lesser fortunes, whose influence is favorable, and both are called friendly to the moon;<sup>5</sup> and if we can believe Coley,<sup>6</sup> a planet in the term of Jupiter or Venus has an "accidental fortitude" of one. All this no doubt is why the Franklin says the clerk

knew the arysing of his mone weel,  
And in whos face and terme, and every deel (1287–1288).

At the time in question the moon was in term of Jupiter (or Venus) and in its own face; but it behooved him to act promptly, for not much over half a day after entering this favorable term the moon would enter the term of Saturn

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Astrolabe*, ii, 1 and 12, and Bacon, 272–273. The sun, reaching the tropic of Capricorn on the 12<sup>th</sup> December in 1361 and for about 125 years thereafter, would enter the last 10° of the sign on 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> January, and the full moon would of course be at the same time at the point directly opposite. The date agrees remarkably with that in the *Filocolo* (Rajna merely notes that in both tales the travellers return in December: *Romania*, XXXII, 239). Tarolfo and the wizard Tebano arrive "assai vicini del mese del quale era stato dimandato il giardino" (the garden being required in January). After privily waiting, "entrato già il mese," they have a full moon that night (p. 53), Tebano begins his spells, and after gathering certain matters from all over the world, returns in his dragon-car before the end of the third day (p. 55), immediately finishes the garden, notifies Tarolfo, and he the lady (p. 57). This puts the accomplishment of the task on the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> January (in the *Decameron* version it is the night before the 1<sup>st</sup>). Since there is nothing about the time of year in Ovid, it may be that Boccaccio, too, was aware of the astrological fitness of the early days of January; yet it is an independent fact that the time apparently most favorable for astrological magic is the time most unfavorable for gardens. As to Chaucer, I should be quite ready to admit that at this point he may have remembered Boccaccio's tale; but considering that the latter ignores astrology and the *Franklin's Tale* is full of its minutiae, we can hardly doubt that Chaucer clearly saw reason for the date he indicates. It is curious, but hardly significant, that the tables from which the position of a planet for any date was calculated gave it for noon of the last day of December (*Astrolabe*, ii, 44–45). This season can hardly have been selected because the rocks would seem more formidable then; they are hardly mentioned here, and from the point of view of the story the selection of winter is a mere chance.

<sup>2</sup> Joannes Hisp., sig. B 3<sup>ro</sup>, C 3<sup>ro</sup>; Coley, p. 85; Skeat, III, lxxvii. Cf. *Astrolabe*, ii, 4, ll. 62–65 (*Student's Chaucer*). As early as the fourth century Ammianus Marcellinus ridicules atheists who will not do the most trivial thing without learning in what part of Cancer the moon is (*Res Gestae*, XXVIII, iv, 24).

<sup>3</sup> Sig. B 3<sup>ro</sup>, C 2<sup>vo</sup>. He assigns degrees 1–7 to Mars, 8–12 to Venus, 13–19 to Mercury, and 27–30 to Saturn.

<sup>4</sup> Coley assigns the five terms to the planets in not quite the same order as Joannes does (*op. cit.*, p. 85). That there are not more cases than there are of imperfect agreement among the astrological authorities cited in this article, ranging in date from the second century to the seventeenth, shows how firmly the pseudo-science rested on tradition. Joannes' *Epitome* (250 years before Chaucer) and Coley's *Key* (300 after) agree closely. Cornelius Agrippa mocks at a few disagreements among astrologers as to detail, in that pessimistic work, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (London, 1676), p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Coley, p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> P. 88.

(degrees 27 or 28 to 30), which, according to Coley,<sup>1</sup> would produce an "accidental debility" of one. One thing more; that he

knew the arysing of his mone weel

is doubtless because a planet rising is in the ascendent, the daily position of greatest power.<sup>2</sup> This would give the moon five *fortitudines* or *virtutes* for being in its house, three for the triplicity, one for being in term of Jupiter or Venus, one for being in its own face, and five (or twelve) for the ascendent.<sup>3</sup>

The moon in the fourth term and third face of Cancer is in its strongest 6° or 7° of the whole 360°; <sup>4</sup> put it, the planet of necromancy, in the ascendent to boot, and what time could be so favorable for the clerk's design? When we find analogy indicating a full moon, and the careful and subtle Chaucer's implications harmonizing with a certain date, and when we find that the full moon on that date would have this extraordinary potency for his purpose, how can we believe this accidental? Chaucer, who knew astrology well, must

<sup>1</sup> P. 88. Cf. Cornelius Agrippa (*De Occ. Philos.*, II, 30), — the moon for magical purposes "non sit impedita à Marte vel Saturno."

<sup>2</sup> The "house of the ascendent," that one of the twelve daily locations of a planet in which it is most potent, extends from 5° above the eastern horizon to 25° below it (*Astrolabe*, II, 4, ll. 17-30; cf. 1-4); or from the eastern horizon to 30° below (Joannes Hisp., sig. D 3<sup>ro</sup>). When astrological images are made (according to Albertus Magnus, in *Catal. Cod. Astrol. Graec.*, V, i, 103), "sit luna in ascendente facie et signo"; in our case it is stronger yet. For the above purpose, Agrippa would have it in the ascendent in the *first* face of Cancer (*De Occ. Philos.*, II, 44). In the *Filocolo* (p. 53) the time is well on in the night: "I vaghi gradi della notte passavano, gli uccelli le fiere e gli uomini riposavano senza alcuno mormorio"; and midnight in Ovid (l. 184):

Fertque vagos mediae per muta silentia noctis  
Incomitata gradus. Homines volucresque ferasque  
Solverat alta quies: nullo cum murmure saepes,  
Inmotaeque silent frondes.

In both the *Filocolo* and Ovid, accordingly, the full moon would be far past the ascendent.

<sup>3</sup> Coley, p. 88; Joannes Hisp., sig. F 2<sup>ro</sup>. Cf. also sig. F 3<sup>ro</sup>, — twelve *virtutes* from opposition to 12° thereafter, and eleven from 12° before to opposition. Doubtless an astrologer with such a problem would have considered many other points. As to these there is little to say, for want of details. From what we are told we are extracting pretty much the uttermost farthing, and in any case the points mentioned are the main ones. That Chaucer had not forgotten others may be indicated by ll. 1273-1279, partly explained by Skeat. From his "rotes" and other data, by means of "his centres and his arguments," "his collect" and "his expans yeres," "and his proporcionels convenients," he made his "equacions"; that is, probably, located the signs of the zodiac in the "houses" in the second sense mentioned in note 3, p. 346, and perhaps ascertained the positions of the other planets both in the zodiac and in the houses, and hence their "aspects" to the moon, and the nature and amount of their influence. Cf. *Astrolabe*, ii, 36-37, 40, 44-45, and Joannes Hisp., sig. O 4<sup>ro</sup> f.

<sup>4</sup> The second-best sign would be Taurus; the moon is exalted in the third degree of it, is lord of the triplicity by night, and has the second face (degrees 11-20). See Joannes Hisp., sig. B 2<sup>ro</sup>, C 2<sup>vo</sup> f.; and Coley, p. 85. The moon could not have more than three essential dignities at once, for terms are not assigned to the sun and moon, and the house and exaltation are never in the same sign, except for Mercury in Virgo (Joannes Hisp., B 3<sup>vo</sup>, C 2<sup>vo</sup>; Coley, p. 85; Bacon, p. 261).

have studied the matter out as much as his clerk did, and have known as well as he in what term and face the moon was.<sup>1</sup>

But as to their attention to another lunar matter we are not at all left to inference. Four or five times we are told that Aurelius' brother and the Orleans clerk heeded especially

the eighte and twenty mansiouns  
That longen to the mone.<sup>2</sup>

The mansions<sup>3</sup> of the moon are divisions of its monthly path each nearly 13° in length.<sup>4</sup> When the clerk sets about his work, his first task relates to them.

By his eighte spere in his wirking  
He knew ful wel how fer Alnath was shove  
Fro the heed of thilke fixe Aries above,  
That in the ninthe speere considered is;  
Ful subtilly he calculated al this (1280-1284).

Alnath is the name of the first lunar mansion.<sup>5</sup> He calculates how far it has

<sup>1</sup> Two other cases of unobtrusive accuracy confirm this belief. First, Aurelius prays the sun and moon to help him,

"now next at this opposicioun  
Which in the signe shal be of the Leoun" (1057-1058).

This, as Skeat shows, is not because at the opposition next after May 6 (l. 906) either planet is in Leo, but because Leo is the house of the sun. Secondly, the Franklin evidently had good reason for assuring those who might be acquainted with "Tables Toletanes" that the clerk's were "ful wel corrected" (1274). Roger Bacon complains (I, 298-300) that the "tabulae Toletanae" make mistakes as to longitude. Though the term "Toletan tables" is sometimes given especially to those "published under the direction of Arzachel in 1080" (Arthur Berry, *Short History of Astronomy*, New York, 1910, p. 80; cf. Bacon, *l.c.*, editor's note), Chaucer doubtless and Bacon very probably refer to the better ones published in 1252 by order of Alfonso el Sabio of Castile (Berry, p. 85). In the fifteenth century an eclipse of the moon was observed to be an hour later than it should have been, and Mars 2° from where it should have been, according to them; in 1563 Tycho Brahe observed a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn a month from the time calculated from them (Berry, pp. 87, 130). One trouble with them is said to be that they recognized "trepidation," an imaginary inequality in the precession of the equinoxes (Bacon, *l.c.*; *Zt. d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XVIII, 178). Possibly, however, "corrected" has the modern meaning of adaptation to a different standard, here to a different latitude and longitude. <sup>2</sup> Ll. 1130-1131; cf. 1154-1155, 1280-1286, 1289-1290.

<sup>3</sup> This word, in which there is no ambiguity in this tale, is of course used in two astrological senses—as above, and as a synonym for "house in the first of the following senses." "House" is used for the sign in which a planet is most powerful, and for a twelfth part of the fixed vault of heaven starting down from about the eastern horizon. Cf. Bacon, pp. 258-260.

<sup>4</sup> Joannes Hisp., sig. T 4<sup>ro</sup>; *Zt. d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XVIII, 175-176.

<sup>5</sup> "Alnath dicitur prima mansio lune" (gloss in MS. Ellesmere). It is also the name of the third magnitude star  $\alpha$  Arietis. El-nâth or El-nath or Al-nath is one name of the star and mansion in the Arabic system of mansions, whence the European was derived; cf. Ludewig Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin, 1809), p. 135, and F. K. Ginzel, *Mathematische und technische Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 72. According to Joannes Hispalensis, *op. cit.*, sig. H 1<sup>vo</sup>, S 3<sup>vo</sup>, T 4<sup>ro</sup>, the first mansion is called *cornua Arietis*. Other references on these mansions in the skies are Cornelius Agrippa, *l.c.*, ch. 33, 46; Steinschneider in *Zt. d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XVIII, 118-201, and in *Zt. f.*



been carried, by the precession of the equinoxes,<sup>1</sup> westward from the vernal equinox, or first point of the sign Aries, which was conceived to be in the sphere next above that of the fixed stars. He does this because the lunar mansions, unlike the signs, were determined by the fixed stars,<sup>2</sup> and therefore their right ascension, being of course measured from the receding vernal equinox, gradually increased. It was necessary to know their right ascension because, though the stars which named them fixed them roughly, the precise limits of each, and in this case the time of the moon's entrance and departure and the mansion which included this precise part of Cancer, could not be found without calculation. The clerk's finding first the right ascension of Alnath, rather than directly that of the mansion he was seeking, probably indicates that he had no tables giving the exact limits of all the mansions either in right ascension or in the constellations. Having found the first, and knowing the angular size of the mansions, he easily found that which the moon had then reached,<sup>3</sup> and knew it to be favorable to his design.<sup>4</sup>

If my conclusion as to the moon's position is correct, this mansion would apparently be the eighth,<sup>5</sup> but none of the accessible authorities reveals anything

*Math. u. Phys.*, XVI, 369, 371-372, 383; Albirûnî's *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (tr. Sachau, London, 1879), pp. 335-365; *Journal Asiatique*, IX Série, VIII, 156-162; *Mémoires* of the Académie des Inscriptions, XVIII, ii, 354-362; *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études*, fasc. 121, pp. 107-111; *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, XII, i, 244-252; XIV, ii, 35-36; Franz Boll, *Sphaera* (Leipzig, 1903); Roger Bacon, *op. cit.*, 384-385; *Contemporary Review*, XXXV, 418-419. This lore came from the Far East, and was known in India, China, and perhaps Babylon (Boll and Ginzel). Joannes Hispalensis quotes the Indians as authorities on it. The mansions are still observed in the Orient.

<sup>1</sup> This may be the exact meaning of l. 1280, above, the second "his" meaning *its*, and the "wirling" of the eighth sphere being the agency of the "shoving" of the mansions fixed in it. Skeat takes the line with "knew," but the clerk could hardly have told the amount of precession by the sphere of the fixed stars, but only by tables.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Joannes Hisp., sig. T 4<sup>ro</sup>; Albirûnî, 354; and Ideler, p. 149; also Cornelius Agrippa (*De Occ. Philos.*, II, 33; cf. *Zt. d. d. morg. Ges.*, XVIII, 152), — "octo et viginti mansiones Lunae . . . quae in octava sphaera fixae a diversis earundem sideribus & stellis, quae in eis continentur." Speaking of Alnath he says, "Initium eius est in capite arietis octavae sphaerae" (*ibid.*). Ibn Esra, a Jewish astrological writer, gives directions for finding the mansions (*Zt. d. d. morg. Ges.*, XVIII, 161); so does Albirûnî, 357 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Whan he had founde his friste mansioun,

He knew the remenant by proporcioun (1285-1286).

<sup>4</sup> And knew ful weel the mones mansioun

Acordaunt to his operacioun (1289-1290).

Doubtless he had done earlier as much of all this as he could; but with imperfect tables and instruments, and with the moon's rapid motion, he had to be alert at the time.

<sup>5</sup> Called "Nebula" or "Nebulosa cum nube" (after the star-cluster Praesepe), and extending from 16° 1' to 28° 51' of the sign Cancer in the time of Joannes Hispalensis (sig. S 4<sup>vo</sup>, T 4<sup>ro</sup>); called El-nethra by the Arabs (Ideler, 159-160, 287). Steinschneider gives numerous tables of the mansions (*Zt. d. d. morg. Ges.*, XVIII, 164, 176, 198, 200). Cf. also Albirûnî, 343 ff.; *Journal Asiatique*, IX Série, VIII, 158-161; and Agrippa, ch. 33, who seems to give their limits in the constellations, and not in contemporary right ascension.

to account for the clerk's especial satisfaction with it.<sup>1</sup> The explanation probably is that reputable astrological writers ignored the bearings of their lore on magic. For Chaucer plainly intimates that the twenty-eight mansions of the moon were connected in some especial way with magic, particularly with the production of magic illusions. It was a book of "magik naturel," into which Aurelius' brother had peered at Orleans, that

spak muchel of the operaciouns  
Touchinge the eghte and twenty mansiouns  
That longen to the mone (1129-1131).

It seems to be illusions produced by their help that Holy Church's faith in our Credo does not suffer to grieve us (1133-1134). After recalling what he has heard of "diverse apparences" of "subtile tregetoures," he hopes for a similar "apparence" through some one's help

"That hadde this mones mansiouns in minde  
Or other magik naturel above" (1154-1155).

This implication is confirmed by Albertus Magnus' *Speculum Astronomicum*; denouncing the most blameworthy kind of necromantic astrological images and the exorcisms and suffumigations with which they were used, he says this kind of necromancy tries to make itself more respectable by observing such things as the twenty-eight mansions of the moon and their names.<sup>2</sup> This connection between the mansions and magic is amply established by other authorities. Cornelius Agrippa, speaking of times when the planets are favorable for magic, says: "Lunam verò habebimus potententem [*sic*], si in domicilio suo: vel exaltatione, vel triplicitate, vel facie, & in gradu sibi ad opus optatum convenienti, atque si mansionem ex viginti illis & octo sibi & operi competentem

<sup>1</sup> Except that Cornelius Agrippa says it favors love and friendship, "et societatem itinerantium" (ch. 33). According to Joannes Hispalensis, it is temperate and fortunate; (here he quotes Dorotheus Sidonius) bad for marrying and employing servants, prosperous for sea voyages, etc. No other mansion looks any more promising. Among the Arabs, the mansions seemingly were observed chiefly for their connection with the weather (Ideler, 121, 148, 167, 172; Albīrūnī, 336; *Zt. d. d. morg. Ges.*, XVIII, 159-161, 179, etc.); Bacon says the same of them (p. 384).

<sup>2</sup> "Haec est idololatria pessima, quae ut reddat se aliquatenus fide dignam, observat viginti octo mansiones lunae et horas diei et noctis cum quibusdam nominibus dierum, horarum et mansionum ipsarum" (cap. xi: *Catal. Cod. Astrol. Graec.*, V, i, 99. The author gives a valuable bibliography of contemporary authorities on astrology and magic, on which see *Zt. f. Math. u. Phys.*, xvi, 357-396). Cf. also what he says (p. 98) of certain images exorcized by fifty-four names of angels, "qui subservire dicuntur imaginibus lunae in circulo eius"; the number 54 would apparently allow two angels' names to each mansion on the Hindu system of 27 mansions (*Zt. d. d. morg. Ges.*, XVIII, 121-122, 157 ff.). The number varied to 29 and 30 (late, for symmetry); hence a thirteenth-century MS. Σελήνοδρόμιον in Milan and a fifteenth-century 'Επισκεψις τῆς Σελήνης in Naples give the moon's influence in 30 stages (*Catal. Cod. Astrol. Graec.*, III, 32-39; IV, 142-145).

obteneat" (*De Occ. Philos.*, II, 30). There is a "lib. ymaginum" on the mansions of the moon in a Christ Church and in a Harleian MS., which professes to be magical, a work printed at Venice in 1509 treats of the same subject,<sup>1</sup> and I have already referred to the Brahmin in the *Vedabbha Jātaka* who would repeat a spell "when the moon was in conjunction with a certain lunar mansion."

It is clear then that the Orleans clerk was well grounded in astronomy and in astrological magic. Though his astrological observances are what is most fully described, their sole purpose is to secure a time when the influences always streaming from the heavens shall reinforce his other rites,<sup>2</sup> for he

knew also his other observaunces (1291).

These are so effective that

thurgh his magik, for a wyke or tweye,  
It semed that alle the rokkes were aweye (1295-1296).

Just what the observances would be, for this and for the lesser feats done at Orleans, the Franklin does not tell us, either because of imperfect knowledge or of distaste for the subject. Yet we can form some idea. For the earlier ones he must have used at least images or charms, such as were used in "natural magic" and were necessary for directing the more hidden powers of nature to his purposes, yet for even these illusions it looks as if he may have used the aid of spirits, since they vanish when he claps his hands (1202-1204). For his similar but far greater exploit, the vanishing of the rocks all the way from the Seine to the Gironde, if he kept his bargain (1221-1222), it may be suspected that he had to use blood, sacrifices, suffumigations, incantations, and invocations of demons,<sup>3</sup> which, according to the authorities,<sup>4</sup> would make him a necromancer.

<sup>1</sup> Steinschneider in *Zt. f. Math. u. Phys.*, XVI, 371, 383.

<sup>2</sup> Night and day he spedde him that he can

To wayte a tyme of his conclusioun (1262-1263).

This point is well illustrated in the *Squire's Tale*, 129-131, by the oriental knight's account of the making of the magic horse.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *House of Fame*, 1259-1270.

<sup>4</sup> Isidor of Seville (Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. LXXXII), *Etymologiae*, VIII, ix, 11; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* (ed. Webb), I, 51; Albertus Magnus, in *Catal. Cod. Astrol. Graec.*, V, i, 98-103; cf. Bacon, *op. cit.*, 241, 395-396. It is Aurelius' brother, who has only glanced into a book or two on magic, and is vague and ignorant about it (1117-1164), that expects such a result merely from natural magic. The feat of the wizard in the *Filocolo* and in the *Decameron* is due to necromancy, though the word is used only in the latter. Such performances as his in the *Filocolo* are strongly condemned by Isidor (*Etymol.*, VIII, ix; cf. *Differentiae*, I, 291). Of course the word "necromancy" became *nigromancy*, and was used in a wider sense than the original. Possibly, however, Chaucer meant all his clerk's work to be due to natural magic. Cf. Agrippa, *Vanity of Arts*, p. 111. Or he may have been vague about the matter; we cannot be sure, here and elsewhere, how full and exact his knowledge really was.



It is against nefarious magic art, and astrology as a helper to it, that the Franklin utters the scornful, yet not wholly skeptical, condemnation which has often been noticed. They are

swich folye  
As in our dayes is nat worth a flye;  
For holy chirches feith in our bileve  
Ne suffreth noon illusion us to greve (1131-1134).

The Orleans clerk's observances through which the rocks vanish are

his japes and his wrecchednesse  
Of swich a superstitious<sup>1</sup> cursednesse (1271-1272);  
swiche illusiouns and swiche meschaunces  
As hethen folk used in thilke dayes (1292-1293).

This censure of the arts on which the tale hinges is by no means an artistic error in the Franklin's mouth, still less in Chaucer's, and could not have been so understood by any mediæval reader. It is true that Chaucer would hardly have cared to portray his professor of forbidden arts with such evident and penetrating esteem had he not very carefully set the tale in pagan antiquity. But in the same breath in which such practices are flouted as worthless and impious in the days of Holy Church, they are represented as efficacious and are not even wholly blamed for earlier times. The attitude toward astrology and magic which they point to in the speaker is precisely that which we find in many other mediæval writers than Chaucer, both literary and theological.

<sup>1</sup> In the Middle Ages this word had not the implication of unreality which it has now. Cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, II, ii, 92, 1.

## NICHOLAS BRETON, CHARACTER-WRITER AND QUADRUMANIAC

C. N. GREENOUGH

The years 1615 and 1616, in which Nicholas Breton published two little-known but not unimportant prose works, *Characters upon Essaies Morall and Divine* (1615) and *The Good and the Badde* (1616), mark an interesting point in the development of the "character." In 1608 Joseph Hall had put forth what seems to be the first book in English to consist wholly of undoubted characters. These *Characters of Virtues and Vices* were wholly delineations of persons, their aim was professedly moral, and their style—though not without an occasional flicker of sober wit—was grave and clerical. Six years later, in 1614, appeared the famous collection of characters by Sir Thomas Overbury and his friends, at whose hands the character undergoes some change. "It is," writes a contributor to the Overbury collection, in attempting "to square out a character by our English levell," "a picture (reall or personall) quaintly drawn, in various colours, all of them heightened by one shadowing. It is a quick and soft touch of many strings, all shutting up in one musicall close; it is wits descant on any plaine song."<sup>1</sup> That is, the character may be impersonal and it should be quaintly and wittily phrased. Accordingly we are not surprised to find in the Overbury collection a character of a prison and one of the character itself, nor are we surprised that a most serious and admirable portrait, "A Worthy Commander in the Wars," should conclude with a flourish in which the "silver head" of the good soldier is made to "lean near the golden sceptre." Such was the technique of the character in 1614.

From that time until the outbreak of the Civil War, the character was often in danger of becoming an excessively flimsy and overstylistic affair. In 1618, for example, Geffray Mynshul, in *Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners*, affords an important instance of a man who wrote, in the same volume and on the same subjects, both essays and characters, and whose method perceptibly changes when he turns from one to the other. His essays display a greater depth and variety of thought; his characters, a sharper and more elaborate wit. His essays show variety in point of view, fair sequence of thought, and an occasional mention of the writer and of the person addressed. All these should occur naturally enough in any kind of writing. Yet

<sup>1</sup> *Overbury's Miscellaneous Works*, ed. E. F. Rimbault, London, 1856, pp. 168-169.

they almost never do in Mynshul's characters, where the sentences are nearly all cast in one mould, as can be seen from the following skeleton of "The Character of a Prison."<sup>1</sup> "A prison is . . . . It is . . . , it is . . . , it is . . . . It is . . . . It is . . . ; it is . . . . It is . . . . It is . . . . It is . . . . It is . . . . It is . . . . It is . . . . To conclude, what is it not? In a word, it is . . . ." The blanks one should imagine filled in with such conceitful, paradoxical, metaphorical strokes as that the prison is "a little commonwealth, although little wealth be common there," or that the prisoner is "an impatient patient lingering under the rough hands of a cruell phisitian." In Mynshul's hands, the character is clearly by way of becoming something little better than a verbal puzzle. As compared with the essay it apparently was, in his estimation, less subjective, meditative, and pregnant, and more inclined to coincide with the instructions of one Ralph Johnson, who in 1665<sup>2</sup> directs his pupils in writing characters to make "a witty and facetious description."

This conceitful tendency of the character, and the whole matter of the relation of character and essay, could hardly be more clearly shown than in two of Nicholas Breton's prose works. In 1615 Breton published *Characters Upon Essaies | Morall, And | Divine, | Written | For those good Spirits, | that will take them | in good part, | And | Make use of them to | good purpose.*<sup>3</sup>

The book, as its title implies, is an application of the manner of the character to the matter of the essay. That such "charactering" of the essay was fairly well known in 1615 appears both from some of the commendatory verses prefixed to the work and from Breton's dedication of it to Bacon. A certain I. R. was kind enough to say of his friend's work :

Who reads this Booke with a iudicious eye,  
Will in true Judgement, true discretion try,  
Where words and matter close and sweetly coucht,  
Doe shew how truth, wit, art and nature toucht.  
What need more words these characters to praise,  
They are the true charactering of Essaies.<sup>4</sup>

Breton himself furnishes similar evidence in his dedication of the book to Bacon :

To the Honorable, and my much worthy honored,  
truly learned, and Iudicious Knight, Sr FRANCIS BACON,  
his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Attourney Generall,  
Increase of honor, health, and eternall happinesse.

<sup>1</sup> Geffray Mynshul, *Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners*, Edinburgh, 1821, pp. 14-17.      <sup>2</sup> In *The Scholars Guide from the Accidence to the University*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Original editions of Breton's works are extremely rare. Most of them are reprinted in A. B. Grosart's *Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, privately printed, 1879 ("Chertsey Worthies' Library"). My references are to this edition.

<sup>4</sup> Grosart, II, *g*, 4.



Worthy Knight, I haue read of many Essaies, and a kinde of Charactering of them, by such, as when I lookt vnto the forme, or nature of their writing, I haue beene of the conceit, that they were but Imitators of your breaking the ice to their inuentions; which, how short they fall of your worth, I had rather thinke then speake, though Truth need not blush at her blame: Now, for my selfe vnworthy to touch neere the Rocke of those Diamonds, or to speake in their praise, who so farre exceede the power of my capacitie, vouchsafe me leaue yet, I beseech you, among those Apes that would counterfet the actions of men, to play the like part with learning, and as a Monkey, that would make a face like a Man, and cannot, so to write like a Scholler, and am not: and thus not daring to aduenture the Print, vnder your Patronage, without your fauorable allowance, in the deuoted seruice of my bounden duty, I leaue these poore Trauells of my Spirit, to the perusing of your pleasing leasure, with the further fruits of my humble affection, to the happie employment of your honorable pleasure.

At your seruice

in all humblenesse

NICH: BRETON

Although the extravagant tone of this address perhaps injures the value of the first sentence as evidence of a fact in literary history, it need not prevent us from believing that some writers showed, and others perceived, that the "character of an essay" was a fairly well-defined variation of the usual character. Nor need we wholly disregard Breton's suggestion that the form was influenced by the essays of Bacon, then in their second and enlarged edition.

Breton's subjects, in his *Characters upon Essaies*, are Wisdom, Learning, Knowledge, Practice, Patience, Love, Peace, War, Valor, Resolution, Honor, Truth, Time, Death, Faith, and Fear. He thus helps to form the convention that, as Ralph Johnson wrote in 1665,<sup>1</sup> "an Essay is a short discourse about any vertue, vice, or other commonplace."

The "charactering" of such material consists in giving it a stylistic treatment in which mannerisms are rather tiresomely prominent.

1. The subjects are generally personified. Wisdom, Learning, Knowledge, Practice, Patience, War, Valor, Resolution, Truth, and Faith are feminine; Time and Death are masculine; and only Love, Peace, and Honor are neuter.<sup>2</sup>

2. As in Mynshul, the subject of the character is also the subject of almost every clause. The character of Peace, for instance, may be represented by the following skeleton: "Peace is . . . . It is . . . . It is . . . . It holds . . . . It is . . . . It is like . . . . It needs . . . . It is . . . . It is . . . . It fills . . . . It is . . . . It hath . . . . It was . . . ." This is typical: rarely is the subject varied, and very rarely does a sentence begin with anything but its subject.

3. The language is notably high-sounding and conceitful. Learning is "the nurse of nature, with that milk of reason that would make a child of grace never lie from the dug." Love is "a healthful sickness in the soul."

<sup>1</sup> *The Scholars Guide*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Of these Love only is consistently neuter: Peace and Honor are several times made feminine.

Practice is "the patient's patience." Time "is known to be, but his being unknown, but only in his being in a being above knowledge." In this dizzy region inconsistencies necessarily abound. Indeed, Breton seems to make no effort to avoid them; his ideas are set down curiously rather than significantly and coherently. It is therefore of no particular consequence that Resolution, although "she is a rock irremovable," also "wades through the sea, and walks through the world."

4. Alliteration, both plain and crossed, is frequent, and hardly less frequent is the repetition of a prefix or suffix. The character of Truth is thus ended "in the wonder of her worth": "she is the nature of perfection in the perfection of nature, where God in Christ shows the glory of humanity." Of Practice Breton is "fearful to follow her too far in observation, lest being never able to come near the height of her commendation, I be enforced as I am to leave her wholly to admiration." In the case of Patience he makes a similar concluding flourish: "in sum, not to wade too far in her worthiness, lest I be drowned in the depth of wonder, I will thus end in her endless honour."

5. Breton's other mannerisms, however, become inconspicuous in comparison with his strange passion for arranging his ideas in sets of four. Ordinarily he does this in a perfectly parallel construction; sometimes he varies his method and achieves a sentence<sup>1</sup> in which, without grammatical parallelism, there are, in effect, four cadences or waves. In most of the characters in Breton's *Characters upon Essaies* every clause consists of four parts; in all, the preference for four over any other number is overwhelming. The effect of reading Breton, when once this jingle has got into one's head, is almost inevitably to concentrate attention upon the pattern rather than upon the ideas. To illustrate I have ventured to heighten the effect of Breton's quadruplications by numbering them in his character of Truth.

#### TRUTH

Truth is (1) the Glory of time, and (2) the daughter of Eternity: (3) a Title of the highest Grace, and (4) a Note of a Diuine Nature: she is (1) the life of Religion, (2) the light of Loue, (3) the Grace of Wit, and (4) the crowne of Wisedome: she is (1) the Beauty of Valor, (2) the brightnesse of honor, (3) the blessing of Reason and (4) the ioy of faith: (1) her truth is pure gold, (2) her Time is right pretious, (3) her word is most gracious and (4) her will is most glorious: (1) Her Essence is in God and (2) her dwelling with His seruants, (3) her will in His wisdome and (4) her worke to His Glory: she is (1) honored in loue, and (2) graced in constancie, (3) in patience admired and (4) in charity beloued: she is (1) the Angels worshippe, (2) the Virgins fame, (3) the Saints blisse and (4) the Martirs crowne: she is (1) the Kings greatnesse and (2) his Counceles goodnesse, (3) his subiects peace and (4) his Kingdomes Praise: she is (1) the life of learning and (2) the light of the Law, (3) the honor of Trade and (4) the grace of labor: she hath (1) a pure Eye, (2) a plaine hand, (3) a piercing wit and (4) a perfect heart: she is (1) wisdomes walke in (2) the way of holinesse,

<sup>1</sup> Like the final one in the extract below.

and (3) takes vp her rest but in (4) the resolution of goodness: (1) Her tongue neuer trippes, (2) her heart neuer faintes, (3) her hand neuer failes and (4) her faith neuer feares: (1) her Church is without schisme, (2) her City without fraude, (3) her Court without Vanity, and (4) her Kingdome without Villany: In summe, so infinite is her Excellence, in the construction of all sence, that I will thus only conclude in the wonder of her worth: she is (1) the nature of perfection, in (2) the perfection of Nature, where (3) God in Christ, shewes (4) the glory of Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

Of Breton's *The Good|And| The Badde,| Or,| Descriptions of the Worthies, and Unworthies| of this Age* (1616), little need be said except that, in a slightly less pronounced degree, it reveals all the mannerisms of *Characters upon Essaies*. It is, however, more like such collections of characters as Hall's, Overbury's, Stephens's, Mynshul's, and Earle's, in that its subjects are persons instead of personified things. These subjects, most of them arranged in contrasted pairs, are A Worthy King, An Unworthy King, A Worthy Queen, A Worthy Prince, An Unworthy Prince, A Worthy Privy Councillor, An Unworthy Councillor, A Nobleman, An Unnoble Man, A Worthy Bishop, An Unworthy Bishop, A Worthy Judge, An Unworthy Judge, A Worthy Knight, An Unworthy Knight, A Worthy Gentleman, An Unworthy Gentleman, A Worthy Lawyer, An Unworthy Lawyer, A Worthy Soldier, An Untrained Soldier, A Worthy Physician, An Unworthy Physician, A Worthy Merchant, An Unworthy Merchant, A Good Man, An Atheist or Most Bad Man, A Wise Man, A Fool, An Honest Man, A Knave, An Usurer, A Beggar, A Virgin, A Wanton Woman, A Quiet Woman, An Unquiet Woman, A Good Wife, An Effeminate Fool, A Parasite, A Drunkard, A Coward, An Honest Poor Man, A Just Man, A Repentant Sinner, A Reprobate, An Old Man, A Young Man, A Holy Man. It will be seen that the classification is less by ethical types, as in Hall, than by callings or ranks, as was later to be the case in Fuller's *Holy and Profane State*. Although Breton's wit is rather sharper in his adverse characters, most of the distinctive traits of his euphuistic style appear in his first character.

#### A WORTHY KING

A Worthy King is a figure of God, in the nature of government: he is the chiefe of men, and the Churches champion, Natures honour, and Earths maiesty: is the director of Law, and the strength of the same, the sword of Iustice, and the scepter of Mercy, the glasse of Grace, and the eye of Honour, the terror of Treason, and the life of Loyalty. His commaund is general, and his power absolute, his frowne a death, and his fauour a life, his charge is his subiects, his care their safety, his pleasure their peace, and his ioy their loue: he is not to be paraleld, because he is without equalitie, and the prerogatiue of his crowne must not be contradicted: hee is the Lords anointed, and therefore must not be touched, and the head of a publique body, and therefore must bee preserued: he is a scourge of sinne and a blessing of grace, Gods vicegerent ouer his people, and vnder Him supreme gouernour: his safety must bee his Councels care, his health, his subiects prayer, his pleasure, his peeres

<sup>1</sup> Grosart, II, 9, 9.



comfort; and his content, his kingdomes gladnesse: His presence must be reuerenced, his person attended, his court adorned, and his state maintained; his bosome must not be searched, his will not disobeyed, his wants not vnsupplied, nor his place vnregarded. In summe, he is more then a man, though not a God, and next vnder God to be honoured aboue man.<sup>1</sup>

It is a curious fact that quadrumania, which runs through this character and through all of *The Good and the Badde*, appears in some of Breton's other works.<sup>2</sup> It appears regularly in the "Necessary Notes for a Courtier" appended to *The Court and Country*, 1618. These notes consist of fifty-three questions and answers, and of the answers no fewer than forty-two are phrased in fours. The last two questions, with their answers, will probably be more than sufficient.

Q. What is the life of a Courtier?

A. The labour of pleasure, the aspiring to greatness, the ease of nature, and the command of reason.

Q. What is the fame of a Courtier?

A. A cleare conscience, and a free spirit, an innocent heart, and a bountifull hand.<sup>3</sup>

More curious still, perhaps, is *The Figure of Foure*, of which only the second part (1636)<sup>4</sup> seems to have survived. This odd little work consists of one hundred and four<sup>5</sup> separate observations, every one of which makes four points about something. They may be fairly enough represented by the first and the last.

1. There are foure things greatly to be taken heed of: a Flye in the eye, a bone in the throat, a dog at the heele, and a theefe in the house.<sup>6</sup>

104. Foure sums are very good for a Bookseller: some wares, some customers, some money, some drink.<sup>7</sup>

One's first impulse is to regard such a style as suitable only for trivial matters. Many of Breton's points, to be sure, are merely quips; but very many of them are not, and when he is most serious Breton is as likely as ever to be euphuistic. One must remember that the "metaphysical" or fantastic tendency profoundly affected seventeenth-century prose as well as

<sup>1</sup> Grosart, II, 7, 5.

<sup>2</sup> It is proper to note, however, that Breton wrote some characters which are free from quadrumania. This is the case in *A Discourse of a Scholler and a Souldier*, 1599, and in *Fantasticks*, 1626. The latter work, by the way, throws some very interesting light on Jacobean daily life, especially on the question of the time at which various things were done. For example, at five o'clock in the morning "the Schollers are up and going to schoole." (Grosart, II, 1, 13.)

<sup>3</sup> Grosart, II, 11, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Grosart, II, f. A work called *The Figure of Foure*, licensed in 1597 (Arber's *Transcript*, III, 96), is presumed to be by Breton. No earlier edition than 1631-1636 is known, however, and of that only the second part (1636). That contains an address "To the Reader" which is signed N. B.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps quadrumania has seized me, but I cannot forbear suggesting that here Breton may have intentionally varied the familiar "century" by adding another four.

<sup>6</sup> Grosart, II, f, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Grosart, II, f, 8.

verse, and that, in consequence, what was considered most precious, in prose as in verse, was likely to be most ingeniously ornate. Yet undeniably the character, and English prose generally, was somewhat dangerously refined by the attentions of such men as Breton. From that danger it was rescued, in part, by the compelling nature of the subjects that began to demand treatment at the approach of the Civil War. The resulting characters of bishops and roundheads, in which the fourth and fifth decades of the century became so prolific, were not, whatever their other defects, seriously belittled by their euphuism.





## THE BRECA EPISODE IN *BEOWULF*

WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE

"Felicitously introduced, and finely told," as Henry Bradley puts it, is the narrative of Beowulf's youthful adventure in swimming the wintry sea with Breca of the Brondings, and in slaying fearful and menacing monsters of the deep. With superb ease and skill the stranger guest from the land of the Geats silences the envious Unferth, who has accused him, at the ceremonial banquet at Hrothgar's court, of having proved himself the weaker in this struggle on the waters, and consequently no fit champion to do battle with Grendel. Not only is the charge of inferiority to Breca denied, and the hero's preëminence proudly asserted, but a disgraceful occurrence in Unferth's past life is recalled, — he had proved faithless to his kinsmen.<sup>1</sup> It needed only this stinging reproach, of which the adroit and well-informed Beowulf makes such telling use, to add a final touch of pungency to a masterly speech, and to complete the discomfiture of Unferth.

The chief purpose of Beowulf's long narrative of his exploits in swimming, then, is to correct misconceptions in the minds of the revellers at Heorot, who have been listening to the false report of Unferth. Since we are elsewhere told that the hero was esteemed sluggish in his early years, it is particularly interesting to have this version of his adventure from his own lips. Yet, singularly enough, the actual facts of the case, as Beowulf himself states them, appear to have been strangely misunderstood. Unferth's tale has been allowed to color Beowulf's narrative in such a way as to distort it completely. Truly, malicious slander is never quite without its effect! The hero's account seems clear enough, when once the whole story is reviewed with care, yet practically every critic of the episode appears to have misconceived the situation. The possibility of such an error seems, curiously enough, hardly to have been suspected. Very few scholars have questioned at all the lucidity of the narrative. Recently, however, R. W. Chambers, in his admirable study of *Widsith*, has voiced his doubts as follows: ". . . Unferth taunts Beowulf with his unsuccessful swimming match with Breca, the son of Beanstan. Beowulf asserts that he was the better swimmer, and he silences his opponent by personal abuse; but his explanation, that he could have swum faster than

<sup>1</sup> Probably not so much the "murderer" of his kinsmen, as *þēah þū þīnum brōðrum tō banan wurde* (587) suggests, as one who forsook them in the hour of danger, left them to their fate. I think Professor Kittredge made this suggestion, either in a lecture or in conversation, some years since. Cf. 1167 and the interesting discussion by Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, pp. 25 ff.

his rival, but did not choose to do so, seems insufficient. And Beowulf nowhere says that Breca was defeated or humiliated. The poet has not made the swimming match very clear.”<sup>1</sup>

These comments reveal the fundamental misconception to which reference has just been made. The exploit was not, I believe, really a “swimming match” at all, in the sense in which the term is generally understood. Beowulf was not trying to overcome Breca,<sup>2</sup> nor Breca Beowulf. Unferth has indeed given that impression, but his evidence must of course be disregarded, and Beowulf’s explanation received as the truth. In order to understand the situation completely, however, we must review Unferth’s accusations with some care. Familiar as the lines are, they must be quoted once more.

- 506 Art thou that Beowulf, who didst struggle against Breca,  
on the broad sea didst contend in swimming,  
when ye two in your pride made trial of the waves,  
and for a foolish boast on the deep water  
510 risked your lives? No living man,  
be he who he might, could dissuade you  
from the ill-starred venture; then ye two swam the waters,  
stretched your arms out over the ocean-current,  
measured the sea-streets, plied your hands,  
515 glided over the ocean; the sea was turbulent with waves,  
with the breakers of winter. In the might of the water  
ye toiled seven nights; he overcame thee in swimming,  
he had more strength. Him in the morning  
amongst the Heatho-Reames did the sea cast up.  
520 Thence he sought his own country,  
— dear was he to his people, — the land of the Brondings,  
the fair and peaceful city, where his folk were,  
his fortress and his treasures. All his boast against thee  
did the son of Beanstan in very truth perform.  
525 And so I expect for thee a worse fortune,  
doughty though thou mayst ever have been in battle-onslaughts,  
in grim combat, if thou darest abide  
through the watches of a night the coming of Grendel!<sup>3</sup>

Specifically, then, Unferth’s charges are that Beowulf and Breca in pride and foolish boasting (508–509) risked their lives on the water; that they were contending against each other (506–509), and that Breca surpassed Beowulf, proving the stronger swimmer (517–518), thus fulfilling his boast that he would

<sup>1</sup> *Widsith, a Study in Old English Heroic Legend*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, for example, Stopford Brooke’s paraphrase (*History of Early English Literature*, New York, 1892, p. 59): “Beowulf answered, full of wrath, that Hunferth was a liar, and that the victory was his, not Breca’s.”

<sup>3</sup> The Heyne-Socin-Schücking text, Paderborn, 1910, has been made the basis of the present translations and citations. In translating I have kept in general the divisions of lines and half-lines, and made the rendering rather literal, allowing myself occasional liberties for the sake of modern idiom.

overcome Beowulf (524). Consequently, since Beowulf is thus proved inferior, he is no person to engage with Grendel.

Beowulf replies with care to each of these accusations. His speech, in so far as it illustrates his defense, is as follows :

- 530 Lo ! many things indeed, my friend Unferth,  
 overcome with drink, hast thou told about Breca,  
 reported of his exploit ! I repeat the truth,  
 that I had greater sea-strength,  
 power to resist hardships<sup>1</sup> on the waters, than any other man.<sup>2</sup>
- 535 We asserted in boyhood  
 and boasted (we were both of us still  
 in the time of our youth) that we two out on the ocean  
 would venture our lives ; and we performed it, too.  
 We had naked swords, as we swam the waters,
- 540 hard ones in our hands, with which against the whales  
 we thought to defend us. Not a bit away from me,  
 far on the flood-waves, could he swim,  
 faster on the ocean ; I did not wish to swim away from him.  
 So we together were in the waters
- 545 five nights' time, until the floods parted us,  
 the raging waters ; the coldest of weathers,  
 darkling night, and the wind from the north  
 turned against us, grim as for battle. Angry were the billows,  
 the wrath of the sea-fish was roused.

(Here follows a description of the hero's combats with nickers.)

- Yet was it granted me to slay with my sword
- 575 nine of the nickers. Never have I heard of  
 a harder night-combat beneath the arch of heaven,  
 nor of a man in more desperate straits on the waves.  
 Yet from the grasp of my foes I escaped with my life,  
 weary of the struggle. Then the sea bore me up,
- 580 the current in the waves, the surging billows,  
 on the land of the Finns.
- Naught of your accomplishing  
 exploits such as these have I heard men tell,  
 of terrors of combat ; Breca never yet  
 at the battle-play, nor indeed either of you,
- 585 so bravely performed any deed  
 with swords opposing (I don't boast overmuch<sup>3</sup> of it)—  
 even if thou wert the death of thy brethren,  
 thy near kinsmen.

<sup>1</sup> Literally "hardships."

<sup>2</sup> Möller's idea that this means "than Breca" (*Altenglisches Volksepos*, p. 131) has no support that I can discover. Beowulf puts the case strongly in the beginning, and then disposes of the particular incident in which Breca was concerned.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *fela* (Grein, Grundtvig), not *gestites*. Kluge's completion of the defective half-line is, I think, impossible, since I do not believe Beowulf and Breca were contending at all.



Beowulf meets the general charge of inferiority first of all by asserting that he is inferior in strength on the water to no man alive (532 ff.). He then takes up the specific charge that he was "beaten" by Breca. They did risk their lives, he says, using the same phrase that Unferth did, *aldrum nēðdon*, but it was in the mutual fulfillment of a formal boast. While he and Breca were still only boys,<sup>1</sup> they vowed they would do a dangerous thing, — venture in swimming out on the wintry sea, swept with storms and beset with monsters. According to Unferth's story, many men tried to dissuade them, but unsuccessfully (510 ff.). To undertake a swim on the ocean under such conditions was in itself a heroic exploit. The two youths performed the feat, they fulfilled their boast (538). Beowulf is careful to explain that Breca could not swim faster than he, and that he himself had no desire to outstrip his companion (541 ff.). There was, then, no "race" about it; they kept together for five days, until they were separated by a storm. Returning to the charge that he was weak in water-prowess, Beowulf tells of his fight with the nickers, — a more doughty exploit than Breca or Unferth ever accomplished. Unferth, a man with a shady past, who dares not attack Grendel himself, has no right to lift up his voice, and question the courage of others. Finally, Beowulf promises to meet the monster himself in the night to come.

Unferth's falsehood, then, consists in making a contest out of what was only the mutual fulfillment of a boast, — one of those "brags," or "gabs," so dear to the hearts of our Germanic ancestors. Often these oaths were made at banquets, when the warriors, excited by strong drink, were willing to promise undertakings which their soberer sense would have rejected. Such vaunts were indeed frequently uttered over the ceremonial wine-horn, "the beaker of Bragi." How embarrassing they sometimes proved we know from the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* as well as from Scandinavian stories. But heroic and perilous exploits were often preceded by formal vows of accomplishment not conceived in excitement or intoxication. The present poem furnishes testimony enough of this. Before undertaking the contest with Grendel, Beowulf makes formal vows of vaunting character (*gylp-worda sum*, 675); indeed, in the very episode we are now considering, the hero, as Gummere puts it, "proceeds to promise or 'boast' what he himself will do; and with his cheerful 'gab' the speech closes amid general applause."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, before encountering the dragon he speaks in vaunting words (*bēot-wordum*, 2510). The general custom of vowing, in good set terms, to do a mighty deed, which could not in honor be abandoned, is too well known to require extended comment.

<sup>1</sup> The repetition of the statement that they were boys, *cniht-wesende . . . bāgen þā gūt on geogoð-fēore*, may be Beowulf's justification of a foolhardy act which had not the same excuse as the slaying of monsters to benefit mankind. Repetition does not, of course, always imply emphasis in Anglo-Saxon poetry, nor was recklessness necessarily esteemed unheroic. Yet this reiteration of the point that they were only boys seems an answer to Unferth's sneering phrase *dol-gilpe* (509).

<sup>2</sup> F. B. Gummere, *The Oldest English Epic*, p. 48.

These "brags" frequently involved emulation with another hero, and it is just here that Unferth's slanders gain color in the minds of his hearers. Breca accomplished his *bēot* — the technical term for a formal boast of any sort — by surpassing Beowulf; such is Unferth's charge. In his answer, Beowulf uses the same term, *Wit þæt gecwædon . . . ond gebēotedon*. But he brings out the true state of the case, not only by his denial that either outstripped the other, but by his statement *ond þæt geæfndon swā*, "and WE performed it, too." It is important to observe that two or more men might "boast" that they would accomplish a difficult task, without endeavoring to excel each other. The heroes in Hrothgar's hall who made formal vows to slay Grendel (*gebēotedon*, 480) were not concerned to surpass each other; the object was to rid their people of a deadly scourge. Indeed, the gaining of great glory by the fulfillment of a perilous feat sometimes involved companionship. Warriors might boast that they would risk their lives together, and succeed or fail as comrades. Consider, for example, an episode in the *Jómsvíkingasaga*. The heroes, with Sigwald at their head, visit King Swein in Denmark, and a place is assigned them at the winter-feast in the hall.

On the first evening of the banqueting the Jomsvikings drank, as the story goes, immoderately, and the drink had a powerful effect; only the strongest liquor was brought in for them. And when King Swein saw that they would get almost dead drunk and were already very voluble, he addressed the company and said: "Here is a great assembly of men, and many heroes! I propose that you all undertake something to please and divert us!" Then Sigwald replied: "That is well said, Lord, as is your custom! But we think that you ought to begin yourself, for it is right for us to give place to your Majesty in all matters." So King Swein said: "I know that men have often made brags among themselves for glory and pleasure, and I am ready to try that now, for I believe that such renowned men as you Jomsvikings are — more renowned in every way than other folk throughout the whole North — will show yourselves ready to undertake something really masterful in such an exchange of words, as one may well expect from your bearing, in which you far surpass all other men. And it is to be expected that men will hold all this in memory, and count it to your honor. But I will myself not refuse to begin this diversion." And he continued: "I make, then, the formal vow that before three winters are over I shall have fared westwards to England with my forces, and returned home, and that King Ethelred shall either have fallen or fled the country and I shall have his sovereignty. Now it is your turn to speak, O Sigwald!" "So let it be, Lord," answered Sigwald, and as a great drinking-horn was brought to him, he stood up, took the horn, and said: "I vow to sail to Norway and attack Jarl Hakon before the third winter from this, and not to return until I have killed the Jarl or driven him out of the country, and if I have not it will be because I have lost my life." After these words Sigwald emptied the horn. "That goes well," cried King Swein, "and that is a noble boast." Then he led Sigwald to the high seat and gave him the title of Jarl; he said that he expected that Sigwald would accomplish it successfully, as he had vowed to do, and said that he must reward such mighty enmity to the Norwegians. Then the king called out: "Now it is your turn, O Thorkell Hafi, to speak! What will you vow to undertake? You must be bold and courageous!" "I vow," answered Thorkell, "to follow my brother Sigwald, and not to flee sooner than he, as long as I see the prow of his ship and the oars ready for action, in case he fights on the water with Jarl Hakon; but if he engages with

him on shore, I will not retreat until I can see Sigwald no more in the thick of the fight, and his banner is behind me." "That was well spoken," said the king, "and you will no doubt accomplish it, for you are a doughty hero! Now it is your turn to speak, Bui Digri! We know that you will have something worthy of a man to promise, for you are rightly called the mightiest of heroes." Bui said, "This vow do I make, that I will fare northwards with Jarl Sigwald and follow him in this expedition as long as my endurance permits, and not flee from Jarl Hakon until fewer of our men remain than have fallen, and I will hold out as long as Sigwald will have me."<sup>1</sup>

Space does not permit of quoting this scene at greater length; but this will suffice to illustrate how Beowulf and Breca might, without personal rivalry, have striven as comrades to accomplish their boast that they would swim the wintry sea.

Koegel appears to think that Beowulf beat Breca because he landed in *Finna land* (580), whereas Breca came to shore among the *Heaðo-Rēamas* (519).<sup>2</sup> But this does not prove that Beowulf had swum further than Breca. In the first place, scholars are not agreed as to whence they started.<sup>3</sup> This is surely an important consideration! In the second place, we cannot be sure of the location either of the *Heaðo-Rēamas* or of the *Finna land*. The generally accepted identification of the former with the Raumaricii of Jordanes rests on emendation of the manuscript.<sup>4</sup> *Finna land* has been explained as the realm of King Finn in Friesland, as the island of Fünen, as Finheden in Sweden, and as a locality in Bohuslän.<sup>5</sup> It seems most probable to the present writer that it is to be taken simply as "the land of the Finns," thought of vaguely as being a long distance away across the water, a good remote locality for a man to reach by swimming.<sup>6</sup> Those hearing or reading the Anglo-Saxon epic would have been much more likely to take it in this way, whatever was the case in the Scandinavian form of the tale. I believe that modern critics frequently err in supposing that the man who put *Beowulf* into its present shape had a clear idea of the geographical relationships of the Northland. Such relationships are, as everyone knows, frequently hazy in mediæval story. But even granting that the *Finna land* was farthest from the starting-point, this

<sup>1</sup> From the German translation by F. Khull of MS. A.M. 510 Copenhagen (*Jahresbericht des zweiten Staats-Gymnasiums*), Graz, 1891, pp. 25 ff. I have not been able to consult the original.

<sup>2</sup> "Er ist also weiter nach Norden vorgedrungen als Breca, den er auch durch seine Heldenthaten während der Schwimmfahrt übertroffen zu haben glaubt." The heroic deeds are not the issue, of course; Unferth's specific charge is that they had a swimming contest, and that Beowulf was worsted (507, 517). For Koegel's discussion, see his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Vol. I, pp. 110 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Contrast, for instance, the view of Bugge, *Beiträge*, Vol. XII, p. 55, with that of R. W. Chambers, *Widsith*, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> *-reames to -reamas*.

<sup>5</sup> Bugge, pp. 53 f.; Sarrazin, *Beowulf-Studien*, 1888, p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> On the location of the Finns, a scattered and migratory people, see Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Munich, 1837, pp. 272 ff., 683 ff. If those here mentioned are the same people as in *Widsith*, p. 20, *Cæsere wœold Cræcum and Calic Finnum*, they are to be placed, according to Chambers, p. 213, note, to the east and northeast of the Baltic.



does not seem an answer to Unferth's taunt. Beowulf says that he and Breca were parted against their will by stormy weather, and driven asunder. This is hardly beating Breca, nor does the poet appear to consider it so. If there had really been a "swimming match" and a victory, it seems safe to say that Beowulf would have been quick to claim it, in his usual self-confident fashion. Instead, he goes out of his way to say that Breca was unable to outstrip him, and that he had no desire to swim faster than Breca, placing the emphasis on his slaying of the nickers. If there really had been a "swimming match," we can hardly believe the poet would have left the result so indecisive, no matter how many nickers had been killed.

The parallel to this episode pointed out by Bugge in the *Egilssaga ok Ásmundar*, appears, in the light of the foregoing discussion, less convincing than ever. Brandl has called the resemblances "vague and insignificant,"<sup>1</sup> but since the passage is frequently cited, it may be well to examine it briefly here. Egill, with thirty others, engaged in a contest as to which could swim farthest (*hverr lengst mundi geta lagist í vatnit*) in an inland lake. "Egill was fleetest in swimming, and no one could keep up with him (*ok gat engi fylgt honum*), and when they had gone far from the land, there arose so dark a mist that no one could see another, and a cold wind sprang up. They now lost their way in the strait, and Egill did not know what had become of his men; he floated around in the water two days, then he came to land, and was so exhausted that he had to creep ashore, and gather mosses and lie on them the night." The only resemblance which this narrative affords to *Beowulf* appears to be the fact that Egill was only a boy, *tólf vetr gamall*, and that he was separated from his companions by bad weather.

Brandl's own views as to the interpretation of the Breca episode appear, however, no more convincing. He believes it is to be explained as originating in a "nature myth," but he is unwilling to hazard a definite analysis. A restatement of his views in answer to criticisms has made his hypothesis no more intelligible to his critic.<sup>2</sup> His general idea is, of course, an inheritance from Müllenhoff and his followers. Müllenhoff explained the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bugge, pp. 51 ff.; Brandl, Paul's *Grundriss*, second ed., Vol. II, p. 992.

<sup>2</sup> "Das Motiv beruht auf der menschenartigen Ausmalung eines Naturvorganges; aufgebrochen und offen gehalten wird das südkandinavische Meer im Winter durch den Wind, im westlichen Norwegen aber sorgt der Golfstrom für freies Fahrwasser. Es ist offenbar eine Lokalbeobachtung aus der Nähe der alten Angelnheimat, die von den Eroberern mit nach England gebracht wurde. Sie ist mythisch ausgebildet ("Breca" = Brecher), und dann fabulistisch mit einem blossen Menschen (Beowulf) in Verbindung gebracht" (p. 992). "Wenn ich sagte, dass das Breca-motiv auf der menschenartigen Ausmalung eines Naturvorganges beruhte, so behauptete ich damit noch lange nicht dass die Breca-person des Epos den Wind bedeutete und sein stärkerer Schwimmrival Beowulf den Golfstrom. . . . Möglicherweise knüpfte man die Erzählung erst nachträglich an den alten, im Widsith bezeugten Namen Bre(o)ca, etc." Brandl's discussion should be read entire (see *Archiv*, 1909, p. 473); for criticism of the Gulf-Stream and polar-current idea, see Panzer, *Beowulf*, Munich, 1910, p. 270.

"schwimmwettkampf" with considerable definiteness. The *Finna land* he understood to mean the country of the Lapps, according to modern usage of the name. "So," he argued, "[Beowulf] swam against the polar current, and may therefore be regarded as a mythical person, a divine being friendly to mankind, who in his youth, i.e. in the spring, subdues the violence and wildness of the wintry sea, overcoming its stormy character. This [characteristic] is represented by his rival or fellow-swimmer Breca."<sup>1</sup> Obviously, if the interpretation of the episode advanced in the present article is correct, Müllenhoff's mythology must be revised. As for the other mythological explanations of the incident, it seems hardly necessary to review them here, since the general principles underlying them have been criticized by various scholars in recent years,<sup>2</sup> and since the present writer has himself commented upon them at length elsewhere.

Whether the episode has a foundation in actual fact, as many scholars have believed, it seems impossible to say. Before we can agree with Henry Bradley, that "perhaps [Beowulf's] contest with Breca may have been an exaggeration of a real incident in his career," we must make up our minds how much reality we can, in any event, assume for the figure of the hero. Exaggerations of the epic variety, such as the seven nights in the water and the slaying of the sea monsters, are undoubtedly present; whether, when these are removed, we have an actual incident or merely the attribution to an imaginary hero of a feat common in early Germanic life will still remain a question. The name and people of Breca are, as Müllenhoff suggested, reminiscent of the sea; Beanstan he connected etymologically with *bauni*, "whale," not a satisfactory suggestion, and it is not clear how the second syllable is explained. In any case, we are not much nearer a decision as to the reality of these personages. What philological ingenuity may do with Beanstan is illustrated by Panzer's connecting him with a "steinbrecher" of the fairy-tales, a view, apart from its inherent improbability, irreconcilable with the interpretation of the Breca episode here presented.

To throw light upon disputed questions of scholarship is not the main object of our discussion. If this discussion has rendered a service, it will have been chiefly in interpreting one of the finest passages in the epic more accurately than has hitherto been done, so that we may read it with the added pleasure which comes of sounder understanding. "Taketh the fruyt, and lat the chaf be stille!"

<sup>1</sup> *Beowulf*, *Untersuchungen*, etc., Berlin, 1889, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Boer, Chambers (p. 111), Heinzel, Panzer, Sarrazin, Gummere. For bibliography, see the article by the present writer in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XXIV (1909), pp. 247 ff.

## FROM *TROILUS* TO *EUPHUES*

PERCY WALDRON LONG

Unique, I think, in accounts of the Elizabethan novel is R. Warwick Bond's statement<sup>1</sup> that "*The Adventures passed by Master F. I.* (Ferdinando Ieronimo), in its subject-matter, its love-making, its letters, the coquetry of its heroine Elinor, and its general aspect as a picture of polite society, forms the only anticipation of *Euphues* in English literature." Others, as Emil Koeppel<sup>2</sup> and J. D. Wilson,<sup>3</sup> ignore the work. Feuillerat<sup>4</sup> merely names it in a footnote based on Einstein. Nor does Bond say more. For him, as for others, *Euphues* "is, in effect, nothing less than the first English novel, the first holding up to English men and women of the mirror of their own life and loves." So Wilson (p. 343) and J. W. H. Atkins<sup>5</sup> style *Euphues* "the first English novel."

Yet Gascoigne's pamphlet, no less than *Euphues*, will answer most definitions of a novel. It chronicles a love affair; it is told realistically, about ordinary people, in ordinary surroundings; it introduces a rival, a confidante, even a minor love affair; its plot has well-marked stages; its characters are influenced by events. True, it contains verses; no less did most imitations of *Euphues*. True again, its letters and poems almost outbulk the narrative; but in *Euphues* the *ragionamenti*, and soliloquies, and discourses consume fifty pages of seventy, apart from the ninety pages of appended letters and treatises. *Euphues*, ostensibly, does not portray English life; Gascoigne, in the first edition, does.

*Euphues*, then, is not our first novel. Can it be connected with Gascoigne? The latter attests that "the first Copie of these my Posies hath been verie much inquired for by the yonger sort."<sup>6</sup> A second edition, of 1575, was being sold at the northwest door of St Paul's when Lyly with his degree of M. A. left Oxford and came to London.<sup>7</sup> His eminence then appears, for example, in Harvey's *Xaïpe*, 1578,<sup>8</sup> where Erato says, "More sile: Surreie sile: Gascoigne sileto." Since Harvey and Gascoigne used the same printer, Bynneman, since Harvey planned to study law<sup>9</sup> and Gascoigne was a member of Gray's Inn, and since Latin verses by "G. H." are prefixed to Gascoigne's volume, they

<sup>1</sup> *Works of John Lyly*, I, 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXX.

<sup>3</sup> *The Library*, October, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> *John Lyly*, p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 345.

<sup>6</sup> *Works of George Gascoigne*, ed. J. W. Cunliffe, 1907, I, 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 474; Feuillerat, p. 40.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. Grosart, I, Introd.

See *Camden Society Publications*, 1884, pp. 112, 178.



may well have been acquainted. Harvey says he knew Lyly at their lodgings in the Savoy.<sup>1</sup> There, too, lived Oxford, the Italianate earl, whose secretary Lyly became, whose father-in-law, Lord Burleigh, was Lyly's patron, and who both at Queen's College and later patronized Harvey.<sup>2</sup> Across the street lived Burleigh, to whom George Whetstone, the intimate friend of Gascoigne, dedicated in 1576 the fourth part of *The Rocke of Regard*. In view of Lyly's tastes, Gascoigne's tale in the three years preceding the writing of *Euphues* can hardly have escaped his attention.

Oddly enough one finds in style no traceable similarity, in content none barring the presence of a faithless heroine, a disillusioned lover, a virtuous lady as foil, and the *ragionamenti d'amore*, then a commonplace of social life.

So, too, close antecedents for Gascoigne are wanting. In Boccaccio's *Ameto* the narrative preponderates, is pastoral and apart from ordinary social life; the poems are of but one metrical type. His other tales give no precedent for Gascoigne's structure. The *Vita Nuova* is mystical, and deals critically with its poems in a fashion not echoed by Gascoigne. Their difference of tone forbids thought of direct imitation. San Pedro's *Carcel de Amor* (Englished by Berners) is partly allegorical, partly chivalric, containing no verse. Among native sources one turns in vain to Tottel, Gooze, and Turberville. They have occasionally successive poems addressed to the same persons, poems with titles explaining the occasion of the verse, but never poems connected by explanatory prose links. One can only surmise the story of their loves. Turberville does, in *Tymetes and Pyndara*,<sup>3</sup> preface a succession of poems by a verse argument; and this may have suggested the idea of having some nexus for occasional poetry, such as was commonly inspired by the convention of courtly love.

Early in Gascoigne's volume<sup>4</sup> appears *Dan Bartholmew of Bath*, a love story told in triumphs and dolorous discourses. These are linked by narrative verse presented by "The Reporter," as San Pedro's links are headed "El auctor." Gascoigne declares that the lover in both his stories is the same (I, 136, st. 2; 405, ll. 13, 18). This allusion occurs in *Dan Bartholmew*, but does not establish the priority of *The Adventures of F.J.*, appearing, as it does, only in the second edition; on the contrary, *Dan Bartholmew* is at first broken off as a tale unfinished, and after the supposed editor's "Finis" stands "Imprinted at London for Richard Smith,"<sup>5</sup> as if the publication were there to rest complete. The verse links, therefore, have priority.

For this earlier work the source of inspiration is Chaucer's *Troilus*. The Reporter's ninety-five stanzas in rime royal at once suggest him whom Gascoigne termed (I, 465) "my master Chaucer." Allusions to Chaucer's lovers,

<sup>1</sup> Bond's *Lyly*, I, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Grosart's *Harvey*, Index.

<sup>3</sup> *Epitaphes, Epigrams*, etc., 1567; reprint by Collier, pp. 4-14, 36-51.

<sup>4</sup> Still earlier (ed. Cunliffe, I, 46-49) Gascoigne connects a few poems by prose links explaining the occasions. But they do not constitute a story.

<sup>5</sup> Cunliffe's *Gascoigne*, I, 482.

though frequent (pp. 98, 109, 126, 133), may not convince, since, as Whetstone says,<sup>1</sup> "The inconstancie of Cressid is so readie in every mans mouth, as it is a needelesse labour to blase at full her abuse towardes yong Troilus." But Gascoigne appeals (I, 101) to the authority of "Lollius and Chaucer both." Equally the prefatory letter to *The Adventures of F. J.* dwells on "Sir Geffrey Chaucer" (p. 491) as an author to be imitated.

There the genesis of the English novel is made clear. "G. T." describes the book as containing "a number of Sonets, layes, letters, Ballades, Rondlets, verlayes and verses, the workes of your friend and myne Master F. J. and divers others." G. T.'s rôle is important, more so than E. K.'s in his relation to Spenser. Of these varied poems G. T. says: "The which when I had with long travayle confusedly gathered together, I thought it then *Opere precium* to reduce them into some good order. The which I have done." Accordingly, his initials appear repeatedly<sup>2</sup> in lieu of "The Reporter." If G. T. stands for George Turberville, the relation of *Tymetes and Pyndara* may be significant. But all this apparatus disappears in 1575, when the tale appears as one by a single Italian author. It becomes a story with illustrative verse — a love story, setting its precedent for the English novel.

The alleged autobiographical character of *The Adventures of F. J.* brings into strict parallel another supposedly biographical story, Harvey's account of *A Nobleman's Suit to a Country Maid*.<sup>3</sup> Herein an archetypal Pamela resists the adulterous proposals of Milord Phil. and his man P. Letters and verses diversify the narrative, from one of which it appears that Harvey's sister Marcie is the maid. Himself terminates the affair as *deus ex machina*. These pages, being in Harvey's elegant — not his illegible — hand (p. vi), may have circulated. Indeed, Nash apparently alludes to the episode.<sup>4</sup> Dates place this story in the winter of 1574-1575, between the editions of Gascoigne, whom (let me repeat) Harvey admired, and whose printer was also Harvey's. That Harvey should have shown this work to Lyly, esteeming him "a dapper and deft companion" (Bond, I, 17, n. 1), is not beyond belief; but that *Euphues* owes to it anything of consequence could not be maintained.

A year or more later, it would seem, George Whetstone dated his dedications of *The Rocke of Regard* October 15, 1576. The first part contains<sup>5</sup> *The Discourse of Rinaldo and Giletta*, which is, as Brydges says,<sup>6</sup> "an intermixture of prose and verse, composed much on the plan of Gascoigne's love-tale, entitled the Fable of Ferdinando Jeronimi." Its relation to the Romeo and Juliet story has been pointed out by Koeppel.<sup>7</sup> Like Gascoigne, however, his friend Whetstone declares (p. 42) that "this discourse was first written

<sup>1</sup> *Rocke of Regard*, reprint by Collier, 1870, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Cunliffe's *Gascoigne*, I, 491-499, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Camden Society Publications*, 1884, pp. 45-49.

<sup>4</sup> McKerrow's *Nash*, III, 129.

<sup>5</sup> Collier, pp. 41-91.

<sup>6</sup> *Censura Literaria*, 1815, VI, 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXX, 32.

in Italian by an unknown author." As in Gascoigne, the lovers meet at a house party, exchange letters and verses, and arrive at an understanding (though here without immorality). To continue the parallel, both lovers then become ill, while a rival appears to take their place; both mistresses with company visit the heroes and make smooth their beds. Mistrust comes to both. Both find their rivals in their mistresses' rooms at night. At this point Whetstone, whose tale is simpler and less strikingly specific in detail, diverges to a complicated plot and chivalric ending, with knightly combat and a wedding of the lovers.

Again Whetstone offers a parallel to Gascoigne in the fourth part, where verses by "The Reporter" link "Inventions of P. Plasmos touching his hap and hard fortune." These complaints, not merely as to love but regarding many cozeners, constitute, however, less a story than a succession of reflections. With them, as an approach to Gascoigne, may be mentioned a set of poems by his son-in-law Nicholas Breton, which appeared in 1577 in *The Toyes of an Idle Head*.<sup>1</sup> Nine poems here have headings of a few lines each which connect the occasions chronologically and afford some setting. The love affair occurs "in his friends and betters house." He writes verses, once extempore, to please the company. But, his "adversary still creeping in countenance," he chooses another mistress and sends the former by way of New Year's gift a farewell poem. Not yet have we a link between Gascoigne and Lyly.

Sources for *Euphues* have repeatedly proved mirages, as the absurd citation of Guevara now sufficiently exposed.<sup>2</sup> Twice while a student I read North and Guevara, in awe of professors who detected a resemblance. Bond (I, 155) assures himself "that Lyly was really imitating the *Diall*" from Lyly's mention of "the university of Athens" and "the Emperours court," of which the first is due to the *Scholemaster*<sup>3</sup> and the second is natural since a Neapolitan might well attend the Spanish court. Nor is Bond right in stating (I, 138) that "in Pettie . . . we have an exact model of the style of *Euphues*," for he admits unequivocally (I, 140) that allusions to mythology do not abound, and that historical anecdotes and similes from pseudo-natural history do not occur. On the other hand, Lyly's indebtedness to Ascham has been understated. Feuillerat, who alone recognizes (pp. 57-59) that the personality as well as the name of Euphues comes thence, neglects to state that the course of the story is therein foreshadowed. Thus Ascham says (p. 38) that "commonlie, the fairest bodies are bestowed on the foulest purposes." So in Lyly (I, 184): "None more wittie then Euphues, yet at the first none more wicked." Ascham declaims later against the fashions of courtly love. These Euphues practices. Again, Ascham stresses "excellencye in learning, and

<sup>1</sup> Grosart's *Breton*, I, 27-33.

<sup>2</sup> Bond's *Lyly*, I, 137-138, 155-156.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Arber, pp. 58-60.





*The Golden Aphroditis:*

A pleasant discourse,  
penned by *John Grange Gentle-*  
*man, Student in the Common*  
*Lavve of Englande.*

*Wherevnto be annexed by the same Au-*  
thour asfvell certayne Metres vpon sundry  
poyntes, as also diuers Pamphlets in prose, which he enti-  
tuleth *HIS GARDEN*: pleasant to the eare, and delightful  
to the Reader, if he abuse not the sence of the floures.

*Habet & musca splenem,*  
*Et formicæ suæ bilis inest.*



AT LONDON

ANNO. 1577.

namely Diuinitie." It is to divinity that Euphues, disillusioned, turns (p. 157), and therefore writes a dialogue against atheism.<sup>1</sup>

This debt to Ascham, with the existing stories of Gascoigne and Whetstone ostensibly portraying Italian life, cuts the ground from under J. D. Wilson's suggestion<sup>2</sup> that "Euphues itself, the first English novel, and the most famous romance that the age produced, was a direct adaptation of the Prodigal Son story as developed by the Dutch dramatists." It becomes unnecessary to connect (p. 357) "Euphues, the refined wit, and Acolastus, the sensual simpleton"; for at best Wilson could but suggest some lost play.

Some points yet demand solution. Why is Euphues an Athenian? Where did Lyly find his remarkable similes? Is it not difficult to conceive his making concrete the abstraction of Ascham without some model? In any case, the model exists, — a book apparently unknown to historians of literature, though not to bibliographers, — John Grange's story entitled *The Golden Aphroditis*. It constitutes a direct link between Gascoigne and Lyly.

Of this volume the only copies recorded are one in the British Museum,<sup>3</sup> two in the Bodleian (Douce and Malone collections), and one still in the Huth Library, formerly in that of Corser, who says (*Coll. Ang. Poet.*, VII, 44) that "no copy of it occurred for sale in the present [19th] century." It bears the date 1577, but was registered<sup>4</sup> under July 1, 1578: "H. Bynneman. Receuyed of him for his lycence to print the *golden APHRODITIS* vjd and a copie." Probably, therefore, the book was held back, as was Greene's *Orpharion*,<sup>5</sup> for the more lucrative fall trade. And this seems the more probable since Grange's patron, Lord Stourton, was that year restored in blood, taking his seat on February 11, 1577.<sup>6</sup> This discrepancy may also explain Watt's unsupported statement<sup>7</sup> that the book attained a second edition "without date, 4to."

Though the author's title-page declares him "Gentleman, Student in the Common Lawe of Englande," his name is not registered in the Inns of Court. We may, however, because of his use of law terms — *videlicet*, *quare*, *consentaneum*, and "please thee (Lady) to yeelde up the whole interest and title of thine harte" — accept his statement. Since he writes "what best might agree with your Honours youthfull yeeres &c. nor mislike my youthfull authoritie," and since his patron, Lord Stourton, matriculated at Oxford under date of December 3, 1575, we may identify him with the student at Oxford: "Grange, John, of London, pleb. Queen's Coll., matric. entry under date 10 Jan. 1574–1575, aged 18."<sup>8</sup> Webbe's allusion to him in a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Scholemaster*, ed. Arber, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *The Library*, October, 1909, p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> I am working with holographs of this prepared by Duncan Macbeth.

<sup>4</sup> Arber's *Transcript*, II, 148.

<sup>5</sup> P. Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Dugdale's *Baronage*, 1676, III, 229.

<sup>7</sup> *Bibliotheca Poetica*, Edinburgh, 1824, I, 432 h.

<sup>8</sup> *Alumni Oxonienses*, ed. Joseph Foster, 1891, II (Early Series), 593.



list — "Iohn Graunge, Knyght, Wylmott," etc.<sup>1</sup> — led the editor to style him (p. 6) Sir J. Grange; but erroneously, for Webbe elsewhere (p. 66) speaks of him with no addition.

If not acquainted with Lyly, Grange at least rubbed shoulders with him. For six months they were together in Oxford on High Street, one at Magdalen, the other at Queen's. In London several inns of chancery neighbored the Savoy. Grange's printer was also Gascoigne's and Harvey's. Thus on October 3, 1577, Bynneman licensed Harvey's *Rhetor*; on August 20, 1578, his *Xaîpe*. Harvey was then a confirmed student of law. Other Oxford men who knew Lyly, as Thomas Watson, must have made Grange and Lyly at least one aware of the other.<sup>2</sup> Contact with Gascoigne seems less likely, but less significant.

*The Golden Aphroditis* covers some eighty pages, the narrative framing thirteen pieces of verse, five moral discourses, three letters, and a few other episodic variations. To it are appended in Grange's *Garden* some forty pages of occasional verses and letters. Grange styles his tale a "paganicall pamphlet," since Diana's daughter by Endymion figures as heroine, and the Olympians not only intervene but attend the concluding marriage and there perform appropriate "stunts." Paganism, however, does not disguise in most places the portrayal of contemporary London life. The lover attends the heroine home from the court of the gods. Invited to spend the night, he talks with her in a gallery, dances with her after supper, and parts after breakfast, only to return from time to time on similar visits till they marry — about the next Easter. Meantime they exchange letters and verses. For plot, an erstwhile lover is cast off, informs the hero that his mistress is faithless, is beaten in a duel with staves, tempts the heroine to wantonness, is repulsed, proffers jewels in vain, and finally contents himself with friendship.

Grange represents a moral reaction from the adulterous skit of Gascoigne. The latter's occasional obscenity has here no place. He had in his second edition informed "the Reverend Divines" (I, 7) that they might read it now it is "so purged from the humor of inhumanitie." More emphatically Grange avers that "such Tragedies as intend to inhumanitie, are not worthe of reading, neyther to be put in print." Equally does this appear in his motto. Gascoigne had flaunted *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*; Grange replies with *Tam Minervæ quam Veneri*. Yet the literary interest is largely identical. Grange echoes verbatim G. T.'s letter (see p. 369 above) by saying: "Yet thinke I it good and *Opere precium*, here to reduce their pretie Poems and Poeticall Pamphlets conveyed from the one to the other, for that he that

<sup>1</sup> Webbe's *Discourse*, 1586, ed. Arber, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Thomas Bowsfield, the year before Spenser at the Merchant Taylors' School and at Pembroke Hall, A.M. 1575, became lecturer in logic at Queen's (Oxford), where Bartholomew Bousfield, rector in London since 1566, was provost during Grange's residence.

readeth the grounde and pithe thereof, shall fynd *aliquid salis*." In part this echoes G. T. some lines below : " For that I found none of them, so barreyne, but that (in my judgment) had in it *Aliquid salis*." On the same page G. T. alludes to Gascoigne's work " The clyming of an Eagles nest." So Grange a few sentences later makes his hero declare, " I fynd it not over easy to clyme the Egles nest."

Numerous correspondences remove the connection of the works from controversy. Thus the chief characters are —abnormally — named only by initials : F. J. and N. O. Each mistress has a secretary, who writes her first letter to the lover. In each story the lovers sign their letters *he* and *she*. N. O. terms Alpha Omega his " Trust " ; so F. J. is Frances' " Trust " (I, 403). Gascoigne says (I, 388) of F. J., " Proferring to take an humble congé by *Bezo las manos*, she graciously gave him the *zuccado dez labros*." So in Grange N. O. " gave his ladie the *zucado dez labros*." Again : " an humble kinde of gratulation, which Venus vouchsafed to call the gentle conge, and Mars hir darling the *Bezo las manos*." Apart from these rare phrases, a nosebleed figures in each story. In each the hero solves several doubts in points of love (ed. Cunliffe, I, 428, 441 ; Grange, pp. 28, 38, 62, 86). F. J.'s inventions are published at second hand ; so Grange chooses (p. 3) to " ground my Paganicall Pamphlet upon the song of Apollo, most melodiously song unto me (as me thought) in a vision." Gascoigne incessantly couples Mars and Venus ; whereas Grange designs (p. 3) " shewing paganically, as well the lawful copulacion between *Vulcan* and *Venus*, as the unlawful combat between hir and Mars," meaning that his book by contrast treats of chaste love.

Grange is well versed in Italianate books. He alludes to *Romeus and Juliet* (p. 26), to *Cressida* (p. 73), to the *Pallace of Pleasure* (p. 59), the *Arbor of Amitie* (p. 83), the *Castle of Comfort* (pp. 58, 65, 73), " ye *Courtier*" (p. 19). The book presents slight but distinctive parallels with Whetstone, since in both the maidservants are used as letter bearers, the rivals resort to improper methods, and the narratives conclude with a sumptuous marriage feast. There is also a parallel with Breton, since both lovers overhear verses pronounced in a bed which backs to theirs against the wall (p. 65). Since Breton's prefatory letter was signed February 20, and the book was licensed April 2, 1577, Grange had ample opportunity to adopt the hint, which he develops into a series of echoic verses sung alternately by lover and mistress.

With *Euphues*, such parallels do not occur. There an Athenian visits Naples, prefers to the friendship of a sage that of a youth, Philautus, who introduces him to a lady. He cuts out his friend ; they quarrel ; the lady throws over him also ; they become friends again. Then Euphues returns to Athens. As heretofore, rivals woo one lady, who is either light or suspected of lightness. A virtuous lady, as in Gascoigne, serves as foil ; in Gascoigne's *Glasse of Government* (p. 356), too, occurs the name Philautus. But Grange

and Lyly, though not Gascoigne, are misogynistic. Both obtrude numerous proverbs concerning ladies' inquisitiveness, loquacity, selfishness, and fondness for things dear bought. Euphues apologizes in a letter (I, 257) "To the grave Matrones and honest Maydens of Italy." So Grange, though he says (p. 3), "Your Honour shall finde writte (as it were with letters of pure Gold) a chiefe poynte of womens vanities," notwithstanding avers that this "proceedeth not of any spite, malice, hatred, melancholy, or evil will that I beare unto the chaste Matrones." Both books are in effect addressed to ladies; but Grange feigns himself addressing a company of them and introduces repeatedly the vocatives "deare Dames," "my glittryng starres." Correspondences of detail, however, rarely occur. In the dedications both authors disclaim learning, and allude to Apelles and the shoemaker, the Persians and Cyrus, Vulcan and Venus. Grange ends with *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus*, which appears in *Love's Metamorphosis* (V, i, 46). The book was still new on the stalls (licensed July 1, 1578) while Lyly was writing (licensed December 2, 1578). That he wrote a moral love story, misogynist in tone, with *conversazioni d'amore*, and appended letters, — when the first such English work had just appeared, — was resemblance enough.

But *The Golden Aphroditis*, far more closely than any book hitherto aduced, anticipates Lyly's euphuism. It exhibits the purity of vocabulary; the elaborate balance, rhetorical questions, and alliteration; the profusion of proverbs, of allusions to mythology, and historical narratives. Limits of space forbid full illustration. Also it introduces the similes drawn from strange birds and beasts and plants and stones. These do not occur in Berners, North, or Fenton; they are absent from all the books hitherto cited.<sup>1</sup>

To illustrate briefly, Grange causes N. O. to declare (p. 43): "The pure loue which I beare unto thee (most lyke to the stone *Albeston*<sup>2</sup>) can not be quenched agayne: neyther my mynde beyng once frozen with feare, can by any meanes but thorowe thy gracious goodnesse be thawed againe, lyke to the operation of *Gelacia* a very white gem, whose coldnesse is suche, that no fire can heate the same." He proceeds to inquiries "why the hyll *Aetna* which burneth day and nighte is not mouldred to ashes: or why *Eniadros* beyng but a little stone alwayes sweatynge and droppynge, is not turned to nought?" He cites "the hearbe *Dictomus*, or *Tragion*, planted in my bosome, the growth whereof should touch my lippes, yet woulde I not taste thereof . . . a kynde of stone called *Pirrites*, which touchynge it lightly is tollerable, but holdynge it harde in your hande it burneth your fingers . . . a gem called

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Child (*John Lyly and Euphuism*, p. 51), though not Bond (*Lyly*, I, 140), says Pettie has them, but he produces none. Of Pettie's twelve stories I have seen only *The Tale of Tereus and Progne* (ed. J. O. Halliwell, 1866). Its thirty-six pages offer only the "camelion" changing its color and panthers without pity — neither of Lyly's distinctive type.

<sup>2</sup> Italics are similarly used by Lyly.



*Lipparia*, . . . the propertie whereof is to delight and enamour all kynde of beastes. . . ." It is the argumentative use of such similes which evoked Sidney's ire,<sup>1</sup> — "the force of a similitude, not being to prooue anything to a contrary Disputer." But A. O. told N. O. (p. 39) "incontinently what she had hearde: who answering sayde, the higher the Sun, the lesser our shadowes are, and *Asterites* keeping his light within, sheweth it forth by little and little, yet who so beholdeth it thorowly shal find it in propertie most like to the starre. Wherewith and such like he clearly acquitted him selfe from all hir former suspitions." For sources Grange repeatedly cites Dioscorides, and once Isidore. In all other distinctive features, Grange's style, though by no means identical with Lyly's, clearly anticipates euphuism.<sup>2</sup>

This style, moreover, is Euphuus, the realization, the "anatomie," of Ascham's abstract *Εὐφυνής*. The figure which inspired a dozen imitations, the Sherlock Holmes of Elizabethan fiction, reveals itself first in Grange. Sprightly from first to last, he renders his narrative piquantly eloquent as Euphuus was eloquent. The latter is an Athenian; Grange, counterfeiting a Greek, begs (p. 99) that his patron "will consider, that at the making hereof, I was neyther at *Athens*, nor yet in the hearyng of *Cratippus*." Like Euphuus, he is ostensibly a misogynist and moralist. Again, like Euphuus, he is at heart Italianate.

Direct influence, however, need not be assumed; for it does not follow from his priority that Grange introduced this novelty. Harvey in 1589 alludes<sup>3</sup> to quondam "Euphuing of similes *alla Savoica*" in a manner that befits a social group<sup>4</sup> — the group centering in Oxford of the perfumed gloves, the appropriate theme for Harvey's satirical *Speculum Tuscanismi*.

To this Lyly added the philosophical touch suggested by Ascham and congenial to his preference for prose. Whether he owed this to a hint from his patron Burleigh, to whom the *Scholemaster* was dedicated, — or to Harvey, who constantly praises it,<sup>5</sup> — some such suggestion is at least as plausible

<sup>1</sup> *Apology for Poetry*, ed. Arber, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Transverse alliteration* (p. 21): "Though my rude stile be not penned with the golden Lidiu streames, neyther curiously polished with Hermus glitteryng sandes" . . .

*Rhetorical questions and allusions to history* (p. 74): "Why, Lady, if you goe to that (quoth hee) what shoulde wee thynke of Lollia Paulina the wife of Caligula? Agrippina wife unto Claudius Caesar? Poppea wyfe unto Nero? Cleopatra Queene of Egypte?"

*Balance and classical mythology* (p. 5): "As we haue *Apollo* and *Mercurie* for Goddes, so *Pallas* and *Minerua* for Goddesses of wisdome: as *Mars* so *Bellona* for war: as *Cupide* so *Venus* for loue: as *Pan* so *Ceres* for invention of husbandrie: yea, as *Morpheus* so *Murcea* for sleepe."

<sup>3</sup> Grosart's *Harvey*, II, 126.

<sup>4</sup> Whetstone at one point all but anticipates Grange (p. 84): "This current tale not a little pleased Rosina: she thought all was gold that glittered; she never remembered howe the poisoned hooke lay wrapt in pleasant bayte, howe the crocodile obtaines her pray with pitifull teares, how . . ." Gascoigne also had attained this vein in his epistle dated January 2, 1575 (ed. Cunliffe, I, 12). So, too, had Fenton in 1567 (to Bandello, Tudor Trs., I, 108): "Why have I not considered that the horse . . . ?"

<sup>5</sup> Grosart's *Harvey*, I, xviii, 75.



as originality. Harvey sourly styles Lyly<sup>1</sup> "a pert-conceited youth, that had gathered together a few prettie sentences, and could handsomely helpe young Euphues to an old simile." A rancorous allusion — much as Greene might speak of an "upstart crow." The speculation carries no conviction; yet one would like a gloss upon Harvey's allusion (II, 124) to "thy olde acquaintance in the Savoy, when young Euphues hatched the egges, that his elder freendes laide."

<sup>1</sup> Grosart's *Harvey*, II, 128.

# THE CELTIC *FÉE* IN *LAUNFAL*<sup>1</sup>

T. P. CROSS

Thomas Chestre's *Launfal*<sup>2</sup> is a free rendering of an earlier English translation of the *Lai de Lanval*,<sup>3</sup> by Marie de France. The main thread of the story is as follows :

Launfal goes forth into the forest, and, while lying down to rest, is approached by two damsels clad in green. One carries a basin, the other a towel. They summon him to their mistress, who is close at hand. Following them, Launfal finds in a pavilion near by the beautiful golden-haired princess Triamour reclining half-dressed on a couch. The lady, addressing him by name, declares that she loves him alone. She grants him her favors, but forbids him to mention her existence.

Launfal returns home and for a time is happy, but finally in an unguarded moment he boasts of his *amie*, and as a result loses her and gets into trouble. The *fée* returns just in time to extricate him from his difficulty, and together the two go off to a "jolyf ile" (1023) — Marie's *Avalun* (659).

A story of the same type is told in the *Lai de Désiré*.<sup>4</sup> The hero, while wandering in a forest, meets at a fountain under a great tree a damsel carrying two golden basins. She conducts him to her mistress, whom he finds lying on a couch *dedens une foillée*. On seeing the lady, he rushes forward at once to get her into his power. She at first flees from him, but when he asks her love, she

Parfundement li enclina  
E dit que pas ne l'refusout  
Ne sun offre n'ele jetout.  
Ottri[ée] est la druerie. (P. 14.)

The *Lai de Graelent*,<sup>5</sup> though neither the source nor the pendant of Marie's *Lanval*,<sup>6</sup> tells a strikingly similar story, and was used by Chestre

<sup>1</sup> This paper forms the second of a series of studies dealing with the Celtic elements in the *Breton Lays*. For the first, see *Revue Celtique* (R.C.), XXXI, 413 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I follow the text of *Launfal*, etc., ed. Joseph Ritson (Goldsmid), Edinburgh, 1891, 2 ff. Cf. *Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, X, 2 f. *Launfal* "is an amalgamation of the *Lai de Lanval* with the anonymous *Lai de Graelent*, and contains in addition two long episodes drawn from the author's imagination or rather from the common stock of mediæval romancers" (Kittredge, *Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, X, 5).

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Karl Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, Halle, 1900, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Fr. Michel, *Lais inédits, des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, Paris, 1836, 10 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, Paris, 1820, I, 486 ff. *Graelent* is now known not to be the work of Marie. Cf. Köhler in Warnke's *Die Lais*, p. cx.

<sup>6</sup> Schofield, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn. of Amer.*, XV, 129.

in his version of the story. Graelent, while pursuing a white hind, comes to a beautiful fountain in which a maiden with her two damsels is bathing. He steals up quietly and takes her clothes, which are lying on the bank. The lady, on perceiving the theft, begs the knight to return her property, even going so far as to offer him money. When, however, Graelent asks her love, she treats him scornfully. He now threatens to leave her naked in the forest unless she comes out of the water, whereupon, after exacting a promise *k'il ne li face nul anui* (257), she complies. When she is dressed, Graelent takes her into the dark wood, and makes her his mistress. She now suddenly changes her manner, tells him that she has come to the fountain expressly to meet him, and assures him that she has known of *ceste aventure* all along. From the beginning of the scene the knight has been greatly impressed with her beauty, and when at last he has won her love, he tells her that

Loialement e bien l'amera,  
James de li ne partira. (289 f.)

The remainder of the story is in general similar to the corresponding part of *Launfal*.

In the *Lai de Guingamor*<sup>1</sup> a knight, while hunting a white boar, loses his way and wanders into the other-world. Here he finds a magnificent palace without inhabitants. Leaving the building, he again follows the boar and arrives in a *lande*, where he sees a lovely fountain in which a damsel is bathing a beautiful woman.

Des que Guingamors l'ot veue,  
Conmeuz est de sa biaute. (434 f.)

He, like Graelent, takes the lady's clothes; but she, far from showing any fear, addresses him angrily and calling him by name rebukes him for his discourtesy. She nevertheless tells him,

"Venez avant, n'aiez esfroï;  
Herbergiez vos hui mes o moi." (453 f.)

She knows the purpose of his hunt, and offers to bestow on him the boar if he will lodge with her for three days. Guingamor thereupon gives back her garments. He becomes her lover, and returns with her to the palace, which he now finds occupied by many knights, each with his *amie*.

At the expiration of what seem three days Guingamor returns to his own country, only to find that he has been absent three hundred years. He meets with disaster by breaking a command laid upon him by his mistress, but is rescued by two fairy women, carried back to the other-world, and reunited with his lady.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Gaston Paris, *Rom.*, VIII, 51 ff.

## THE CELTIC HYPOTHESIS

The stories outlined above belong to that group of mediæval poems known as *Breton Lays*; that is, they claim descent from Celtic tradition. That this claim is justified cannot, however, be assumed, for it is well known that not every poem calling itself a *Breton Lay* is based on Celtic material. Nevertheless, though the label *Breton Lay* does not guarantee Celtic manufacture, we are bound, in the absence of direct evidence pointing elsewhere, at least to give the Celtic hypothesis a chance to establish its claim, both because of the claim itself and because Celtic tradition offered to the mediæval poets of England and France one of the most easily accessible popular sources from which to draw the potential material of sophisticated literature.<sup>1</sup> Only in case our search through early Celtic literature prove fruitless, are we at liberty to turn elsewhere.

As a further preliminary to a study like the present, it should be emphasized that, although most of the parallels used are of necessity drawn from Irish literature, the same sort of stories must have been popular among the Celts of Britain and Armorica long before the twelfth century, for modern research tends to establish the essential unity in manners and traditions of the Celtic peoples of Ireland, Britain, and the Continent.<sup>2</sup>

THE FOLK-TALE OF THE OFFENDED *FÉE*

The theme which forms the core of *Launfal*, *Désiré*, and *Graelent*, and which represents an important part of *Guingamor*, may be stated in its lowest terms as follows:

A mortal becomes the lover of a *fée*, but loses his mistress by breaking her command; he is finally extricated by her from the difficulties in which his imprudence has involved him, and the two are happily reunited.

This formula, with multitudinous additions and variations, is widespread in popular literature both among primitive and civilized peoples, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*.<sup>3</sup> That its appearance in *Launfal* and *Graelent* is due to Celtic rather than any other possible influence, has already been maintained.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *R.C.*, XXXI, 420.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 421 ff. For the purposes of the present investigation it is immaterial whether the features common to the Irish and Welsh romantic literatures are regarded as "gemeinkeltisch" or as borrowed the one from the other. See Windisch, *Abhandl. der könig. sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., XXIX (1912), 131 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Examples occur in the mediæval literatures of England, France, Germany, and Italy, as well as in numerous folk-tales, of which Köhler (in Warnke's *Die Lais*, pp. cxvi ff.) and Friedrich Panzer (*Bibl. des litt. Ver. in Stuttgart*, CCXXVII, pp. lxxiii f.) cite many instances.

<sup>4</sup> By Schofield, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn. of Amer.*, XV, 168 ff. Schofield's arguments apply also in general to *Désiré* and *Guingamor*. Cf. [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, V, 221 ff.



Early Irish abounds in stories of supernatural women who visit the world of mortals in search of their chosen lovers. Two of these, — the *Noinden Ulad*<sup>1</sup> and the *Aidead Muirchertaig*,<sup>2</sup> — as well as an episode in the Welsh *Mabinogi* of *Pwyll Prince of Dyved*,<sup>3</sup> are so strikingly similar to the central theme of the *lais* under discussion that we must conclude that like Celtic stories contributed toward their development.

Though it by no means follows that the episodes in which the *fées* appear to their lovers near a fountain or stream are also of Celtic origin, it is our duty to look for similar situations in Celtic tradition before we search elsewhere.

#### THE FOUNTAIN-SCENE

Marie's description of the meeting with the *fée* contains one feature that has dropped out of the later account. The knight lies down *sur une ewe curant* (45), and, while looking *a val lez la riviere* (54), sees approaching two richly dressed damsels wearing green mantles. One carries a basin of gold, the other a towel. They conduct him to their mistress, who is near at hand. Is the stream of water here a more or less accidental feature, introduced to give a rural touch to the landscape, or is it a reminiscence of what was originally a significant part of the story?

The important place held by female water-divinities and feminine river-names among the ancient Celts has been strongly emphasized. "Before the Roman conquest the cult of water-goddesses, friends of mankind, must have formed a large part of the religion of Gaul and their names may be counted by hundreds. . . . Thus every spring, every woodland brook, every river in glen or valley, the roaring cataract and the lake were haunted by divine beings, mainly thought of as beautiful females."<sup>4</sup>

One of the earliest appearances of the Celtic fairy-mistress in written literature occurs in the *Tochmarc Étdine*, the oldest manuscript of which is the *Lebhar na h-Uidri* (*LU.*, written c. 1100). Though the passage in question is omitted in *LU.*, it is certainly older than the earliest preserved *Brcton Lay*.<sup>5</sup> The summary below follows the fifteenth-century manuscript, *Egerton 1782*:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Windisch, *Ber. über die Verhandlungen der könig.-sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., XXXVI, 340 ff. Cf. *R.C.*, XVI, 45 f.; Reeves, *Anc. Churches of Armagh*, Lusk, 1860, pp. 41 ff.; Sir Samuel Ferguson, *Lays of the Red Branch*, London, 1897, pp. 2 ff. Note that the heroine is granddaughter of a water-god (*Studies and Notes*, VIII, 32).

<sup>2</sup> *R.C.*, XXIII, 396 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 386.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 184. See also Windisch, *Abhandl. der könig.-sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., XXIX (1912), 97, 102. Cf. Nitzke, *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 151 f.

<sup>5</sup> See Kittredge, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 192, n. 3; Cross, *R.C.*, XXXI, 441, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte (I.T.)*, Leipzig, 1880, I, 117 ff. Cf. *R.C.*, III, 350 ff.; *Zt. f. celt. Phil.* (C.Z.), V, 522 ff.; *R.C.*, XXII, 9 ff.

Eochaid Airem,<sup>1</sup> king of Ireland, finds on the brink of a fountain (*for ur in tophuir*) a beautiful golden-haired maiden,<sup>2</sup> "bathing in a vessel of silver." She wears "a shining tunic of green<sup>3</sup> silk," and is "loosening her hair to wash it."<sup>4</sup> . . . A longing for her immediately seized the king" (*gabais imorro saint an rí impi focétoir*). To his first question, "Whence art thou. . . O maiden?" she replies, "I am Etain, daughter of the king of the horsemen from the elf-mounds" (*Étain ingin rígh eochraidhe a sidib atamcomnaicc*). She also tells him that, though she has been often wooed, she has refused all suitors. She has come because of him; for, she explains, "I have loved thee and placed love and affection upon thee" (*ro charas tusai ocus tucus seircc ocus inmaine duit*) . . . "and I have never seen thee before this, and I recognized thee immediately from thy description" (*atod-athgén focétoir ar do thúarusca-bail*). On hearing this, the king bids her welcome and assures her, "Every other woman shall be forsaken for thee" (*lecfítir cech ben orut*). He now takes her home as his wife.

She is finally abducted by an other-world king named Midir.<sup>5</sup>

A somewhat similar story, combined with other features which may for our purposes be disregarded, turns up in the *Echtra Mac n-Echach Muigmedoin*,<sup>6</sup> the earliest version of which occurs in the *Book of Leinster* (written c. 1150). The hero of the tale finds at a fountain (*tiprait*) a loathly lady, who, in exchange for water,<sup>7</sup> requires a kiss of him. As soon as he kisses her, she becomes a beautiful woman<sup>8</sup> and tells him that she is the Sovranty of Erin. The remainder of the story makes it evident that the old woman is really a supernatural being who has assumed a loathly disguise for the purpose of testing her mortal favorite.

The relation between the fairy-folk of Ireland and the fountains at which they appear is clearly implied in an episode in the *Scél na Fir Flatha*,<sup>9</sup> which gives "the fullest account extant of the twelve ordeals of the ancient Irish." According to this document, a queen once saw at a fountain (*tibraid*) two

<sup>1</sup> On the similarity between the *Tochmarc Étdine* and certain *Breton Lays*, see Kittredge, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 191 f.; *Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, VII, 191 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Golden-haired *fées* are extremely common in both early Celtic literature and mediæval romance. See an unpublished portion of my dissertation, *Mediæval Romance as illustrated by Early Irish Literature* (Harvard University), 1909, p. 50, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> An exceedingly popular color in fairy lore. See my dissertation, p. 55, n. 1. Cf. *Ulster Journ. of Arch.*, 1st ser., VI, 360; VII, 136.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Guingamor*, ll. 428 f.; *Perceval*, ed. Potvin, ll. 31, 612 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Though generally represented as lord of the fairy-mound of Bri Léith, he is apparently associated with the water in a passage quoted by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 131.

<sup>6</sup> For the account in verse (from *LL.*), see *Ériu*, IV, 92 ff.; for those in prose, see *R.C.*, XXIV, 190 ff.; *Silva Gadelica* [*S.G.*], London, 1892, II, 368 ff.

<sup>7</sup> In the prose account she is guarding the fountain (*facais seantuindi og comet in tophuir*), *R.C.*, XXIV, 196.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901, pp. 25 ff., and Ap. A.

<sup>9</sup> *I.T.*, III, 183 ff.

fairy women (*da mnai as na sidhaib*). "When they beheld the woman coming toward them, they went under the well." The queen follows and finds at the bottom a fairy palace.<sup>1</sup>

But springs were not the only homes of Celtic fées. Beneath the lochs and rivers of Ireland were magnificent other-world *duns*, from which strangely beautiful women sometimes emerged and appeared on the banks or at the fords where the ancient highways crossed the streams.

The shorter *Fled Bricrend*,<sup>2</sup> one of the oldest Irish romances,<sup>3</sup> tells how Cuchulainn and his companions encounter at a ford a beautiful maiden whose father, as appears later, is an uncanny being. The girl, on being asked whom she seeks, replies, "Cuchulainn mac Soaltam . . . for I have loved him because of the tales about him" (*Cuchulainn mac Soaltam . . . ro charus ar a airscelaib*). Cuchulainn "makes a hero-leap oblique across . . . to her," whereupon "she rises toward him, and throws both hands about his neck and gives him a kiss." He then takes her home with him, and, after going through some thrilling adventures as tests of his valor, gains her for his mistress.

Another example occurs in the somewhat confused *Tochmarc Beccfolá*. This story, though found in no very early manuscript, has been recognized as embodying ancient tradition.<sup>4</sup> A version from the fifteenth-century manuscript, *Egerton 1781* (B.M.),<sup>5</sup> furnishes the basis of the following summary:

King Diarmait meets at a ford a solitary, gorgeously appareled fairy woman (*bentside*),<sup>6</sup> "more beautiful than any woman in the world" (*áilliu iná gach ben do mnáibh an betha*). When asked whence she comes, the maiden replies, "Not from far" (*ní a céin*). From the rest of the conversation we gather that a meeting with the king is the object of her visit. Diarmait is evidently impressed by her beauty, for he takes her home and makes her his mistress. He discreetly refrains from mentioning her name, but at length she, like other fairy wives, apparently wearies of her earthly life and elopes with a supernatural lover.

Meetings between fées and their mortal favorites are also described in the *Acallamh na Senórach*,<sup>7</sup> which, though compiled about the end of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century,<sup>8</sup> contains, fitted into the framework of a dialogue between St. Patrick and the last survivors of the Fenian band, many scraps of popular tradition which date from a much earlier period. One episode<sup>9</sup> in this thesaurus of Irish folk-lore tells how Finn and

<sup>1</sup> For other examples of subaqueous supernatural beings, see Arthur C. L. Brown, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 40, n. 2; 53, n. 1; *Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, II (1852-1853), 33, 313.

<sup>2</sup> *I.T.*, II, 1, 173 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Philol. Soc. Trans.*, 1891-1894, pp. 498, 555.

<sup>4</sup> See B. O'Looney (*Royal Ir. Acad.*, Irish MSS. Ser., I, 172), and O'Curry (*Lectures on the MS. Materials of Anc. Ir. Hist.*, Dublin, 1873, p. 283).

<sup>5</sup> *S.G.*, I, 85 ff.; II, 91 ff.

<sup>6</sup> O'Looney, p. 181, n. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, IV, 1, Leipzig, 1900. Cf. *S.G.*, II, 101 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Stern, *C.Z.*, III, 614. Cf. O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 312.

<sup>9</sup> *I.T.*, IV, 1, 135; cf. *S.G.*, II, 220.



his companions, while sitting by a river, see a lone maiden wrapped in a green mantle on a stone above a ford. On being asked whom she seeks, she replies, "Finn." "Who art thou, maiden?" says Finn, "and what dost thou desire?" She tells him that she is a fairy princess, and adds, "To sleep with thee in exchange for bride-price and gifts have I come" (*d'feis letsu thanac tarcend tindscra 7 tirochraici*). The conditions she lays down are, however, so unreasonable that Finn declines to marry her.

These stories sufficiently illustrate the popularity in early Celtic romance of a type of story in which a *fée* appears to her chosen mortal lover near a spring or other body of water,<sup>1</sup> of which at an earlier stage of development she was perhaps the tutelary divinity. This evidence,<sup>2</sup> combined with the appearance of *fées* at fountains in *Graelent*, *Guingamor*, and other mediæval romances,<sup>3</sup> arouses the suspicion that in the opening episodes of *Lanval* and *Désiré* the stream and fountain do not occupy their original relation to the *fées*. In 1896 Axel Ahlström, supposing *Lanval* to be derived from *Graelent*, suggested that "dans Lanval . . . il ne reste de toute la scène [à la fontaine] que la rencontre du héros avec deux belles suivantes, qui portent de l'eau pour le bain de leur maîtresse."<sup>4</sup> Though Ahlström's conclusion is largely vitiated by faulty hypotheses,<sup>5</sup> he was perhaps not far wrong in regarding the opening scene of *Lanval* as a transformed fountain-episode. He also attempts to explain how the situation came about: "Klimatet i Kardoilstrakten tillät ogärna några så fantastiska utsväfningar som sköna féer badande i källor i det fria, hvarför också Lanvals och Desirrés älskade få nöja sig med att taga sina bad

<sup>1</sup> The belief in such tales was doubtless fostered by an actual practice among the early inhabitants of Europe and the British Isles. See Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. xvi, and Cæsar, *B.G.*, VI, cap. xxi. In the *Táin Bó Regamain* (*J.T.*, II, 2, 234) three princes find their sweethearts at a fountain. For other examples, see *R.C.*, VI, 179 (cf. *Ériu*, III, 22 f.); XIV, 243; XVI, 310, n.; XXIV, 133; XXV, 19 f. (cf. Keating, "Hist. of Ireland," *Ir. Texts Soc.*, II, 305); *Royal Ir. Acad.*, Todd Lect. Ser., VII, 28 f. (cf. *R.C.*, XV, 425; XVI, 146); *S.G.*, II, 178 f. Cf. *Journ. Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, II, 117; *Journ. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 2d ser., II, 330; *Gaelic Journ.*, V, 186.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* the Morrighu (an ancient Irish battle-goddess; cf. Windisch, *Abhandl. der könig.-sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., XXIX, 1912, 77), who is identified (*R.C.*, XII, 127; cf. Windisch, *J.T.*, Extrabd., 380 n. 1) with Macha, the heroine of the *Noinden Ulad* (*Studies and Notes*, VIII, 32), appears at a ford and offers her love to Cuchulainn (Miss Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, 164 f.; cf. Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythol.*, etc., Boston, 1903, 22). On other appearances of the Morrighu at fords, see *Journ. of the Ivernian Soc.*, I, 159 f.; *Folk-Lore*, XXI, 180.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, *Studies and Notes*, V, 242, n. 2; VIII, 141 ff. In Chrétien's *Ivain* a fountain is guarded, not by the *fée*, but by her champion, whom Ivain must overcome before he can win her hand. The combat motive does not belong to our type of story. Nitze regards the fountain-scene as an essential part of the tale (*Mod. Phil.*, III, 279) and the heroine as a water-*fée* (*ibid.*, VII, 148). Cf. Baist, *Zt. f. rom. Phil.*, XXI, 402; Brown, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 22. Professor Nitze's theory regarding the ultimate origin of the story leads him out on pretty thin ice, whither the Celtic scholar cannot follow him; Brown, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 127.

<sup>4</sup> *Mélanges de phil. romane*, Mâcon, 1896, p. 296 (quoted, *Publ. M.L.A.*, XV, 145).

<sup>5</sup> See Schofield, *Publ. M.L.A.*, XV, 145.



inomhus.”<sup>1</sup> With regard to this suggestion Schofield remarks, “Ahlström surely imagines Kardoil (Carlisle in Cumberland) much nearer the North Pole than it really is. The maidens were of course not preparing to ‘tub’ their mistress; they were simply getting water . . . for use in bathing the hands before meat, as was the regular custom in the romances.”<sup>2</sup> The point is well taken, though here again Ahlström appears to see through a glass darkly. The meeting in *Lanval* is not, it is true, a revised version of the fountain-scene in *Graelent* adapted to climatic conditions in the vicinity of Carlisle; moreover, when dealing with popular material, one may easily attempt to explain too much: nevertheless, the situation in Marie’s *lai* is manifestly pretty far from its original form. Though it is of course impossible to reconstruct the scene in exactly the form it had before the vicissitudes of literary, not to mention popular, tradition had begun their work, and though, even if we knew the exact original, it would be also impossible to explain every change in the story as it passed into different *milieux*, we may rest assured that such preprandial niceties as are described in *Lanval* were not observed in the society in which the original had its beginning. These facts, taken together with Marie’s statement regarding the origin of her poem, the evidence of our Irish stories, and the presence of the fountain-scene in *Graelent* (in other respects so strikingly similar to *Lanval*), render it highly probable that the two maidens carrying basin and towel, the gorgeous tent, the beautiful golden-haired woman in shocking dishabille lying on a magnificent couch, and the lover’s part in the scene, are but the result of an effort to transform into a twelfth-century picnic party a meeting between a mortal and a Celtic *fée* beside a body of water from which the latter had perhaps emerged. That the fountain-scenes in *Graelent* and *Guingamor* are derived from a similar source is an almost inevitable conclusion. A transitional stage seems to be represented by *Désiré*.<sup>3</sup> Regarded in this light, our stories present an interesting series of snapshots of a Celtic folk-tale in various stages of change as the significance of its elements became gradually obscured and the elements themselves finally lost. The fountain, loch, or stream beside which the irresponsible Celtic *fée* appeared and offered her love to a mortal, has in Thomas Chestre’s *Launfal* disappeared entirely, the only possible suggestion of its original presence being the basin of gold and the towel carried by the attendants.

#### THE CHARACTER OF THE FAIRY MISTRESS

Turning now to the behavior of the *fées* during the meetings with their lovers, we find a somewhat different situation. The attitude of *Graelent*’s mistress especially needs explanation. As Schofield pointed out several years

<sup>1</sup> *Studier i den fornfranska Lais-Litteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Publ. M.L.A.*, XV, 145.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ahlström, *Studier*, p. 54.

ago,<sup>1</sup> "the maiden who one moment pleads with Graelent for mercy and who allows herself to be ravished by force alone, who declares: 'Graelent, vus m'avés surprise' (300)," nevertheless tells her lover:

"Graelent, vos estes loiaus  
 Prox è courtois è assés biax:  
 Pur vus ving-jou à la fontaine,  
 Pur vus souferai-jou grant paine;  
 Bien savoie ceste aventure." (315 ff.)

This inconsistency Schofield thinks is due to the influence of Germanic swan-maiden stories — a type of mediæval narrative in which a supernatural woman appears in bird form at a lake or fountain, and may easily be captured when deprived of her feather garment, which she lays aside before entering the water and without which she is absolutely powerless. The characters of the *fées* in *Désiré* and *Guingamor* also show in varying degrees the same influence, although in the latter the effects appear more in the theft of the lady's garments than in any change in her own attitude toward her would-be lover. In three of our lays, then, the conception of a weak other-world creature who is helpless without her feather garment (or clothing) has been grafted on a dignified, independent and all-powerful being, who is never surprised, and who is never coerced into becoming the mistress of anyone, — the typical Celtic *fée*. The influence of swan-maiden stories, though doubtless assisted by the general process of deterioration which the character of the Celtic *bensidhe* underwent during the Middle Ages, must be here admitted; but it should be emphasized that the recognition of non-Celtic influence on original Celtic material in no way invalidates the conclusions reached above. In fact, it is inconceivable that two types of stories so much alike in general outline could exist side by side in popular lore, and not have sometimes influenced each other.

The situation in *Launfal* and its French original is markedly different from that in our other poems. The lady, on seeing the knight, recognizes him at once and addresses him as follows:

"Launfal my lemman swete,  
 Al my joye for the y lete,  
 . . . . .  
 There nys no man yn Cristentè,  
 That y love so moche as the." (301 ff.)

In Marie's *lai* she tells him:

"pur vus vinc jeo fors de ma terre;  
 de luinz vus sui venue querre." (111 f.)

In the English poem the knight is required, in the French he promises voluntarily, to forsake all other women for her.

<sup>1</sup> *Publ. M.L.A.*, XV, 132.

The similarity between the dialogues outlined above and those in the Celtic tales summarized in the preceding section cannot be overlooked. Equally striking parallels turn up in the *Aidead Muirchertaig* and in another story from the *Acallamh na Senorach*,<sup>1</sup> both of which represent *fées* as visiting the land of mortals in search of their lovers. That the same general formula existed in Brythonic fairy tales is proved by an excessively interesting episode in the *Mabinogi* of *Pwyll Prince of Dyved*,<sup>2</sup> already mentioned in connection with the motif of "The Offended *Fée*."

Pwyll is visited by an unknown lady on a white horse. "He thought the face of all the maidens or women he had ever seen possessed no charm compared with hers" (*medyl yaw a wnaeth bot yn diuwyn ganthaw pryt a welsei eiryoet o vorwyn a gwreic y wrth y phryt hi*). "'Princess,' he said, 'wilt thou tell me aught of thy errand?'" 'Yes . . .', answered she, 'my chief business was to see thee'" (*Pennaf neges uu ymi keisaw dy welet ti*). Being asked her name, she replies that she is Rhiannon, and that, though she has been urged to take a husband, she will marry no one but Pwyll. The prince replies that she is his choice above all other women (*pei caffwn dewis ar holl wraged a morynyon y byt [y] mae ti a dewisswn*). The lady then departs after making an agreement in accordance with which he visits her father's court at the end of a year, frees her from an unwelcome suitor, and marries her. Meanwhile he refuses to discuss their relations. Rhiannon is certainly a *fée*.<sup>3</sup>

Though the *lais* and the Celtic stories do not all preserve the same features (and we should be astonished if they did), it is in every case implied or expressly stated that the effect of the *fée*'s beauty is instantaneous, and that she recognizes the mortal at once, has come to seek him alone, and already loves him.<sup>4</sup> *Guingamor*, as indicated in the summary, preserves traces of the original situation, which in *Désiré* has been almost completely obliterated. *Graelent* has been more fortunate. The dialogue in the *Launfal* story shows no indications of having been materially altered.

#### CONCLUSION

The results of our investigation may be stated as follows:

The meeting between the lady and her lover in the *lais* of *Launfal*, *Désiré*, *Graelent*, and *Guingamor* probably originated in a Celtic tale in which

<sup>1</sup> *I.T.*, IV, I, 176 f., 245 f.; cf. *S.G.*, II, 243. See also *I.T.*, IV, I, 219, 269 f.; *Ériu*, III, 151; *Trans. Ossianic Soc.*, IV, 235 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Text of the Mabinogion*, etc., ed. Rhys and Evans, Oxford, 1887, p. 11; *The White Book Mab.*, ed. J. G. Evans, Pwllheli, 1906, p. 9; cf. Loth, *Les Mab.*, Paris, 1889, I, 42 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Kittredge, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 206. It should be added that after Pwyll's death she marries Manawyddan ab Llyr, the Brythonic equivalent of the Irish sea-god Manannan mac Lir (*Les Mab.*, I, 98; cf. above, p. 380, n. 1). Cf. *R.C.*, XXXI, 432, n. 4. *Launfal*'s mistress is daughter of the "kyng . . . of occient"; cf. *Publ. M.L.A.*, XV, 171, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Of "love in absence" (*Ir. grad ecmaisi*) there are many examples, both in early Celtic literature and the mediæval romances. See my dissertation, p. 64, n. 1.

a *fée* (or euhemerized goddess) appears to a mortal at a body of water (from which she has perhaps emerged),<sup>1</sup> enthralls him by the sole power of supernatural beauty, recognizes him at once, and announces that her visit is prompted by her love for him. The lover joyfully accepts her proffered affection.

Combined with this is the main theme of the poems: the story of a mortal who becomes the lover of a *fée*, loses her by breaking her command, and finally recovers her favor. The two types probably often contained the same sort of dialogue, and the similarity suggested the union. How early the combination took place, it is of course impossible to say.

From the Celtic tales outlined above, it appears that the meeting took place in the land of mortals. The point cannot, however, be absolutely settled from the data at hand, for *Lanval*, *Désiré*, and *Graelent* show traces of the conventional other-world journey or landscape,<sup>2</sup> and in *Guingamor* the fountain<sup>3</sup> is placed in fairyland, and the whole scene takes place in connection with a well-preserved version of the other-world journey.

<sup>1</sup> The fact that in *Lanval* the *fée* says that she has come *de luinz* to see her lover and that in *Désiré*, *Graelent*, and the Launfal story she finally carries off her mortal favorite to her country (Marie's *Avalun*), in no way militates against this theory regarding the origin of the episode. Confusion of ideas as to the location of fairyland is quite common in early Irish, and doubtless existed already in the accounts on which our *lais* are based. Cf. *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 40, n. 2; *Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, VII, 195 f.

<sup>2</sup> See *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 140 ff.

<sup>3</sup> There are many examples of fountains in the Celtic other-world, but none, that I know of, at which *fées* appear. *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 84 ff.; my dissertation, 321 f.; *Ériu*, III, 157.





# VEGETIUS IN ENGLISH

## NOTES ON THE EARLY TRANSLATIONS

HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN

Bewar, Oldcastel, and for Crystes sake  
Clymbe no more in Holy Writ so hie!  
Rede the storie of Lancelot de Lake,  
Or Vegece of the Aart of Chialrie,  
The Seege of Troye or Thebes thee applie,  
To thyng þat may to thordre of knyghthood longe! — HOCCELEVE.<sup>1</sup>

### I

Sir John Oldcastle had had good opportunity, years before Hoccleve wrote, of reading the work of Vegetius in the English language. His superior in the marches of Wales, Thomas lord Berkeley, had felt the need of a knowledge of military science in his warfare with the wild Glendower.<sup>2</sup> In 1408, in the vigil of Allhallows, the translator writing at lord Berkeley's bidding completed the first "turning" of Vegetius, for the pleasure of old knights and the instruction of the younger warriors.<sup>3</sup> As a friend of the Prince, then commanding in the West, Oldcastle could have seen the book; and must have compared with interest the conduct of the English campaigns in Wales, the beleaguering and defense of Aberystwyth, and the war in Bristol Channel, with

<sup>1</sup> *Minor Poems*, ed. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., E.S., 61, p. 14. (Punctuated, capitals normalized, *knyght* altered to *knyghthood*.)

<sup>2</sup> Oldcastle should have known Berkeley. On July 15, 1405, the latter was placed in charge of the troops in Gloucester, Bristol, and Somerset, for defense against the Welsh. On November 30 of the same year, Oldcastle sat on the commission to examine treasonable aid to Welsh rebels in Gloucester. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1405-1408, pp. 61, 149.

<sup>3</sup> "Here endeth þe book þat clerkes clepun in latyne 'Vigesius de re militari,' þe book of Vigesii of dedus of knyȝthod, þe whiche book was translated and turned fro latyn into english at þe ordinaunce *and* byddyng of þe worthi *and* worshepful lord, sire Thomas of Berkeley, to gret disport *and* dalyaunce of lordes *and* alle worthy werryours þat ben apassed by wey of age al labour *and* travaillynge, *and* to grete informacioñ *and* lernynge of ȝonge lordes *and* knyȝtles þat ben lusty *and* loueþ to here *and* see *and* to vse dedus of armes *and* chialrye. þe turnynge of þis book into english was wrotoñ *and* endud in vigile of al halowes, þe ȝeer of oure lord a þousand foure hundred *and* eiȝte, þe x<sup>e</sup> ȝeer of kyng Henry þe ferþe. To him *and* to vs alle God graunt grace of oure offendynge, space to oure amendynge, *and* his face to seen at oure endynge. Amen. þis is his name þat turned þis book fro latyn into Englishe.

"Worshepful □toun."

[From MS. Bodl. Digby 233, folio 227.]

the ancient and yet all-authoritative maxims of Vegetius, master of warcraft since the days of Theodosius the Great.<sup>1</sup>

The authority exercised by this fourth-century writer over the principal occupation of mediæval Christendom is among the wonders of literary history. More than 140 copies of the *Epitome* are enumerated by Teubner's editor.<sup>2</sup> This list is of course incomplete, and, moreover, this can scarcely represent a tithe of the works which culled the rules and science of Vegetius.<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable, indeed, that the earliest known English translation should date from so late as 1408. The popularity of earlier French translations, still found in English libraries, may partly account for this delay.<sup>4</sup>

Nine manuscripts of the fifteenth century, at any rate, bear witness to the popularity of the *Vegetius* translated for lord Berkeley.<sup>5</sup> None of these seems


<sup>1</sup> Flavius Vegetius Renatus is supposed to have written the treatise *Epitome Rei Militaris, sive institutorum rei militaris libri quattuor*, at the command of Theodosius the Great. The chief topics, treated somewhat confusedly, are: the reform of military education and discipline (I); the disposition of the parts of an army (II); tactics, the battlefield, and military maxims (III); the assault and defense of walled cities, and naval strategy (IV). In some MSS. and editions a fifth book appears, really only that part of IV dealing with the sea. See K. Lang, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1885. A modern English translation is that by Lieut. J. Clark, London, 1767.

<sup>2</sup> K. Lang, *op. cit.*, pp. xvi ff.


<sup>3</sup> MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 3. 29, for example, is not recorded by Lang. The last part of the third book of *De Regimine Principum*, the immensely popular treatise of Bishop Egidio Colonna of Bourges, is almost wholly an abstract of Vegetius.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. B.M. Add. 12028, Royal 20 B I, XV, and 17 E V contain the translation ascribed to Jean de Meun (ed. U. Robert, S.A.T.F., 1897, together with Priorat's version). MSS. Caius 424 and Camb. Ec. 2. 17 have another prose version by Jean de Vignay, 1328. In the latter MS. appears "Cest liure est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre du don Moss. Robert Roos cheualier mon cousin." (*Cat. MSS.*, Univ. of Camb., II, 33-34.) A French poem by Geoffroi de Charni, s. xiv, probably written by him when in prison in England, deals with battles. See *Hist. MSS. Com. 9<sup>th</sup> Rept.*, p. 371 b, Holkham MS. 705 (Earl of Leicester). MS. 707, in the same collection (*ibid.*), contains the work *Nicholai Uptoni de officio militari*, written for Humphrey. Cf. also MS. Royal 20 B XI, *Les Etablissements de Chevalerie*, early fourteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> These are: (a) Bodley Digby 233, fols. 183-227. Follows translation by same author of *De Regimine Principum*. Tall folio, mid-fifteenth century. MS. belonged to Mary Hastynges Hungerford, who married Sir Edw. Hastings, 1480. She was granddaughter of Moleyns lord Hungerford, captain at Agincourt, whose second wife was Eleanor, countess of Arundel, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, cousin of Lord Thomas. See Fosbrooke, *Berkeley MSS.*, p. 135, and *D.N.B.*, sub Hungerford. MS. lacks I 6, II 21, and perhaps other parts. Colophon quoted above.

(b) Bodley Douce 291, fols. 4-120. Belonged to Chalons family of Devon, probably to Sir Robt. C., who died 23 Hen. VI, 1444-5, according to MS. note in volume. The MS. contains his pedigree, with arms elaborately tricked. Chalons' mother was a Beauchamp, not closely connected, apparently, with Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who married Lord Berkeley's only daughter. Owned by "Brudenell." The colophon appears here as ton. Vellum, sm. folio, mid-fifteenth century.

(c) Bodl. Laud Misc. 416, fols. 182-226. "Scriptum Rhodo per Iohanem Neuton 1459." (Colophon.) Omits cryptogram, but contains colophon on date and patron. Much altered by modernization. For other contents see *Catalogue of Laud MSS.*

(d) Magd. Coll. Oxf. 30. No marks of ownership. Contains full colophon, ton. Vellum, sm. folio, fols. 115, early fifteenth century.

directly connected with the patron, though several have an interesting provenance. The alterations in later copies point to the frequency with which the work must have passed from hand to hand.<sup>1</sup> Its style may be illustrated by a single chapter, with which the original Latin should be compared.<sup>2</sup>

OWT OF WHAT CONTREES NEWE FIȝTERIS SCHUL BEN YCHOSEN

þe ordre of oure writinge [by houȝ] þat in þe firste party of oure book we schewe out of [whiche] prouinces, naciouns, and contrees newe kniȝtis schulle ben chosen. For y do ȝow to wytinge, þat in alle places þere ben born boþe hardy men and cowardes. But for also moche as on peple passiþ anoþer in werres, and þe foure parties of heuene beþ myche cause of strengþe of mennes lymes, and also of hardynesse of herte, þerfore whiche places ben moost profitable to suche chesying aftir wyse menis schewyng, y wil noȝt leue to schewe. Alle naciouns and folke, þa nygh ben to þe sonne, as þilke, þat dwellen in þe south, þey ben wyse and wytty of counsail, for þei ben drye of hete of þe sonne; but, for þey haue but litel blood, þey ben noȝt stedfast, ne bold, ne hardy to fiȝte, for þei dredin woundes, harmes, and hurtes. For þei knowe wel þey haue but litel blood. But þilke þat dwellen in þe North, fer fro þe hete of þe sonne, þey ben noȝt so wyse of counseil as þo ben þat dwellen in þe souþ; but þei ben more habundaunt ful of blood; and þerfore þey ben more hardy and bold to fiȝte, and to werre, and boldloker dore abide woundes and strokes. þerfore newe kniȝtis schul ben chosen of a mene party, þe whiche hauȝ plente of blood to suffre boldliche woundes, and nede be; and also þat hauȝ wisdom to reule himself and oþer boþe, when þey ben in hir wardes and strengþes.

Those familiar with fifteenth-century prose will notice that the text might well be of an earlier generation than the first quarter-century after Chaucer's

(e) B. M. Royal 18 A XII. Fols. 123, vellum, sm. folio, 1483-1485. Arms of Rich. III as king, fol. 1; of Anne Neville, his wife, fol. 49; probably Richard's personal copy. Good text, but obviously modernized. Author's name omitted.

(f) B. M. Lansdowne 285, fols. 82-136. Paper. Sir John Paston's Great Booke of Arms, mentioned in *Paston Letters* (about 1470). Colophon on date and patron, but not on author, as in Royal. Ends "quod W. Evesham," scribe's name. Caley's *Cat. of Lansdowne MSS.* gives Douce's note on Clifton (see above). Much modernized.

(g) B. N. Add. 14408, fols. 49-66. Omits preface, and ends I 28 with heading of chapter. Very late fifteenth century. Folio 73, Cest liure appartient Nycolas de Saint Lo Cheualier.

(h) B. M. Sloane 2027, fols. 1-36 verso. Fragment, leaves torn at beginning. Ends III, 24, "but the tethe be much longer & stronger aythyr blude." Late XV century.

(i) Petworth 6 (Duke of Northumberland). Omits colophon entire. No XV-century marks of ownership. *Hist. MSS. Com., 6<sup>th</sup> Rept.*, 289 a.

<sup>1</sup> See note 5, p. 390, on MSS. c, e, f.

<sup>2</sup> "Rerum ordo deposcit, ut, ex quibus prouinciis uel nationibus tirones legendi sint, prima parte tractetur. Constat quidem in omnibus locis et ignauos et strenuos nasci. Sed tamen et gens gentem praecedit in bello et plaga caeli ad robur non tantum corporum sed etiam animorum plurimum ualet; quo loco ea, quae a doctissimis hominibus comprobata sunt, non omitamus. Omnes nationes, quae uicinae sunt soli, nimio calore siccatae, amplius quidem sapere, sed minus habere sanguinis dicunt ac propterea constantiam ac fiduciam comminus non habere pugnandi, quia metuunt uulnera qui exiguum sanguinem se habere nouerunt. Contra septentrionales populi, emoti a solis ardoribus, inconsultiores quidem, sed tamen largo sanguine redundantes, sunt ad bella promptissimi. Tirones igitur de temperatioribus legendi sunt plagis, quibus et copia sanguinis suppetat ad uulnerum mortisque contemptum et non possit deesse prudentia, quae et modestiam seruat in castris et non parum prodest in dimicatione consilii."



death.<sup>1</sup> It seems the product of a practised writer whose speech was formed in Wycliffe's days.<sup>2</sup> The style is clear, and less discursive than most prose work of the date, freer also from half-changed Latin.<sup>3</sup> The curious doubling of terms appears the most notable mannerism. All this prepares for the question of authorship.

As the count of manuscripts shows,<sup>4</sup> three texts, and these the earliest, ascribe the work to some one the last syllable of whose name is *-toun*, and the first syllable or syllables are represented by what at first sight appears a rude device for a flag or ensign. This device varies in detail in the three manuscripts. The other texts are anonymous, though additional evidence is given by them as to lord Berkeley's patronage.<sup>5</sup>

Tanner, from this latter fact alone, apparently, ascribed the work to John Trevisa.<sup>6</sup> Francis Douce, who owned one of the cryptograms, hazarded Clif- or Cleftoun.<sup>7</sup> Caley and Coxe followed him.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Madan, Bodley's librarian, suggests Bannerton.<sup>9</sup> Mr. J. H. Wylie adds Walton.<sup>10</sup> Flagton, Standardton, Ensignton, Pennanton, Axton, and numerous other guesses could be made. So far as the symbol itself is concerned, Mr. Madan's suggestion of Bannerton seems the best yet put forward; and the name belongs to the west country.<sup>11</sup> In heraldry a banner is drawn exactly as depicted here.<sup>12</sup> Some little search, however, has failed to disclose a Bannerton connected with the Berkeleys.

<sup>1</sup> Comparison of the forms with Chaucer's *Melibee* will show this clearly, especially as regards phraseology. On the other hand, Hoccleve's prose, *loc. cit.*, 240-242, seems much more modern, and this in spite of the fact that the earliest *Vegetius* MS. can hardly be earlier than 1440.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. tract no. XXV, in a fourteenth-century MS. of *The English Works of Wyclif*, ed. F. D. Matthew, E.E.T.S., 74. There is no form here, save the adverbial *-li*, *openli*, p. 357, which cannot be found in *Vegetius*.

<sup>3</sup> A good example of over-use of Latin forms may be found in the second version of the *Polichronicon*, Rolls Series, which was written in the first half of the fifteenth century. Trevisa's text, printed just above, shows the contrast clearly.

<sup>4</sup> See note 5, p. 390.

<sup>5</sup> See note 5, p. 390, MSS. *c*, *e*, *f*.

<sup>6</sup> *Bibl. Brit.-Hibernica*, p. 721.

<sup>7</sup> In Caley's *Catalogue of Lansdowne MSS.*

<sup>8</sup> *Catalogus cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulique Oxon. hodie adservantur*, H. O. Coxe, 1852. (Magd. Coll. 30.) Followed by Macray, *Cat. Cod. MSS. Digby*, 1883, p. 243.

<sup>9</sup> *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.*, IV, 582.

<sup>10</sup> *History of England in the time of Henry the Fourth*, II, 273 n., London, 1894. Implied by reference in index under Walton. *Old Royal Catalogue and Adds. Catalogue* (14408) give the same author. The new *Royal MSS. Catalogue* is not yet published, and I am not at liberty to disclose its views, though proof-sheets have been shown me.

<sup>11</sup> October 3, 1397, John, son of John Powell, was pardoned for having broken into the house of Wm. Banerton at Heylshawe, with intent to kill Banerton's son Thomas. *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1397, p. 201. Clifton, too, is a west-country name. See *Calendar Pat. Rolls*, 1397, pp. 256, 332, 317, references to three apparently different John Cliftons. John Walton's translation of Boethius for an Elizabeth Berkeley hardly makes him a good candidate.

<sup>12</sup> The Chalons MS. (*b*) has arms tricked in banners drawn like the one at the end of the volume, only larger, of course. This MS. contains the most elaborate symbol in the colophon.

Against this claim is the weight of internal evidence. So closely does the *Vegetius* conform in style, dialect, and vocabulary to the acknowledged work of John Trevisa, that it is hard to believe any other had a hand in it.<sup>1</sup> What then becomes of "☐toñ"? It would be a satisfying labor, if successful, to show that as *Tre-* in Cornish means "town,"<sup>2</sup> so *visa*, *bisa*, or *misa* should mean "flag," "cliff," "clef," "banner," "ensign," "axe," "wall," or whatever the symbol may be interpreted to signify. Unfortunately *Trev-isa*, "lowest town," is a name attached to a manor of St. Enoder,<sup>3</sup> and *Trev-isav* is equally good Welsh for the same. "Lowest" does not appear a probable interpretation of the symbol, certainly, though the variations of the rebus in the manuscripts make almost any conjecture possible.

To suggest that some one ignorant of the real meaning of *Trevisa* appended this fanciful etymology, or that Trevisa himself was ignorant of his own name's meaning,<sup>4</sup> seems a far-fetched attempt to hang a bushel of deduction on a pin of evidence. The excellent provenance of the earlier texts, in which the rebus appears, makes it difficult to believe in some intermediate scribe, Banerton or the like, who affixed his own name. The mystery, under present knowledge, seems insoluble, and may be no clearer when a full comparison of the *Vegetius* with Trevisa's known work is made, for the writer believes it will only confirm the claim of identity here advanced.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Complete proof of this can hardly be expected until an edition of the *Vegetius* is forthcoming. I may, however, note some significant forms common to Trevisa and the author of *Vegetius*.

1. Adverbial suffixes *-liche*, comp. *-loker*. *boldliche*, *boldloker*, *Veg.* above; *besiliche*, *slyloker*, *Pol.* I, 91.

2. Use of *ȝ* for *y* or *gh*, and of *sch* for *sh*.

3. Over-use of *y-* in past participle, in words of Romance origin, as *i-ordeyned*, *Pol.* III, 375; *Veg.* IV, rubric of cap. 1, etc.

4. Rare words occurring in both, e.g. *Forespekinge*, "introduction," *Pol.* II, 143; *Veg.* IV, Prol. The only reference to this word before 1540 in N.E.D. is to Trevisa. *Redacte*, *Veg.* I, 1; 20 times in *Pol.* The N.E.D. gives only references to Trevisa, before 1500. *Chastere*, n., "tamer," *Veg.* II, 2; forms of the verb *chaste* appear a score of times in *Pol.* Not in N.E.D. *Destourble*, *Veg.* I, 4; *Pol.* II, 413, etc. *Ȝonglinges* (juvenes), *Veg.* I, 4; *Pol.* II, 413.

5. U for y in certain words, as *dude*, *smulle*, *puple*, *i-bulded*, *prude*, *fury*, *i-fured*. Common in both works (*Veg.* I, 20; *Pol.* III, 21).

6. Verbal analogies. *Veg.* IV, 16, *Baleynes*, *grete fisches as it were of whales kynde*. *Pol.* II, 13, *he greet baleyne or whaal* (added to original).

7. Gerund. *To menyngye*, *Pol.* I, 69, 103, etc.; *to wytyngye*, *Veg.* (above) I, 2.

8. Doubling of terms in the original, with synonyms. A constant and deliberate practice.

9. The minutiae of the colophon, with exact date, little rime, and patron named.

10. Doubling of single consonant in comparative. *Wydder* (wider), *Veg.* IV, 1; *Pol.* VI, 15. 2 "Tre," a "house" or "town," or perhaps more exactly what is now called in Cornwall a town-place, i.e., a farm with its out-buildings. *Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1873, p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*, ed. R. Williams, London, 1865, sub "isa."

<sup>4</sup> He was certainly no great Latin scholar. See the introduction (Vol. I) to the *Polychronicon* of Higden, in the Rolls Series.

<sup>5</sup> An E.E.T.S. announcement, of Miss Wharton's edition of "Trevisa's" *Vegetius*, reappears annually. The edition is still *in nubibus*.

## II

Exactly half a century later, in 1458, an anonymous translator prepared for John, Viscount Beaumont, the second English *Vegetius* under the title *Knighthode and Bataile*. As if in unconscious irony he selected for the day of presentation of his treatise on the art of war that ill-starred "love-day," March 25 (Lady Day), when Henry VI, Warwick, York, Salisbury, and Queen Margaret went arm in arm to St. Paul's and swore a peace, which scarcely lasted out the year.<sup>1</sup> The work being in rime, the author had the good sense to omit much of what was then obsolete in his Roman original. Three MSS. survive, the earliest alone retaining the original form of dedication to Henry VI; the other two, in spite of the author's vehement protest that to win all England he would not join Henry's enemies,<sup>2</sup> substitute everywhere the name of Edward IV.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Pembroke Coll. Camb. 243, B.M. Cotton Titus AXXIII, and Bodl. Ashmole 45. The first is complete. The others lack the Prologue. Ashmole also lacks many leaves, including all Bk. II. In preparation, however, all three are closely alike, so far as concerns index, titles, glosses, etc. An edition has been now seven years in contemplation by R. Dyboski for the E.E.T.S. For extracts and information derived from the Pembroke MS. I am deeply indebted to the college librarian, Mr. Ellis H. Minns, M.A.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible from the derisive reference above to the "silver bear" (Warwick), the "lilial lion" (Plantagenet), and the "golden eagle" (perhaps Montagu, since the Montacute arms had held an eagle since the fourteenth century, according to Burke), to observe the poet's sympathies.

The following stanzas tell of the king's patronage, and assist in the dating:

And euery werryour will I beseche  
 Improprly wher of myn ignoraunce  
 Of werre I write, as putte in *propre* speche,  
 And mende me, praing herof plesaunce  
 To God be furst, by Henry King of Fraunce  
 And Eng[e]lande, and thenne ereith[er] londe  
 Peasibully þat God putte in his honde. (From the Prologue.)

In Engeland til now was ther no werre  
 This lx yere, saving at Seynt Albane,  
 And oon Batayle after the Blasyng sterre,\*  
 And longe on hem that whirleth as the fane;  
 Is not their own[e] cryme her own[e] bane? (From Titus MS., fol. 29 b.)

Of tholde worlde þe brightis harneysinge,  
 Best ordinance and myghtiest made werre,  
 O Chyualers, to you this is to bringe  
 The best ye chese, and yit a point go nerre,  
 O lady myn, Maria, lode-sterre,  
 Licence me toward the londe, beholde  
 See-seek am I, fulfayn o londe I wolde.

Hayle, poort salu3, *with* thy plesaunt accesse,  
 Al hail, Caley3, ther wold I fayne o londe, —  
 That may not — Joo, whiso? — for they distresse  
 All, or to deye, or *with* her werke to stonde;  
 That dar [I not, to]wynne all Engelande.  
 What myght auaile a lite in errour dwelle,  
 And world *with*-outen ende abide in helle?

\* Halley's comet, June, 1456.

The desperate efforts of the translator to reach poetic quality, while at the same time giving the gist of Vegetius, reach their climax in the description of battle by land and sea. At times elsewhere stray stanzas of genuine merit are found. Thus, on the channel winds,<sup>1</sup>

Sum variaunce of tyme wil refreyne  
 Her cruelous and fers rebellious;  
 Another helpeth hem to shake her cheyne  
 As al the firmament shuld falle adoun,  
 And occian lepe ouer Caleis toun:—  
 And aftir, in a while, it is tranquille,  
 And playn, and calme, as whos seith, "Husht, be stille!"

Rarely outside of Chaucer has the rhetorical value of the rime royal been better grasped than in this stanza.

But it is in his description of the fight at sea that the real power of the writer appears. Historically valuable as are the accounts of warfare from this mid-scene of the fury and clash of the Roses, they are still more noteworthy from the literary point of view. Here is some one, in that barren age, who knows what he is about.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> (*Continued*)

O, litil case, O pouere hous, my poort  
 Saluþ þou be, vntil this ayer amende,  
 That is to sey, ontill another soort  
 Gouverne there, that by þe king be sende.

Goo, litil book, and humbilly beseche  
 The werriours, and hem that wil the rede,  
 That wher afault is, or impropur speche,  
 They vouchesaf tamende my mysdede;  
 Thy writere eek pray hym to taken hede  
 Of thy cadence, and kepe ortographie,  
 That neither he take of ner multiple. (The last stanzas, from Titus.)

To these I append the two stanzas corresponding to the prose extract given above, from the earlier translation:

Theleccioun of werreours is good  
 Yn euery lond; and southward ay þe more,  
 þe more wit they haue, and lesse blood;  
 Forthy to blede her drede is; and therefore  
 Resyne theym to labour and to lore;  
 And northewarde hath more blood, and lesse  
 Wyt, and to fight and blede han hardynesse.  
 But werreours to worthe wise and bolde  
 Ys good to take in mene atwin hem tweyne,  
 Where is not ouer-hot nor ouer-colde,  
 And to travaille and swete in snowe and reyne  
 Yn colde and hete, In wode and feeldis playne  
 With rude fode and short, they þat bith visid  
 To chese it is the citesens seclused.

<sup>1</sup> From Bk. IV, quoted from MS. Titus, as is the longer extract given above.

<sup>2</sup> Vegetius' account is technical and without any suggestion of this spirited work which compares favorably with a similar account in Chaucer's *Legend of Cleopatra*. Good stanzas on the pel-quintain are quoted by Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, ed. 1845, pp. 114-115 (Bk. III, chap. i), from the Titus MS.



The beemys up they goth<sup>h</sup> oute of the trumpe,  
 And euery brayn astonyeth<sup>h</sup> their resoun;  
 The firmament, lo! clariounys crumpe  
 To crye vppon, — *and* lo! hit comth adoun  
 With angelis, ye, many a legioun,  
 To countur *periurie*, and myscreaunce,  
 And surquydrie, and disobeysaunce.

In euery man they setteth<sup>h</sup> fortitude,  
 And hygh magnyficence, and confidence,  
 Perseueraunt for trouthe to conclude  
 With adiuuaunce of myghti pacience;  
 And on the parte aduerse an Impotence,  
 With cowardise, and diffident dispaire,  
 Wil ferdfully with trembeling repaire.

The canonys, the Bumbard, *and* the gunne  
 They blo withoute the vois, and stonys grete  
 Thorough mast and side *and* other be they ruine —  
 In goth<sup>h</sup> the serpentyne aftyr his mete —  
 The Colueryne is besy for to gete  
 An hole into the tof<sup>h</sup>, and the Crappaude  
 Wil in — the fouler eek wil haue his laude.

The covey fleeth<sup>h</sup>, as foulis, through to saile,  
 The pavice ar encombred with coventis,<sup>1</sup>  
 Yet on they come! and vs they wil assaile,  
 The bowe vnnumerabil redy bent is,  
 i. ab aure  
 The shaft fro theere anende it goth apprentis;  
 Thonagir is, and the Carribaliste,  
 The fundubal and the manubaliste,

The Catafracte, plumbate, and Scorpioun,  
 The dart and arpagoun in dayes olde  
 Were had, and are amonge vs leyde adoun;  
 Crosbowe yet and Crankelous or bolde  
 With wilde fier to brenne alle in the foolde.  
 The malliol goth out with the fallary,  
 The wilde fier to bere our Aduersary.

Yet on they come! awayte vppon the toppe,  
 Good archery! The storm of shot as hail  
 So rayketh on, they dar not schewe her croppe,  
 Ner in the mastis tof<sup>h</sup>, *ner* vnder sayle; —  
 Yet hayle hem in a myghty voys, "hail! hail!"  
 Come vnder your kyng [Harry]! fy o pride!"  
 They wil not throf; attonys on hem ride,

<sup>1</sup> That is, I suppose, the escorted transports and merchant ships flee, while the warships give battle.

Bende up! breke eueryche oore in the mytside  
 That hath a rash, helpe hem! lo! they goth vndir!  
 To this mysaventure himself th[e]y gyde.  
 Lo! how they cracke on euery syde asondyr!  
 What tempest is on hem, what leit *and* thondir!  
 On, grapesinge, anoon! lete se their fleete,  
 What hertis ar in hem *wit* vs to mete!

Armure and axe and spere of ouerwight  
 Is ouerlight, as sparkelis in reede,  
 So sparkil they on helm and herneys bright;  
 The Rammys and twibil the side out-shrede,  
 Of shiþ and mast down goth the sail, indede,  
 Vp goth our hook, nowe it is on their gabil,  
 Lo! ther it lieth! this batail is notabil!

Summe into see go, fisshis for to feede,  
 Summe vnder hacch ar falde adoun for fere,  
 And summe above, her hert[e]-bloode to bleede,  
 And summe seek herself, they wote *ner* wher,  
 And summe crye, "alas that we come there!"  
 Myschief vppon mysgouernaunce betide,  
 Lo! pryde hath vs betrayed, fy o pride!"

"Com on *wit* vs! ye shal go se the kynge,  
 The gracious; have of anoon this gere!  
 Ye most have on another harneysinge,  
 A Jinglyng of Jessis shal ye were,  
 Ye shal no lenger stonden in this fere!  
 O siluer bere, O lilial lioun,  
 O goldon Eagle, [w]her is your renoun!"<sup>1</sup>

Thus may be doon, if that it be forseyne  
 Of our *me*ryte in Souerayn providence;  
 Forthy for[th]with do euery wight his peyne  
 Sleight out to holde, and haue in diligence.  
 Sette vp the werk, and spare noon expense,  
 Of Goddis honde as though ye have victory,  
 Yit in the knotte is al thonour and glory.<sup>2</sup>

Knyt vþ the knotte, and sey, "hayl haliday!  
 The werre intraneous of al this londe  
 Is at an ende; here nys no more affray,  
 Justice is here, peasibly to stonde,  
 And al the world shal tel of Eng[e]lond<sup>3</sup>  
 And of [the] kyngys hygh magnyfisence,  
 And been adred tatterpente it *wit* offence."

<sup>1</sup> Warwick, Clarence, Montagu. See p. 394, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> An early treatment of the maxim that God is on the side of the biggest battalions. Warwick's victories at sea fulfilled these predictions.

<sup>3</sup> See the last stanzas of the work, quoted above, p. 394, n. 2.

There is a chance that the poet who composed this stirring bit of verse has been rescued from the common oblivion of the fifteenth century. Internal evidence points strongly to the conclusion that he was also the author of *Agriculture*, a version of Palladius' *De Re Rustica*, written about 1439 for Duke Humphrey. Accepting this identification, the grounds for which are given below,<sup>1</sup> we have several pivotal facts to go upon. In 1439 the poet of the

<sup>1</sup> *Agriculture*, as its author called it, has been twice printed, under the name *Palladius*, for the Early Eng. Text Society by B. Lodge (nos. 52, 72), and by Mark Liddell from the Fitzwilliam MS., Berlin, 1896. The Bodleian owns a facsimile of this MS., probably the presentation copy to Humphrey. The date is known from the line "it cherith His wit to here and Orliaunce ennoye" (Prol. 59-60), which must, I think, refer to a date before the release of that prince in 1440; and from the mention of Humphrey's gift of 129 books to Oxford, in 1439. See on this *Monumenta Academica*, Rolls Series, p. 326. Many other details confirm this date. The points common to the two works, and rare elsewhere, can only be summarized here most briefly. The *Palladius* references are to E.E.T.S. 52, 72, ed. Herrtage; *Vegetius*, to folios of Titus A. xxiii.

1. They are careful and yet free versifications of Latin didactic treatises.

2. Rigid standards of metre, and rigid observance of the final -e as understood by the poet, appear throughout.

3. The rime-indexes are identical, with allowance made for difference of vocabulary due to the subjects. The distinguishing characteristics here are:

a. Use of penultimate rimes.

centenarys: necessary is V 15

noon is: stonys: bonys V 8 b

signys: condigne is: insigne is V 9 b

Cf. anyghtes: dight is P 117/381

celles: elles: hell is P 196/271.

flesys: chese is P 167/87

b. Penultimate rimes in -ory and -ary.

exploratory: story: victory V 47

victory: memory V 2, V 5.

necessary: tary: myscary V 9 b

Cf. memorie: territory P 120/468

c. Penultimate rimes in -eson.

geson: seson V 42

seson: eson V 6 b.

Cf. peson: geson: season P 106/65 etc.

d. Rime of -aft, -eft.

craftis: forlefte is V 4 b.

Cf. shafte: crafte: lefte P 75/401

e. Confusion of -igne, -ine.

signe: enclyne V 36.

medicyne: resigne: declyne V 19 a.

Cf. assigne: medicyne: reclyne P 203/450 etc.

f. Frequent rime of are, always with final -e.

repare: are V 16 b. etc.

Cf. are: repare P 107/85 etc.

4. The curious run-on lines, of which examples are given in the lines quoted above. For Palladius see

A sadder vyne a bigger stake olofte

Mot holde; a lighter vyne is with a lesse

Stakyng upholde. And whi? For hevynesse

Of shade, etc. P 40/1080

*Agriculture*, though for ten years oppressed, and still deprived of his church by his "double mortal foe," is now assured of better days through Humphrey's intercession, and a reward is promised him for literary service. In 1458, in the prologue to *Knighthode and Bataile* the poet calls himself "Parson of Calais," and after some consideration selects John, Viscount Beaumont, as his patron to present his work to Henry VI. Beaumont addresses him "Preste vnto me," but the author adds cautiously next these words in the margin "After my master," thus indicating that he is a king's clerk, owing service next to lord Beaumont, steward to the Prince of Wales and the king, and a prominent member of the Privy Council.<sup>1</sup> The prologue ends with a prediction that the king will soon provide, from point to point, for the war as he is taught in Vegetius. Finally, the careful substitution of Edward IV's name for Henry's in the later MS. is very likely the author's own work.

With good luck, then, one in quest of the poet's name might hope to find some priest rewarded with a benefice in 1439, mentioned as a king's clerk, and parson of Calais then or later, rewarded or recognized in some way about 1458

5. The lines just quoted show also the abrupt breaks and the attempt to give animation by conversational interruptions.

6. Use of o in olofte, P 40/1080. Cf. o in olonde in the stanzas quoted above (p. 394) from V.

7. Verbal analogues. One instance must suffice.

But this I leve vnto þe sapience  
 Of Chyualers and to my werk retorne  
 Theryn to do my feithfull diligence  
 For there plesaunce, *out of this prosis storne*  
*The resonauce of metris wold I borne,*  
 As myghty herte in ryngyng harneysinge  
 So gentil wyt wil in good metris springe. V 11 b  
 Cf. A, now my lord biholdith on his book,  
 For-sothe al nought, he gynneth crossis make,  
 With a plummet, and, y noot whow, his look,  
 His cheer is straunge eschaunge, almeest y quake  
 For ferd y shrynke away, no leue y take.  
 Farwel, my lord, do forth, for y am heer,  
*And metur muse out of this prosis blake,*  
 And heer y wul sette on at Feueryeer. P 480 ff.

(For this stanza I have used the photo-facs. of Earl Fitzwilliam's MS., in the Bodleian, Arch. F. d. 1.)

8. The preparation of the MSS. Alone among fifteenth-century English translations, *Vegetius* and *Palladius* are provided with carefully prepared indexes, marginal and interlinear glosses, accurate running titles, and numbering of the stanzas on every folio (*a—d recto*, *e—h verso*) for ready reference. The glosses are of two types in both works. They offer the Latin equivalent of the English rimes and words liable to misconstruction (*i*), or alternative English readings for the lines (*l*).

9. The prologue, with run-on rime, prayer to Christ or Mary at beginning of each book, a reference to patronage, and hope of betterment of condition through the work, are common and peculiar to both.

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Jan. 20, 1457. See also Nicolas' *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, VI, 207 ff., for Beaumont's place in the history of the time. Beaumont was killed at the battle of Northampton in 1460 (*Paston Letters*, I, 443).



for his war treatise, and perhaps taken in service under Edward IV. He would scarcely hope to find reference to his mortal foe, since the poverty of the complainant might prevent a suit, and Humphrey's patronage be sufficient reward.

It can hardly be laid to coincidence, therefore, that one Robert Parker, chaplain, should succeed a clerk of the king's closet as parson of Stanford Ryvers, in the very year 1439; that in 1450 Robert Parker, chaplain, the king's clerk, should be made parson of St. Nicholas, Calais; that in 1460 Robert Parker should be named, among others, on a commission with the master of the king's ordnance to oversee the manufacture of "cannons, bombards, culverin, serpentyns, crossbows," and other instruments of war described in detail in *Knighthode and Bataile*, and finally, that in 1464, an early pardon of Edward IV should be issued to Robert Parker, clerk.<sup>1</sup> Until further search is made in the scanty records of this period, the facts of Parker's life must be admitted as fairly meeting the conditions given by internal evidence for a claim to authorship of *Agriculture* and *Knighthode and Bataile*.

### III

Caxton's translation of *The Fautes and Armes of Chivalrie*, from Christine de Pisan, contains so much of Vegetius that it may fairly be called a translation.<sup>2</sup> The work, printed in 1489 for Henry VII, is an abridgment of

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Feb. 25, 1439, "Presentation of Robt. Parker, chaplain, to the church of Stanford Ryvers, co. Essex, in the diocese of London, void by the resignation of Edward Atherton, clerk of the king's closet." *Ibid.*, Aug. 16, 1450, "Presentation of the King's clerk, Robert Parker, chaplain, to the church of St. Nicholas, Calais, in the diocese of Térouanne." *Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1452, exchange of Atherton for Stanford Ryvers. *Ibid.*, Mar. 2, 1460, commission to master of king's ordnance and others, Robt. Parker among them, to oversee the manufacture of the works named above, and many other munitions of war. *Ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1464, "General pardon to Robt. Parker, clerk." The writer has found no mention of a parson of St. Nicholas, Calais, as succeeding Robert Parker.

<sup>2</sup> "And bycause that dyuerce auctours lerne me to speke whiche haue wreton, I shall produce in-to wytnes theyr sayengis, and pryncypally Vegece, whyche [sig. B ij] in the tyme of Valentyne themperour notably made a propre boke of the dyscipline & arte whiche the right conquerours helden, whiche brought to ende by wysedom and vertue of armes thynges whiche now in this present tyme shold seme as Impossible. . . ." [Sig. B i<sup>vo</sup>] Lib. I, cap. viii.

Caxton's description of the work, since there is no modern edition, may be given also.

"Here begynneth the table of the rubryshys of the boke of the fayt of armes and of Chyualrye whiche sayd boke is departyd in-to foure partyes.

The fyrst partye deuyseth the manere that kynges and prynces oughten to holde in the fayttes of theyr werres and bataylles after thordre of bokes, dictes, and examples of the most preu & noble conquerours of the world. And how & what maner fayttes ought best to be chosen & the maners that they ought to kepe and holde in theyr offices of armes.

Item the second party speketh after Frontyn of cawteles & subtyltees of armes which he calleth stratagems of thordre & manere to fyghte & deffende castellis & cytees after Vegece and other auctours. And to make werre & gyue bataylle in ryuers and in the See.

Item the thyrd parte speketh of the droytes & ryghtes of armes after the lawes & droyt wreton.

Item the iiij partye speketh of the droytes of armes in the fayttes of sauconduytes, of tryews, of marke, & after of champ de bataylle, that is, of fyghtyng within lystes."

various treatises. The first two books follow Vegetius, in the main. As no modern edition exists, an illustrative extract is given here.

The matere of takyng of auuntayge at a felde. Capitulo xxij [sig. E ij<sup>vo</sup>].

"Vegece saith that the hedcapytayne oughte to see that day that he wol gyue bataylle what wylle hys men haue therto. For he may knowe yf they haue eny drede or fere in theym by theyre faces, by theyre wordes, and by the moeuyng of theyre bodyes. But, he sayth, thys is not to be vndrestande of thoos that haue not lerned hyt; For merueylle it were but yf suche shold drede hit. But yf he knoweth that they that be enured with thexcersyce of armes maken doubte of hyt, he ought to delaye the bataylle vnto another day yf he may . . . [sig. E iij]. Now cometh to the poynt, how that a bataylle after the teching of Vegece shalbe renged in arraye. Soo shall thenne see the wyse capytayne as it is sayd, that he take fyrst the aduantage of the felde. Where as thre pryncypalle thynges are to be consydered and seen vnto: That one to take the hyghest part of the place; the seconde, that the enemyes haue the sonne shynynge streyght vpon theyre faces as longe as the batayll shall laste; And that other that the wynde be also ayenst hem. . . ."

The volume becomes much more interesting, it should be said, when Vegetius is abandoned. Thus, for example, Christine's argument as to the rights of English scholars in Paris during war times is not without historical and literary value. Since her work, as well as Caxton's, exists in no modern editions, the insertion of this amusing page may be pardoned:

["Lib. III, cap. xix," by a curious misnumbering. Really cap. xxij, as appears from the table of chapters, sig. L ij<sup>vo</sup> ff.]

Sig. O j<sup>vo</sup>:

"But syth that we ben entred in matere of prysoners of werre, I wyl that thou Iuge<sup>1</sup> thy-self after thyn aduysse of suche a debat whyche by an exsample I shal propose vnto the. Now knowest thou al ynoughe how the kynge of Fraunce and the kynge of England haue comonly werre one ayenst an other. I putte the caas that a scoler licencyat atte Cambrige in Englande is com to the vnyuersyte of parys for to be there graduate or enhaunced in the degree of doctour of dyuynyte, or in other faculte; wher it happeth that a man of armes of Fraunce knoweth by other that thys scoler is an englishman borne, and taketh hym as hys prysoner, to the whyche pryse the sayde scoler sayth ayenst & therto opposeth hym-self; so ferforth is the thyng brought that byfore the Iustyce cometh the questyon, to the whyche debat the Englyshman, that in ryght fownded hys reason, sayth, that he hathe a caas expert of the lawe that doeth for hym-self; for cause of the grete preuyleges that the scolers haue there, and hyt deffendeth that noo gryef nor dyspleasyre be doon to them, but honour and reuerens. And here is the reason, he saythe, that the lawe assygneth; Who shulde be, he sayth, the lawe that shulde not haue scolers for recomaunded, whiche for to knowe and acqyre conynge haue lefte and layde asyde ry[c]hesses, delicates, & al eases of body, theyre carnall frendes and theyre countrey, and haue taken the astate of pourete, and as banyshed from al other goodes haue forsaken the worlde and al othir pleasirs for loue of scyence. So shulde he be wel full of all vnkyndnes that shulde doo eny euyl to them.

"To thees reasons the man of armes replycqueth thus, saying: Brother, I telle the that emonge vs we frenshmen make noo force of the emperoures lawes; to whom we be not subject, so owe not we to obeye them.

<sup>1</sup> Beginning with Book III, Christine's work consists of questions debated with Study, a stately man appearing in a dream, as *per* Prologue, and herself.

"The scoler ansuereth: Lawes ben noon other thynges but veray reasons that were ordeyned after wysedome, and yf therof ye do make noo force, it is not sayde therfore, that the kynge & lordes of Frañce shal not vse of reason & of thynges that ben reasonable, and of that that they hem-self haue ordeyned. For Charlemayne remeued the generall scole of rome by the popis wyll to parys; they gaffe grete & notable preuyleges to the same scole. And therfore sent the kynge to fetch maisters out of all partyes and scolers of all manere of langages and all them he comprysed in the sayde preuylege. And wherfore thenne shal not they mowe come from all partyes whan they haue licence of the kynge, where as al thynges at theyre fyrst comynge doo swere that they shall kepe the saide preuyleges.

"In the name of god, sayde the man of armes, supposed that that ye saie, ye ought to wite that sethen that a generall werre was cryed & proclaimed betwyn oure kynge and yours, noon englyshemen ought to come within the roialme of Frañce, for suche a cause nor for noon other whatsomeuer it be, without a good saufconduyte, & the reason is goode. For why, ye myght vndre coloure of the scole write & doo vndrestande in youre contrey how it is here, and the astate of this lande, and other dyuers secret euylles ye myght doo here yf ye wolde; wherfore it is not reason that noo manere of preuylege shulde tourne unto preiudce of the kynge nor of hys roialme.

"Thes reasons harde, saye thou my loue now, what thou therupon thinkest.

"Wythout faylle, mayster, syth that it pleaseth the that my lytel and sobre aduyse shall serue in thys bihalfe, I telle the that yf it be so and wythout frawde that he of whom thou spekest be a true scoler, that is to saye, that he were not come vndre fyction to lerne conninge, for to aspye or to doo som other euyll, I holde his cause for good, and that he ought not to be take prysonner, prouyded al wayes, but yf the kynge had made to be cryed by hys maundement especyall that noon englisheman what someuere he were shulde not come to studye in hys roialme.

"Thou has ryghtwelt (*sic*) Iuged and wysely dystynged. . . ."

#### IV

Not long after Caxton's time, possibly about 1500, a Scottish herald, or some Scotsman interested in the herald's office, made a series of translations from the parts of Vegetius touching his subject. His purpose was, apparently, to exhibit the duties and qualities of knighthood; and the document has a place in the history of the extraordinary outburst of chivalric display in Scotland at the turn of the fifteenth century. The first of the extracts may be quoted.<sup>1</sup>

Heir begynnis ye translatione out of latyn in to inglis De bello campestra (*sic*) in Vegeus (*sic*) De rei (*sic*) militari.

First it is to knaw to a prince or a chiftane of weir, þat smythes, writhtis, masonis, ar profitabill to battell werkis; becauſs of yair daly laubour, yair armes ar ganand and vsit in strikin, and sa ar bouchouris, for yai abhor nocht ye schedding of blude, señ yai ar vsit to slauther of beistis, and to lat yair blude. huntaris als of wild baris, for yai ar nocht Invadit without grete hardiment, and yerfore sic men ar curageous and strenthty to fight; and sa ar huntaris of grete deir, for yai ar vsit with rycht grete travell. barbouris, sootarís, writaris and tailgeoris, and yair avin craft be weill considerit, yai ar na worth for battell;

<sup>1</sup> From MS. Queen's College Oxf. 161, fols. 97-101. The volume belonged to, and was perhaps composed by, R. Anderson. The selections from Vegetius concern the choice of soldiers, the situation of the camp, banners in war, foining *vs.* striking, and the seven positions for battle.



for he may *neuer* weill stryke *with* ax or swerd *yat* suld haue a *licht* hand to hald *rasour*, nedill, or pen; for quhat *proportione* is of a nedill till a speir, or rasour or pen till ane ax? Sa ar potingar*is*, foular*is*, fischar*is*, and siclikis *nocht* to be chosin to battell craft, for yair craft is *nocht* like to battell craft.

## V

This survey of Vegetius in early English may conclude with John Sadler's translation, made for Sir Edmund Brudenell, and published at his expense, in 1572, with a letter of dedication to the Earl of Bedford, Lord Russell. As one who had seen active service in France, Scotland, and Wales, and who was one of the Queen's chief captains during her early reign, Bedford deserved the dedication.<sup>1</sup> The translation compares favorably with others in that age of translation, in style and accuracy. An interesting part of Sadler's work was the curious and valuable series of six plates exhibited at the end of the volume, showing engines of siege and assault. As illustrating the change in manner of translation between 1408 and 1572, the second chapter of Book I from Sadler is given here for contrast with Trevisa's rendering.

Out of what countreis a younge souldiour should be chosen. Chapter ij.

The order of thinges for our purpose doth require, that in the first parte we intreate, out of what prouinces or countries younge souldiours should be chosen. For it is moste sure and euident, that in all places bothe cowardes and hardie men be bredde. But yet, because one nation doth excelle an other in warre, and the clymate of the heauen doth very much auayle not onely to strengthen the body, but also the minde, *for* in this place what is of the best learned men moste approued & allowed, I meane not to pretermit. They say that all nations whiche be nigh to the Sunne, parched & dried with ouer muche heate, haue more witte in deede, but yet lesse blood within them. And for that cause, they dare not manfully & boldly stande to it when they fight, wel knowinge how litle blood they haue, & feare much therfore wounding. Contrariwyse, the people of the North, whom the Sunne burneth not so nere, being more rashe and vnaduised, yet a great deale better bloued, are moste ready of all, & desirous of warre [...]. Out of the more *temperate* costes then should souldiours be chosen, whiche both may haue blood enough, and so not force neither for hurting nor killing: & haue wisdom also sufficient, wherby wisely to kepe a moderate meane & aduisedly by circumspect counsel, to preuaile in their fighting.

<sup>1</sup> John Sadler, commenced Corpus Christi, Cambridge, M. A., 1540. He lived at Oundle, from which his dedication is addressed. See Cooper, *Athenae Cantab.*, and the account in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Sir Edmund Brudenell was son of Judge Robert, of whose life an account is given in the same work. He was perhaps the Brudenell who owned the MS. (b) of Trevisa's version. The title reads: "The Foure bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus, briefely containyng a plaine forme, and perfect knowledge of martiall policye, feates of Chivalrye, and whatsoeuer pertayneth to warre. Translated out of lattine into Englishe." The colophon: "Imprinted at London in Flete streete neare vnto Saint Dunstones Church, by Thomas Marshe."





# THE PLAN OF THE *CANTERBURY TALES*

KARL YOUNG

Of all the collections of "framed stories" current in Europe during the Middle Ages the only one that has been seriously and persistently adduced as an immediate model for the frame of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The confident opinion of Tyrwhitt, however, that "the *Canterbury Tales* are a work of the same nature with the *Decameron*, and were, in all probability, composed in imitation of it,"<sup>1</sup> would seem to have been finally discredited, after a century or so, by Mr. Pollard's downright assertion that "there is no shred of evidence to prove that he copied it from the very inferior scheme of Boccaccio's *Decamerone*."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless two recent writers<sup>3</sup> have advanced "shreds of evidence" which indicate that for some scholars, at least, Chaucer's independence of the *Decameron* has not yet been definitively established. Since, then, an old literary controversy is being revived, I venture to introduce considerations which have been either overlooked or ignored by the disputants, and which seem to deserve a measure of the attention which Chaucerians are bestowing upon the *Decameron*.

However many detailed resemblances may be apparent between the *Decameron* and the *Canterbury Tales*, one must frankly admit that in the fundamental fiction of their frameworks the two collections are irreconcilably different. Boccaccio's stories are recounted by ten gentlefolk idling in a garden; Chaucer's tales are recounted by a motley company of pilgrims riding on horseback along the highway. It is precisely the fiction of the pilgrimage that differentiates Chaucer's plan from that of Boccaccio, and it is particularly in this fiction that the originality of Chaucer's plan has always been discerned. Only, then, in a collection of stories ostensibly recounted in the course of a pilgrimage can we expect to find a true parallel for the central *motif* of the *Canterbury Tales*. Such a parallel has been disclosed in the *Novelle* of another of Chaucer's Italian contemporaries, Giovanni Sercambi of Lucca (1347-1424).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> T. Tyrwhitt, *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1798, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Pollard, in *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Globe Edition, London, 1898, p. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> See L. Morsbach, *Chaucers Plan der Canterbury Tales und Boccaccios Decamerone*, in *Englische Studien*, Vol. XLII (1910), pp. 43-52; R. K. Root, *Chaucer and the Decameron*, in *Englische Studien*, Vol. XLIV (1912), pp. 1-7.

<sup>4</sup> Sercambi's name was incorporated into Chaucerian criticism first, so far as I know, by H. B. Hinckley, *Notes on Chaucer*, Northampton, 1907, pp. 2-3. This service of Mr. Hinckley's has scarcely received the recognition that it deserves. The first extended account of Sercambi's

## I

From the *Proemio* of Sercambi's *Novelle*, and from the *intermezzi*, or "links," which bind the stories together, the framework of the Italian collection may be outlined as follows:

During the ravages of a plague in Lucca in the year 1374 a number of men and women from various walks of life, together with certain of the clergy, decide to leave town until the pestilence shall have subsided, and in the interim to travel about through Italy. One Sunday in February, therefore, the company gather in the Church of Santa Maria del Corso to receive communion and perform other pious acts. On this occasion a certain prominent citizen, named Aluisi, rises to address the company, suggesting that it were best for them to appoint some one person to whom they all should pay reverence and obedience, who should control them for the legitimate pleasure of all, who should arrange the itinerary, and who should conduct the company safely home. As such a leader (*proposto*) they promptly elect Aluisi himself.

At the request of Aluisi the pilgrims immediately raise a purse of three thousand florins for common expenses, and promise more when this sum shall have been spent. The leader appoints a treasurer to take charge of the money, and stewards to supervise expenditures, and arranges for the daily observance of the offices of the Church. For the amusement of the pilgrims Aluisi makes ample provision as follows:

Ordinò coloro che colli omini alla cena e al desinare dovranno con diletto et canti di giostre et di moralità cantare et ragionare, con alcuni stromenti, et talotta colle spade da schermire, per dare piacere a tutti. Et alcuni tra loro vi disputassero in nelle liberali scienze et questi eletti sono per la brigata delli omini et prelati<sup>1</sup>. . . Altri ordinò che di leuti et stromenti dilettevoli, con voci piane e basse et con voci piacevoli, canzonette

*Novelle* was given by R. Renier, *Novelle Inedite di Giovanni Sercambi*, Turin, 1889, from whom, I infer, Mr. Hinckley derived his notes. As Renier explains (pp. xl-xli), the separate *novelle* have now all been published, in one place or another. Unfortunately, however, the *intermezzi*, or "links," embodying the framework, have never been printed, and although Renier gives an indication of their content (pp. liii-lv), any searching study of the framework has been hitherto impossible.

The unique manuscript of Sercambi's *Novelle* is No. 193 in the Biblioteca Trivulziana in Milan. In preparing his edition of twenty of the 155 *novelle*, in 1816, Bartolomeo Gamba had a transcription made from Ms. 193, the transcription being deposited in the same library in two volumes, Nos. 194, 195. With unexcelled kindness, Professor Rajna of Florence secured for me a copyist who transcribed the *intermezzi* from Nos. 194, 195. I have no adequate words with which to thank Professor Rajna, and His Excellency Prince Trivulzio, who permitted the transcribing, and Professor J. D. M. Ford, who has given me invaluable guidance. It appears that the unique Ms. 193 is written in an atrocious hand ("la scrittura veramente orribile," Renier, pp. xlii-xliii) and is full of imperfections (Renier, p. xlvii). For these reasons my copyist, like the editors of some of the *novelle* themselves, transcribed from Gamba's copy, of about 1816. In the present article, then, I vouch for the content, but not for the letter, of the *intermezzi* as I quote from them. I hope to hear that some scholar is preparing a complete edition of Ms. 193, including the *intermezzi*.

<sup>1</sup> The small lacuna in the manuscript at this point is, of course, most unfortunate.

d'amore et d'onestà dicesseno alle donne. Et perchè ve n'avea d'età alcune, accasate et vidue, ordinò alcuni pargoletti saccenti col saltero sonare un salmo et una gloria, et quando s'udiva la messa, al levare del nostro Signore, uno *sanctus sanctus* dirsi, et per questo modo volea che la mattina, quando si dicesse la messa, fusse sonato, et al desinare et alla cena diversamente, secondo le condizioni delli omini, fusse lo suono, et così delle donne. Appresso ordinò che tali stromenti et sonanti dopo il desinare e la cena contentassero la brigata di suoni et diletto senza vanagloria, et tutto ordinatamente misse in effetto.<sup>1</sup>

Having arranged, then, for these edifying songs, conversations, and discourses, the leader appoints Sercambi official story-teller, in the following veiled announcement:

Dipoi, rivoltosi lo preposto alla brigata, parlando per figura disse: Colui il quale senza cagione ha di molte ingiurie sostenute et a lui senza colpa sono state fatte, comando che in questo nostro viaggio debbia essere autore et fattore di questo libro et di quello che ogni dì gli comanderò. Et acciò che non si possa scusare che a lui per me non si sia stato per tutte le volte comandato et anco per levarlo, se alcuno pensiero di vendetta avesse, canterò uno sonetto, in nel quale lo suo proprio nome col soprannome ritroverà. Et pertanto io comando senz' altro dire che ogni volta io dirò: Autore, di' la tal cosa; lui senz' altro segua la mia intenzione.<sup>2</sup>

Recognizing his name in the acrostic sonnet that Aluisi now recites, Sercambi promptly begins *Novella I (De Sapientia)*,<sup>3</sup> during the recital of which, one infers, the pilgrims speedily set forth from Lucca, for by the end of this tale of some three thousand words they have already left Pisa behind them.<sup>4</sup>

In the course of their pilgrimage the company visit the following towns: Pisa, Volterra, San Miniato, Pistoia, Prato, Florence, Siena, Arezzo, Cortona, Città di Castello, Borgo San Sepolcro, Massa di Maremma, Grosseto, Civitavecchia, Popolonia, Bolsena, Orvieto, Assisi, Perugia, Todi, Narni, Terni, Montefiascone, Viterbo, Rome, Spoleto, Jesi, Aversa, Aquila, Naples, Benevento, Salerno, Reggio (di Calabria), Dierta, Squillace, Forati, Brindisi, Sant' Angelo, Scariotto, Ascoli, Fermo, Recanati, Ancona, Sinigaglia, Fano, Pesaro, Fossombrone, Gubbio, Urbino, Cagli, Cesena, Cervia, Bertinoro, Ravenna, Forlì, Faenza, Imola, Meldola, Bologna, Ferrara, Chioggia, Venice, Murano, Treviso, Feltre, Cividale, Vicenza, Padua, Verona, Brescia, Cremona, Mantua, Bergamo, Bassano, Monza, Milan, Como, Novara, Pavia, Vercelli, Alessandria, Tortona, Piacenza, Lodi, Parma, Reggio (Emilia), Modena, Asti, Savona, Genoa, and Luni.

It appears, then, that the pilgrims pass southward from Lucca down the west coast of Italy, cross the peninsula at the southern end, pass northward along the east coast, and, after a somewhat tortuous tour in the north, end the

<sup>1</sup> Renier, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> Printed by Renier, pp. 9-16.

<sup>4</sup> See *Intermezzo* 1-2. I indicate the position of an *intermezzo* by a dash between the numbers of the *novelle* confining it. In referring to the *novelle* I follow the numbering of Cod. Trivulziano 193, as used consistently by Renier in his table, pp. 429-433.



journey—so far as the defective manuscript carries us—at Luni, near Lucca. Sercambi's complete plan provided, no doubt, for the return of the pilgrims to Lucca itself. In general the company spend only one night in a town; in a few of the larger and more interesting cities, however, they linger for a longer time, — ten days, for example, in Rome,<sup>1</sup> and five days in Naples.<sup>2</sup> The journey is accomplished, for the most part, on foot. Among several of the towns in the vicinity of Venice the pilgrims travel, naturally, by boat.<sup>3</sup> On the road from Ferrara to Francolino they seem to have used wagons.<sup>4</sup> There is no indication of their traveling on horseback.

The tales are told sometimes on the road between towns, and sometimes in inn-yards or gardens in the towns themselves. In a considerable number of cases there is an intentional relation between the subject of the story and the region which the company are, for the moment, traversing.<sup>5</sup> During the ten days' sojourn in Rome, for example, stories are drawn from Roman history.<sup>6</sup> During their travels in the region about Venice the pilgrims listen to stories on Venetian subjects.<sup>7</sup> On the road to Verona is told a story of Veronese life.<sup>8</sup>

## II

Now that we have before us an outline of the framework of Sercambi's *Novelle*, we may enter upon a comparison of the Italian collection and the English in certain details.

### 1. The Group of Pilgrims.

Like the happily miscellaneous company that gathered in the Tabard Inn in Southwark, the pilgrims of Sercambi who forgathered in the Church of Santa Maria seem to have represented a great variety of conditions in life. Although we are not told how many Lucchese pilgrims there were, we have clear indications that the *brigata* was large. At the outset Aluisi, the leader, addresses the company as follows:

Cari fratelli e a me maggiori, e voi care et venerabili donne, che *d'ogni condizione* sete qui raunati.<sup>9</sup>

In the course of the journey, in singling out this or that group as his particular audience for a particular story, the author addresses bankers,<sup>10</sup> merchants,<sup>11</sup> young men,<sup>12</sup> nuns,<sup>13</sup> public officials,<sup>14</sup> ecclesiastics,<sup>15</sup> servants,<sup>16</sup> judges,<sup>17</sup> rulers,<sup>18</sup> and others in less definite categories. The company includes also singers,

<sup>1</sup> See *Int.* 38-39.

<sup>2</sup> See *Int.* 57-58.

<sup>3</sup> See *Int.* 120-121, 121-122, 122-123, 123-124, 124-125, 125-126, 126-127.

<sup>4</sup> See *Int.* 121-122.

<sup>5</sup> See Renier, pp. lv-lvi.

<sup>6</sup> See *Novelle* XL-XLIX.

<sup>7</sup> See *Novelle* CXXIV-CXXIX.

<sup>8</sup> See *Novella* CXXXII.

<sup>9</sup> Renier, p. 5. The italics are mine.

<sup>10</sup> See *Int.* 21-22.

<sup>11</sup> See *Int.* 21-22, 91-92.

<sup>12</sup> See *Int.* 94-95.

<sup>13</sup> See *Int.* 98-99.

<sup>14</sup> See *Int.* 103-104, 106-107, 137-138, 143-144.

<sup>15</sup> See *Int.* 109-110, 124-125.

<sup>16</sup> See *Int.* 118-119.

<sup>17</sup> See *Int.* 110-111.

<sup>18</sup> See *Int.* 134-135, 138-139.

dancers, and musicians, who appear frequently to provide entertainment in the intervals between stories.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. The Leader.

In the manner of his appointment, as well as in many of his activities, the leader, or governor, in the *Novelle* resembles the similar character in the *Canterbury Tales*. Just as Harry Bailey, after offering himself to the Canterbury pilgrims as guide and purveyor of amusement, is promptly elected leader,<sup>2</sup> so Aluisi, after suggesting that some one be chosen as guide and governor, is promptly elected to this office.<sup>3</sup>

In calling forth tales, the English guide several times mentions the town that the band are passing, or that they expect soon to reach :

Sey forth thy tale, and tarie nat the tyme,  
Lo, Depeford! and it is half-way pryme.  
Lo, Grenewich, ther many a shrewe is inne;  
It were al tyme thy tale to biginne.<sup>4</sup>

For ye shul telle a tale trewely;  
Lo! Rouchestre stant heer faste by!<sup>5</sup>

In a similar manner Aluisi often calls forth his stories :

Lo proposto al' altore disse : noi siamo ancora più che al mezzo del camino di Montifiaschoni giunti colla bella novella. Ditta à molto la brigata ralegrata e acciò chel camino che ci resta sia d'una novelletta gonsolata.<sup>6</sup>

E per tanto il proposto comandato al'altore che una bella novella dica fine che a Viterbo seranno andati.<sup>7</sup>

Like Harry Bailey, Aluisi allows himself occasional observations upon the tales recounted. At the conclusion of *Novella CXXIV (De Mala Fiducia d'Inimici)*,<sup>8</sup> for example, we read,

Lo proposto come savio avendo udito la morte di Lancilotto disse : Per certo a lui e ali altri che di simil pechato involti fusseno diverre quando di tali si fidassero e pertanto se male nelli colse, non n'è da meravigliarsi e pertanto il belista l'è aparechiato e se savio non fu n'è portato la pena e con quella si rimangna.<sup>9</sup>

After *Novella CXLIV (De Massima Ingratitudine)*<sup>10</sup> the text proceeds,

Lo proposto e li altri avendo udito sì bella novella non meravigliandosi dissero : Per certo la morte di tali signori è certa, e a ciascuno justamente divere, e parlando il proposto a tutti disse : A noi non è debito di dire per tale anime neuno Pater Nostro, ma intendere a darsi piacere. E però dico a voi Religiosi che colla ditta novella siamo giunti a Vercelli e ancora non è ora della cena a contentamento di noi voi Religiosi dite qualche moralità in ca

ample, *Int.* 127-128, 128-129, 130-131, 134-135.

*bury Tales*, A 769-804.

<sup>3</sup> See *Proemio*, Renier, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *C. T.*, A 3905-3908.

15-3116.

<sup>6</sup> *Int.* 35-36.

<sup>7</sup> *Int.* 36-37.

<sup>8</sup> Printed by Renier, pp. 310-311.

5.

<sup>10</sup> Printed by Renier, pp. 383-386.

<sup>11</sup> *Int.* 144-145.

Although such comments as Aluisi's seem inert in comparison with the breezy outbursts of Harry Bailey, they show a similar intention of narrative plan.

One of the few really human touches in the *intermezzi* appears in the following passage:

Essendo stato il proposto a dormire mentre che l'altore dicea la ditta novella, svegliandosi sentendo le donne et li homini rider, dimandò qual era la ragone. Fulli per alquante govanette baldanzose ditta la novella del marenfaccio et quella intesa come loro incominciò a ridere dicendo a l'altore che ne dica una la quale senza dormire ascolterà volentieri fine che alla città di Pistoja perverano, l'altore rispose che sarà fatto et disse.<sup>1</sup>

This amusing lapse of Aluisi into sleep during the telling of a tale brings to mind Harry Bailey's weariness at the end of Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*, —

'No more of this, for goddes dignitee,'  
Quod oure hoste, 'for thou makest me  
So wery of thy verray lewednesse,'<sup>2</sup> —

and the Host's exhortation to the Clerk, —

Ne that thy tale make us nat to slepe.<sup>3</sup>

### 3. The Activities of the Pilgrims on the Journey.

One's regret over the unfinished state of the *Canterbury Tales* lies not so much in the absence of promised stories as in the loss of the lively action, of the homely details of pilgrim life, and of the descriptions of persons and places that must have been included in a further development of Chaucer's plan. In that development Chaucer might have been expected to describe the evening amusements of the inn at Dartford, or Rochester, or Ospringe, and he must surely have removed the obvious improbability that his pilgrims never heard Matins or Lauds or Mass or Vespers.

Now, conventional and monotonous as the *intermezzi* of Sercambi truly are, they do give us a fair idea of the behavior of the Italian pilgrims during the moments when they were not listening to stories, they give us assurance that the travelers were "esed atte beste" overnight, and they bring to mind Harry Bailey's frequent appeals for discourses of "hy sentence." One *intermezzo* will serve to illustrate the evening diversions of the Lucchese pilgrims:

La dilettevole novella di frate Tomasino à molto la brigata condotta senza disagio al Francolino prima che fusse l'ora della cena perchè agiati assai erano e come giunti furono il proposto missosi a sedere in una camera d'uno albergo dove tutta la brigata dintorno si puose, il qual proposto comandò a dansatori che una danza facessero e fatta, li cantatori una canzonetta cantassero e ditto la brigata a cenare andassero. E fatto il comandamento, le danse prese, li stromenti sonando tanto che le danse restarono e restate i cantarelli e cantarelle con voci piacevoli cantarono in questo modo una cansona:

Io vò ben a chi vuol bene a me  
E non amo chi ama per pretio se

<sup>1</sup> *Int.* 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> *C. T.*, B 2109-2111.

<sup>3</sup> *C. T.*, E 14.

Non son colui per pigliare la luna  
 Consuma il tenpo suo e nulla n'a  
 Ma se m'avien com'or incontra d'una  
 Che me si tolga i dico e tu trista  
 E se mi fà lima in le da da  
 Così mi vivo in questa pura fè  
 Com'altri in me così mi stò in altrui  
 Di quel ch'io posso a chi mi dona do  
 Nessun può dir di me: vedi colui  
 Che con do lingue dicie sio no  
 Ma fermo a chi sta fermo senpre sto  
 Sio lo comal bisongno me ase.

Compiuta la novella, la morale cansone, le taule poste, le vivande aparechiate, dato l'aqua alle mani e posti a mensa cenarono di buona voglia e cenato per poter alquanto smaltire il cibo comincionno i dansatori senza comandamento a dansare, li stromenti a sonare, facendo dolci melodie, parendo essere come in villa, più volte mutando danse e suoni e per non dare molta fatica a dansatori essendo assai buonora fatto restare li suoni, con honesto parlare lo proposto disse a suoi religiosi li quali ora che saremo fuora della cittade: Consolate la brigata di qualche bello exenplo morale, intantoche li religiosi per ubidire disseno:

Errare non può colui che si rimette  
 Nel piacer di chi guida  
 Di sopra in elli e tutta la natura  
 Michessa stato signoria e sette  
 Chi se tener ne fida  
 Non pensa al corpo loro che pogo dura  
 E quel discreto sia senza paura  
 Perdere non teme nè manchare suo aviso  
 Che tiene alto il suo viso  
 Onde al judicio justamente cade  
 E lassa alli altri sasiare e languire  
 Veggendosi mentire  
 Tutte le cose nella nostra etade  
 A lui niente falla al suo disio  
 Chel passar il pogo el più fuge per dio.

Udito il proposto il savio dire piacendoli, fatto fare collatione al modo usato, comandò che tutti a posare n'andassero acciò che a messanotte in sul lengno montare possano per caminare alla città di Chioggia dove comandò che quive sia aparechiato la cena e a te altore che levati et entrati in barcha una bella novella fine alle bebe e dapoi i cantatori una cansonetta cantino e perchè molto m'è piaciuto il dire de Religiosi dico che doppo le cansone qualche cosa dicano e così con piacer giungeremo alla città di Chioggia. Ognuno inteso che al proposto a dormire si puono e la notte chiamati da padroni in barcha se ne vanno e dato di remi in aqua e fatto silensio, l'altore parlò dicendo: A voi conti e singnori che vi disprezzate per adenpire il vostro disio, dirò ad exemplo una novella la quale in questo modo si conta.<sup>1</sup>

Such an *intermezzo* provides, obviously, only a polite and lifeless parallel for the clash of personalities and the smart verbal encounters found in Chaucer's

<sup>1</sup> *Int.* 122-123.



immortal "links." *Intermezzi* such as this one do, however, suggest the situations into which the English poet injected his vital and inevitable humor.

#### 4. The Application of the Tales to the Pilgrims.

Certainly one of the liveliest and most human aspects of the plan and procedure of the *Canterbury Tales* is to be found in the personal applications of the stories recounted. The salacious mutual lampooning of the Miller and the Reeve, and the scabrous exchange of the Friar and the Somnour, are only ribald examples of the vivacious comment and individual application that pervade the links, distributed, all too sparingly, among the tales. To these personal applications of the English work we find suggestive parallels in the *intermezzi* of Sercambi.

The Host's outbreak at the end of the *Physician's Tale*, against "a fals justyse" and against "thise juges and hir advocats," seems to have the same intention as have the following words of the author prefixed to *Novella CXI* (*De Justo Juditio*):<sup>1</sup>

A voi judici che avete a dare sententie quando justamente judicate sete molto comendati e faccendo il contrario siete biasmati, ad exenplo dirò una novella in questo modo.<sup>2</sup>

In introducing *Novella XCII* (*De Restauro Fatto per Fortuna*),<sup>3</sup> the narrator speaks as follows:

A voi merchadanti non intendenti li quali disiderando di guadagnare tosto alquanti piccoli venite e a voi che la fortuna v'a ristorati che di ciò dovete esser grati, dirò ad exenplo una novella fine che gungeremo a Sant Angelo in questa forma cioè.<sup>4</sup>

This passage calls to mind the following lines in the address of the Man of Law prefixed to his tale:

O riche marchaunts, ful of wele ben ye,  
O noble, o prudent folk, as in this cas!  
Your bagges been nat filled with *ambes as*,  
But with *sis cink*, that renneth for your chaunce;  
At Cristemasse merie may ye daunce!<sup>5</sup>

The words of the Host<sup>6</sup> and of the Merchant<sup>7</sup> as to the shrewishness and deceptions of wives are amply paralleled in the remarks of the *autore* as he introduces various of his tales:

A voi donne malitiose che con uno bello modo vituperando voi e i vostri mariti date a credere loro la luna essere il sole non pensando che mai tali mariti del fallo accorgere si possano e però ad exenplo dirò una bella novella incominciando in questo modo cioè.<sup>8</sup>

A voi homini sì da pogo che dalle vostre donne siete beffati e a voi donne che pensate ongni volta desfare i vostri mariti se male alcuna volta aviene l'avete meritato, ad exenplo dirò una novella in questo modo.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed by D'Ancona, in *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie*, Vol. 119, Bologna, 1871, pp. 23-37.

<sup>2</sup> *Int.* 110-111.    <sup>3</sup> Printed by D'Ancona, pp. 119-126.    <sup>4</sup> *Int.* 91-92.    <sup>5</sup> *C. T.*, B 122-126.

<sup>6</sup> *C. T.*, B 3079 ff.; E 2419 ff.    <sup>7</sup> *C. T.*, E 1213 ff.    <sup>8</sup> *Int.* 136-137.    <sup>9</sup> *Int.* 143-149.

A voi homini che alle lusinghe delle malvagie femine sete presi, ad exenplo dico una novella.<sup>1</sup>

The Wife of Bath's strictures<sup>2</sup> upon jealous husbands resemble the following sentiment of the *autore*:

O voi homini gelosi li quali pensando stando gelosi guardare la donna e loro come malvagi ne fanno di peggio posto che poi del fallo pentite siano, ad exenplo dirò una novella in questo modo cioè.<sup>3</sup>

In his repeated requests to the clergy for moral utterances, — *qualche bello exenplo morale*,<sup>4</sup> *qualche moralità*,<sup>5</sup> *qualche cosa morale*,<sup>6</sup> — Aluisi recalls the cry of the "gentils" to the Pardoner, —

Tel us som moral thing, that we may lere  
Som wit, and thanne wol we gladly here,<sup>7</sup> —

and the *apologia* of the Parson, —

if that yow list to here  
Moralitee and vertuous matere,  
And thanne that ye wol yeve me audience,  
I wol ful fayn, at Cristes reverence,  
Do yow plesaunce leefful, as I can,<sup>8</sup> —

or Chaucer's declaration concerning his own *Melibeus*, —

It is a moral tale vertuous.<sup>9</sup>

### 5. The Narrator.

At the conclusion of this brief comparison of the Italian collection and the English, it seems fair to emphasize the fact that, whereas according to Ser-cambi's fiction the *novelle* all come from the lips of the author, — a formally appointed story-teller, — Chaucer's tales are told by the pilgrims themselves, and are, in many cases, finely adjusted to the character of the narrator. It should be observed, however, that although the *proposto* elicits all the *novelle* from the author, he calls also for other sorts of recitation from other members of the company. From the *religiosi*, as we have seen, he asks for *qualche bello exenplo morale*,<sup>10</sup> *alcuna cosa . . . che sia piacevole*,<sup>11</sup> *qualche bella cosa*,<sup>12</sup> *qualche moralità*,<sup>13</sup> or *qualche cosa morale*,<sup>14</sup> and in at least two cases the recitation of the *religiosi* is called — perhaps in error — *novella*.<sup>15</sup> Moreover the burden of entertainment placed upon the *religiosi* is often shared by the *cantarelli* and *cantarelle*, whose *canzoni* are frequently demanded.<sup>16</sup> In spite of

<sup>1</sup> *Int.* 97-98.

<sup>2</sup> *C. T.*, D 316 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Int.* 141-142.

<sup>4</sup> *Int.* 122-123.

<sup>5</sup> *Int.* 140-141. Cf. 141-142, 144-145, 150-151, 151-152.

<sup>6</sup> *Int.* 136-137. Cf. 137-138, 140-141.

<sup>7</sup> *C. T.*, C 325-326.

<sup>8</sup> *C. T.*, I 37-41.

<sup>9</sup> *C. T.*, B 2130.

<sup>10</sup> *Int.* 122-123.

<sup>11</sup> *Int.* 124-125.

<sup>12</sup> *Int.* 126-127. Cf. 127-128, 128-129, 129-130, 131-132, 132-133.

<sup>13</sup> *Int.* 140-141. Cf. 141-142, 144-145, 150-151, 151-152.

<sup>14</sup> *Int.* 136-137. Cf. 137-138, 140-141.

<sup>15</sup> *Int.* 136-137, 142-143.

<sup>16</sup> See *Int.* 122-123, 123-124, 126-127, 127-128, 130-131, 133-134, 134-135, 138-139, 139-140, 142-143, 143-144, 144-145, 147-148.

the fact, then, that in Sercambi's plan the *novelle* are all assigned to the author himself, the share of other pilgrims in the general entertaining suggests, remotely at least, the distribution of tales so successfully adopted by Chaucer.

### III

In the light of the general and the particular resemblances between the *Novelle* and the *Canterbury Tales*, we are bound to inquire as to the likelihood of Chaucer's having encountered either the person or the work of Sercambi during the period before the writing of the *Canterbury Tales*.

It is clear enough that Sercambi was a prominent man in Lucca, and that he had a considerable acquaintance throughout Northern Italy. Although born to his father's humble occupation of apothecary, he early took a part in the municipal struggles of his city, and by 1369 had gained distinction as a soldier. In 1382 he served successfully as an ambassador from Lucca to the belligerent adventurer Alberigo da Barbiano, who was stationed threateningly at Arezzo. During his more mature years Sercambi allied himself to the powerful Guinigi family of Lucca, and from 1392 to 1400 held various public offices. In 1399 he was an ambassador from Lucca to Florence. During the period between 1400 and 1424 Sercambi had a prominent share in numerous public activities, — as ambassador to the Visconti family of Milan, as a leader in the military undertakings of the Lucchese, and as a counsellor under the Lucchese governor, Paolo Guinigi. At the time of his death in 1424 Sercambi was distinguished both as a public servant and as a wealthy citizen.<sup>1</sup> One may be allowed to surmise, then, that a foreign visitor to Tuscany and Lombardy, even so early as the decade 1370–1380, might have heard of Giovanni Sercambi.

The precise moment in this busy career at which Sercambi composed his *Novelle* cannot be determined with absolute accuracy. From the assertion of the *Proemio*, that the pilgrimage was undertaken during the ravages of a plague in Lucca in February, 1374,<sup>2</sup> Renier infers that the *Novelle* appeared soon after that date.<sup>3</sup> With this inference the earlier investigators of the *Novelle* are in entire agreement.<sup>4</sup>

When we turn to a consideration of Chaucer's actual experiences in Italy, we find that the English poet had definite opportunities for an acquaintance either with Sercambi himself or with his work. On his first journey to Italy Chaucer was absent from London 174 days, from December 1, 1372, to

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the life of Sercambi see Renier, pp. x–xix; G. Volpi, *Il Trecento*, Milan, n.d., pp. 237–238; A. Gaspary, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, trans. by V. Rossi, Turin, 1891, Vol. II, pp. 62–63; C. Minutoli, *Alcune Novelle di Giovanni Sercambi*, Lucca, 1855, pp. v–xliv; S. Bongi, *Le Croniche di Giovanni Sercambi*, Vol. I, Rome, 1892, pp. vii–xvi.

<sup>2</sup> See Renier, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lviii.

<sup>4</sup> Minutoli, p. xl; [B. Gamba], *Novelle di Giovanni Sercambi Lucchese*, Venice, 1816, p. vii.



May 23, 1373.<sup>1</sup> His first destination in Italy was Genoa. If sixty days be a fair allowance of time<sup>2</sup> for the journey each way between London and Genoa, fifty-four days remain for the accomplishment of Chaucer's actual official errand. Of these eight weeks he could have spent only a small share in Genoa, for the documents seem clearly to indicate that Chaucer's rôle in the negotiations at Genoa, concerning an English port for Genoese merchants, was unimportant, and that his chief preoccupation was *in secretis negociis Regis*, in the course of which he ranged between Genoa and Florence (*versus partes Jannue et Florencie*).<sup>3</sup> We should pause for a moment, then, to inquire more closely concerning Chaucer's activities in the neighborhood of Florence, and to answer the pertinent question, What were the *secreta negocia*?<sup>4</sup>

The answer to this question, and the background of the embassy as a whole, are to be found, it appears, in the financial history of England during the reign of Edward III, or, more precisely, in the financial obligations of Edward III to Italian merchants.<sup>5</sup> During the period from the middle of the thirteenth century until the later years of Edward III, the merchants of Genoa, Lucca, and Florence carried on an extensive banking business in England, and lent money regularly to the kings of England. Edward III, encumbered with wars and with debts, was particularly subject to these loans. In the nineteenth year of his reign, for example, he was obliged to grant interest—a gross indignity—for a sum of 140,000 florins borrowed from a Lucchese merchant, and to engage not to cross the sea into England until the sum should have been paid.<sup>6</sup> Similar loans from Lucchese merchants, as well as from those of Florence,

<sup>1</sup> See *Life Records of Chaucer*, Part IV, edited by R. E. G. Kirk, Chaucer Society, London, 1900, No. 72, pp. 183–184. The most important documents bearing upon Chaucer's first Italian journey have been carefully studied by F. J. Mather, in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XI, 1896, col. 419–425; Vol. XII, 1897, col. 10–11, 18–21. My own reëxamination of the documents has so generally confirmed Mr. Mather's conclusions, that I shall refer to these conclusions as belonging to him alone.

<sup>2</sup> See *Modern Language Notes*, XI, 423–424; XII, 18–20. For the journey as a whole this estimate from Mr. Mather seems reasonable. It does not, of course, represent the *maximum* speed at this period. See F. Ludwig, *Untersuchungen über die Reise- und Marschgeschwindigkeit im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 190–193.

<sup>3</sup> See *Modern Language Notes*, XI, 424, note 8; *Life Records*, Part IV, Nos. 68, 70, 72, 75, and 78.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Mather put this question long ago (*Modern Language Notes*, XI, 1896, col. 424) in these words: "Can some student of history tell us what this Florentine business is likely to have been?" So far as I know, no answer has been attempted hitherto.

<sup>5</sup> A basis for this particular inquiry is provided by E. A. Bond, *Extracts from the Liberate Rolls, relative to Loans supplied by Italian Merchants to the Kings of England, in the 13th and 14th Centuries*, in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXVIII, 1840, pp. 207–326. This illuminating article seems to have been omitted from the body of Chaucerian commentary. Professor G. C. Sellery has generously extended my information on this subject through the following references: R. J. Whitwell, *Italian Bankers and the English Crown* (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, Vol. XVII, 1903, pp. 175–233); W. E. Rhodes, *The Italian Bankers in England and their Loans to Edward I and Edward II* (*Historical Essays by Members of Owens College, Manchester*, London, 1902, pp. 137–168).

<sup>6</sup> Bond, pp. 229–230.



were negotiated throughout the reign of Edward III,<sup>1</sup> several such being recorded for the forty-fourth year of his reign,—some two years before Chaucer's first Italian journey.<sup>2</sup>

Of the various forms of remuneration adopted by the impecunious king, two especially concern us here. In the first place, Edward was somewhat free in dispensing commercial liberties, without which, indeed, the extensive business operations of the Italians in England would have been impossible.<sup>3</sup> With this form of remuneration the embassy, in 1372–1373, of James Prouan, John de Mari, and Geoffrey Chaucer seems to have been particularly concerned. In the second place, the English king sometimes appointed his creditors to offices under the crown and employed them on diplomatic errands abroad.<sup>4</sup> This practice seems to account well enough for the part of John de Mari, citizen of Genoa, in the embassy already mentioned.

From the general facts before us, then, it seems probable that Chaucer's secret business *versus partes Florencie* during February or March, 1373, concerned the indebtedness of Edward III to Italian merchants. His indebtedness to Florentine merchants naturally led his secret agent to Florence; and in view of the fact that Lucca lies on the direct route between Genoa and Florence, and in view of the king's financial obligations to citizens of Lucca, one is forced to the conclusion that Chaucer probably visited also the town which had already accepted the public services of Giovanni Sercambi.

As to a meeting between the two young men of letters we have, of course, no information. Although neither had as yet achieved literary fame sufficient to make a sentimental meeting inevitable, it is not preposterous to conjecture an encounter between the English envoy and the patriotic Lucchese. In any case, Chaucer may well have heard something of Sercambi, and possibly something also concerning the composition of the *Novelle* that were to appear a year or two after Chaucer's visit *versus partes Florencie*. Moreover, whatever Chaucer's experiences may have been when he passed through Lucca in February or March, 1373, he had another fair chance of hearing about the Lucchese story-teller in 1378, when the English embassy visited Milan, to treat with the lord of Milan and Sir John Hawkwood.<sup>5</sup> The relations of Milan and Lucca were lively,<sup>6</sup> and affairs in the vicinity of Lucca were well known to Sir John Hawkwood.<sup>7</sup>

Lest we entangle ourselves, however, in the alluring intricacies of conjecture, let us return to the facts, now sufficiently obvious, (1) that the framework of Sercambi's *Novelle* is remarkably similar to that of the *Canterbury Tales*, (2) that the *Novelle* were probably written some ten years or more before the date

<sup>1</sup> Bond, pp. 261–326 *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Bond, p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> Bond, pp. 231–233.

<sup>4</sup> Bond, pp. 233–234.

<sup>5</sup> See *Life Records*, Nos. 118, 121, and 122.

<sup>6</sup> S. Bongi, *Paolo Guinigi e le sue Ricchezze*, Lucca, 1871, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> G. Temple-Leader and G. Marcotti, *Giovanni Acuto*, Florence, 1889, pp. 109 ff.

at which the *Canterbury Tales* are commonly thought to have been begun,<sup>1</sup> and (3) that during his journeyings in Italy Chaucer had a fair opportunity for hearing about Sercambi and his work. From these facts, then, we may fairly conclude that, however much of Chaucer's plan may have been derived from the poet's own actual observation or actual experience, — on the road between London and Canterbury,<sup>2</sup> or on the road elsewhere, — the most likely of all *literary* sources is to be found in the *Novelle* of Giovanni Sercambi.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, Chaucer Society, London, 1907, pp. 141-142.

<sup>2</sup> See Tatlock, pp. 132-141; Pollard, in *The Globe Chaucer*, p. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> In the course of this brief paper I have had no opportunity for discussing the possible relations between particular *tales* of Chaucer and particular *novelle* of Sercambi. The *Shipman's Tale* has a parallel in *Novella XXXI* (*De Avaritia e Lussuria*), and the *Clerk's Tale* a parallel in *Novella CLII* (*De Muliere Costante*). I find no indication that Chaucer used either of these Italian parallels.



## MRS. BEHN'S *OROONOKO*

ERNEST BERNBAUM

Historians of the novel assign to Mrs. Behn's *Oroonoko* a place of distinct importance in the development of realism. They concede that those parts of the narrative which recount the adventures of Oroonoko in Coramantien are full of romance, but maintain that his subsequent slavery in Surinam, his reunion with his bride Imoinda, his insurrection, and his violent death, are on the whole delineated with fidelity to fact. "Imagination," says Professor Canby, "colored the heroic life of the slave as well as the romantic intrigue of the negro prince," but only, it seems, in a few negligible respects; the rest is considered "truthful, touching, and vivid."<sup>1</sup> If we ask why Mrs. Behn writes romantically about Coramantien, and realistically about Surinam, we are reminded that she had visited the latter country but not the former. "The localities considered in the second part of the story," explains Professor Siegel in his monograph on Mrs. Behn, "she knows from her own observation; in the events she has to some extent participated; her description is consequently far more credible and probable than in the first part."<sup>2</sup> And Mr. E. A. Baker, editor of Mrs. Behn's stories, concludes: "It was the truth and power with which she recounted what she herself had witnessed in Surinam that has singled out for permanence the best of her novels."<sup>3</sup>

If, remembering these opinions, we read *Oroonoko* itself, we come now and then upon incidents that surprise us. Mrs. Behn tells us of a monstrous tiger which had long infested Surinam, and had been repeatedly shot quite through the body, but without effect until the mighty hunter Oroonoko slew it; and "when the heart of this courageous animal was taken out, there were seven bullets of lead in it, the wound seamed up with great scars, and she lived with the bullets a great while, for it was long since they were shot."<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere she writes: "Sometimes we [four women and two men] would go surprising, and in search of young tigers in their dens, watching when the old ones went forth to forage for prey; and oftentimes we have been in great danger, and have fled apace for our lives, when surprised by the dams."<sup>5</sup> Those who know anything of the dreaded jaguar of South America can hardly believe that such visits of a pleasant afternoon were ever regarded by the colonists as suitable diversions for ladies and gentlemen.

<sup>1</sup> H. S. Canby, *The Short Story in English*, New York, 1909, pp. 164, 167.

<sup>2</sup> P. Siegel, *Aphra Behns Gedichte und Prosawerke*; *Anglia*, XXV, 352.

<sup>3</sup> *The Novels of Mrs. Aphra Behn*, ed. E. A. Baker, London, 1905, p. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> *Oroonoko*, ed. E. A. Baker, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 52.



Mrs. Behn's sensational description of her hero's attempted suicide likewise gives us pause. We are told that Oroonoko, after remaining beside the dead body of Imoinda, in agony of spirit and without food, for eight days, roused himself on the approach of his pursuers, defiantly "cut a piece of flesh from his own throat and threw it at them," "ripped up his own belly, and took his bowels and pulled them out," and still had strength enough to drive his knife into the heart of an onrushing opponent. Yet Oroonoko did not die. His captors carried him a long distance to the plantation, "laid him on a couch, and had the surgeon immediately to him, who dressed his wounds, and sewed up his belly, and used means to bring him to life, which they effected." "In six or seven days he recovered his senses; for you must know that wounds are almost to a miracle cured in the Indies, unless wounds in the legs, which they rarely ever cure."<sup>1</sup> In such instances we may surely suspect that Mrs. Behn is more desirous of magnifying the strength and bravery of her hero than of narrating experiences veraciously. The exaggeration or improbability we see in them is, however, insufficient to destroy, though it may impair, her reputation as a realist. In fact, incredible as seems the recovery of Oroonoko from such frightful wounds, we cannot disprove its possibility. Though similar cases are rare, medical literature records a sufficient number to compel reluctant belief.<sup>2</sup> At any rate, the dubious episodes which I have pointed out do not seem to have disconcerted the admirers of Mrs. Behn, and were presumably dismissed from their minds as inconsiderable deviations from the truth. They remark upon the significance of her calling *Oroonoko*, not a novel or tale, but a "history," and of her opening it with these words:

I do not pretend, in giving you the history of this royal slave, to entertain my reader with the adventures of a feigned hero, whose life and fortunes fancy may manage at the poet's pleasure; nor, in relating the truth, design to adorn it with any accidents, but such as arrived in earnest to him: and it shall come simply into the world, recommended by its own proper merits and natural intrigues; there being enough of reality to support it, and to render it diverting, without the addition of invention. I was myself an eye-witness to a great part of what you will find here set down; and what I could not be witness of, I received from the mouth of the chief actor in this history, the hero himself.<sup>3</sup>

This statement of her intention is generally accepted as sincere. Oroonoko's history, says Professor Canby, "I can only believe after many readings, she wished to set forth with a reasonable degree of truth." The resulting vividness of her story he graphically describes as follows:

The recital of Oroonoko's slavery is too circumstantial to be suspected, before Defoe, of being fictitious. His fortitude, his high spirit, the revolt which he inspired, the brutal tortures he suffered, his fidelity to Imoinda, whom he finds a fellow slave, all bear the print of

<sup>1</sup> *Oroonoko*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted for this comment on Oroonoko's cure to Roger Irving Lee, M. D., of Boston.

<sup>3</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 1.

truth as well as the increase of a romantic fancy. His death is told not only with Flaubertian realism but with the passion of one seeking to expose unjust officials who had been cruel to a friend. Furthermore, it is a real South America, with gorgeous vegetation, Indian villages most anthropologically described, armadilloes, and even electric eels, with a "quality so cold" that the catcher's arm is benumbed. I have seen many early "voyages" to the "other world," as Aphra always calls it, whose descriptions are less specific than the setting of this story.<sup>1</sup>

The historical bearing of the realistic purpose and character of *Oroonoko* has not been overlooked. Our attention is called to the fact that when the work appeared, in 1688, romance was the predominant form of fiction. "Of the highest importance for the substance of narrative literature," says Professor Siegel, "is the appearance of Mrs. Behn; for the first time after a long interval, actuality is again emphasized."<sup>2</sup> "For making use of incidents of real life in the service of fiction at a time when the heroic romance was at the height of its vogue," says Professor Raleigh, "she deserves all credit."<sup>3</sup> These remarks indicate that if there is an error in the commonly accepted doctrine, it affects not merely our understanding of *Oroonoko*, but complicates one of the most puzzling and important problems of modern English scholarship — namely, the true origin of the realistic novel.

The nature of the foundation on which the prevailing doctrine rests may be revealed by asking some pertinent questions. Were the political and social conditions of Surinam, at the time when these events are supposed to have occurred, such as to render them possible? Can Mrs. Behn's descriptions of the countryside, the climate, the colonists, the slaves, and the natives, be shown to correspond to reality? Surely, until we have satisfactory answers on such points, we do not know the real character of the story. Yet, astonishing as it may seem, these questions, so far from having been answered, have hardly been raised. Mrs. Behn's assurance that she is faithfully recording fact is, as to the principal part of her story, passively accepted even though she is known to be romancing in other parts. Because the narrative is vivid, it is believed true. The fact that an imaginary experience may be as vividly told as an actual one, is ignored. In other words, what in this case passes as literary history rests on the author's assertion and on impressions produced by her artistic power.

Possibly the reason why no real effort has been made to discover whether *Oroonoko* is based upon actual observation may lie in the fact that there are unusual obstacles to such an inquiry. To determine what the appearance and condition of a small tropical colony really were two hundred and fifty years ago, is in no case easy; and respecting Surinam the ordinary difficulties are magnified. In 1667 it was surrendered by the English to the Dutch; and consequently the English historians neglect the colony because it did not

<sup>1</sup> Canby, pp. 164, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Siegel, p. 379.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Raleigh, *The English Novel*, 5th ed., New York, 1906, p. 107.

remain British, while the Dutch say little or nothing concerning its history before the time of their possession. Nevertheless, oblivion has not wholly obscured the character of the environment in which Oroonoko dwelt.

Though Mrs. Behn does not mention the date of Oroonoko's sojourn in Surinam, she chances to provide us with information that enables us to calculate it. "Immediately after his time," she says, the Dutch took the colony<sup>1</sup> — an event which occurred in March, 1667. Furthermore, she tells us that Oroonoko, because of the outrageous injustice of his enslavement, was promised his liberty as soon as the Lord Governor of Surinam, "who was every day expected," should revisit the colony.<sup>2</sup> The Lord Governor referred to must have been Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, a distinguished administrator of several British dependencies in the West Indies, whose headquarters were in Barbadoes. He came to Surinam rarely, his last visit extending from about November, 1664, to May, 1665.<sup>3</sup> In July, 1666, he was lost at sea. These data serve to place the action of *Oroonoko* in the latter part of 1665 and the earlier part of 1666. It may be added that several allusions, in the course of the story, to the lapse of time make it evident that between the arrival of Oroonoko and his death a period of not much less than seven months, and hardly more than nine, must have passed.<sup>4</sup> Since all these chronological particulars agree with one another, the problem whether Mrs. Behn's narrative is true reduces itself to the question, Does her account of Surinam correspond with its actual state in 1665 and 1666?

Mrs. Behn's allusions to historical personages and political conditions prove in some respects quite correct. She calls the Deputy Governor, Byam; and William Byam was, as a matter of fact, "Lieutenant General of Guiana and Governor of Willoughby Land" from about 1662 to 1667.<sup>5</sup> The only other official whom she names is one Banister, according to her account a member of the Governor's Council.<sup>6</sup> The colonial state papers do not contain a list of the councilors, but it is not unlikely that Banister was one of them; for after Byam's departure in 1667 "Sergeant Major James Banister, the only remaining eminent person," became lieutenant governor.<sup>7</sup> It is noteworthy that the wars with the Dutch made each of these men known in England. It was Byam who headed the forces that vainly defended Surinam against the Dutch admiral Crynsens in 1667; and it was Banister who, in 1668, made the final surrender of the colony. The latter again became prominent when, in arranging the transportation of the English settlers from Surinam, he quarreled with the Dutch and was imprisoned by them; and in the British declaration of war in 1672 his imprisonment was stated as a *casus belli*. That

<sup>1</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1661-1668*; London, 1880, pp. 249, 297-298.

<sup>4</sup> *Oroonoko*, pp. 40, 42-44, 47, 57, 62, 67, 74, 76, 78-79.

<sup>5</sup> *State Papers*, pp. 104, 108, 449.

<sup>6</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> *State Papers*, p. 599.



Mrs. Behn correctly names these officials is therefore but slender evidence of intimate familiarity with the local affairs of Surinam.

Mrs. Behn's statement that when Oroonoko, seeking freedom, put himself at the head of three hundred negroes, many of the leading colonists pitied him so much that they would not pursue him, is questionable. It seems strange that in a slave-owning community they should have failed to realize that mere self-preservation demanded the crushing of so formidable an insurrection. Another dubious passage is that describing the militia which, under Byam's leadership, set out after Oroonoko :

Never did one see so comical an army march forth to war. . . . Most of their arms were of those sort of cruel whips they call cat with nine tails ; some had rusty useless guns for show ; others old basket-hilts, whose blades had never seen the light in this age ; and others had long staffs and clubs.<sup>1</sup>

Shall we believe that Byam, who at this very time had sufficient military forces to carry the war against the Dutch and the French into the enemy's territories, and to capture posts from each of them,<sup>2</sup> commanded so ill-armed a rabble ?

Likewise difficult to bring into accord with the historical situation is Mrs. Behn's scornful characterization of the Council :

. . . who (not to disgrace them or burlesque the government there) consisted of such notorious villains as Newgate never transported ; and, possibly, originally were such who understood neither the laws of God or man, and had no sort of principles to make them worthy the name of men ; but at the very council table would contradict and fight with one another, and swear so bloodily, that it was terrible to hear and see them.<sup>3</sup>

If such was the real character of the government, we should expect to find that the British colonial office, whose correspondence of this period contains many complaints of maladministration in other dependencies, would have been frequently appealed to by the settlers in Surinam ; but the only evidence of that kind appears in a letter of 1662, which charges Byam with an act of oppression — a charge which was apparently dismissed.<sup>4</sup> A year later one Renatus Enys writes from Surinam to the Secretary : " The colony is in good order, being nobly upheld by the power and prudence of those at the helm." <sup>5</sup> It seems unlikely that men as vicious and unrestrained as those described by Mrs. Behn could have guided Surinam, through all the difficulties of a new settlement in an unwholesome region, to that strength and prosperity which it had attained by 1666.

Our suspicions are increased by Mrs. Behn's parting shot at the Council : " Some of them were afterwards hanged, when the Dutch took possession of the place ; others sent off in chains." <sup>6</sup> Whereas the other accusations are

<sup>1</sup> *Oroonoko*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>2</sup> James Rodway, *Guiana: British, Dutch, and French* ; London, 1912, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> *Oroonoko*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>4</sup> *State Papers*, pp. 104, 108.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

<sup>6</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 73.



merely difficult to reconcile with our conception of the general state of affairs ; the last one directly conflicts with known historical facts. Under the treaty of surrender, it was explicitly stipulated that the lives and property of every settler should be spared by the Dutch, and that the British should freely depart from Surinam with their possessions. When Major Banister, because of petty interferences with these rights, protested and was imprisoned, Great Britain raised protests which led to a renewal of the war. Had the Dutch treated members of the Council in the violent way alleged by Mrs. Behn, it would certainly have transpired in the diplomatic correspondence which the actual situation developed. In short, we find in the historical background of *Oroonoko* several improbabilities and one misstatement.

Of the climate of Surinam the characteristics that strike the European visitor are intense heat and great moisture. One effect of the latter is noted by Mrs. Behn in her derisive description of the rusty arms of the militia ; but otherwise she seems, for a supposed realist, peculiarly insensible to the true nature of the climate. Though, according to her story, she must have been in the land not less than seven months, she never mentions the rainy seasons. She casually remarks that "the rays [of the sun] are very fierce here" ; but the costumes which she and her friends wore on an eight-day river journey, and which excited the amazement of the Indians, may cause us wonder too. "We were dressed," she declares, "so as is most comode for the hot countries, very glittering and rich, so that we appeared extremely fine ; my own hair was cut short, and I had a taffety cap with black feathers on my head ; my brother was in a stuff suit, with silver loops and buttons, and an abundance of green ribbon."<sup>1</sup> The atmosphere in which her story is immersed is best expressed in her ardent words : "It is there eternal spring, always the very months of April, May, and June."<sup>2</sup> We are reminded thereby of "the sweet ayre" praised by Raleigh and his immediate followers in those rose-colored passages describing their explorations upon the Orinoco, wherein they mingle enthusiasm and inaccuracy.<sup>3</sup>

Some of the geographical allusions in *Oroonoko* are startling. Surinam, we are told, "reaches from east to west, one way as far as China, and another to Peru,"<sup>4</sup> — which suggests the geography of the sixteenth century rather than that of the seventeenth. Again, we are informed that the Governor commanded a guard to be set at the mouth of the Amazon to prohibit people ascending it — a wild scheme which is conceivable only if we accept Mrs. Behn's statement that the Amazon is "almost as broad as the river of Thames."<sup>5</sup> Yet, as the Amazon is over four hundred miles from Surinam,

<sup>1</sup> *Oroonoko*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> For example, *Newes of Sr. Walter Rauleigh* (1618), in Peter Force's *Tracts*, Washington, III (1844), 23, and especially pp. 27-28. Cf. Harcourt's description of the lovely land Cooshebery, in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Glasgow, XVI (1906), 369.

<sup>4</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

and as the interior regions of Guiana were still unexplored, we may perhaps consider such slips possible even in a visitor to the colony.

The immediate topography of the colony itself, however, we should expect to find fairly distinct and true. Mrs. Behn narrates several journeys on the Surinam, but seems to think the riverside occupied only by plantations. In silence she passes by outstanding features of its shores — the fort, the settlement of Jews, and the town of Tatarica, with its hundred houses and a chapel.<sup>1</sup> She tells us that the colonists went aboard the slave ship bearing Oroonoko, at the mouth of the river.<sup>2</sup> This is possible; but it seems to have been customary for ships to proceed some fifty miles up the river to the good anchorage before Tatarica, naturally the local center of the slave traffic. She implies that one of the plantations was near the mouth of the river;<sup>3</sup> but we know that the lowest was some thirty-five miles upstream. Indeed, it was because the fort (about fifteen miles from the mouth of the Surinam) was so distant from the settled region that Byam was handicapped in trying to hold it against the Dutch.<sup>4</sup> Ignoring apparently the site of the fort, Mrs. Behn says that Oroonoko proposed to lead his fellow slaves towards the sea, a plan that seems hardly in accord with his oft-praised intelligence. When negroes ran away in Surinam, they made for the interior, where their descendants, the "bush negroes," live to this day.

A striking landmark in the country, as she depicts it, is the site of Mrs. Behn's residence :

As soon as I came into the country, the best house in it was presented me, called St. John's Hill. It stood on a vast rock of white marble, at the foot of which the river ran a vast depth down, and not to be descended on that side; the little waves, still dashing and washing the foot of this rock, made the softest murmurs and purlings in the world.<sup>5</sup>

As any one may observe who compares the geological chart of the Surinam basin in Karl Martin's *Niederländisch West Indien* with the map thereof in Hartsinck's *Beschryving van Guiana*, "vast rocks of white marble" have no place in this flat alluvial plain. The nearest approach to such an eminence is the "Parnassus of blauwe Berg," a hundred meters high. But this is composed of dark-colored diabase; and it is ten miles above Marshall's Creek, then the limit of the plantations. When Raleigh penetrated into the interior of what is now British Guiana, he saw afar off "a mountain of chrystal [really of sandstone] like a white church tower of an exceeding height," and other explorers in those parts reported many hills;<sup>6</sup> but none resembling Mrs. Behn's

<sup>1</sup> Jan Jacob Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana*, 1770, II, 567-574; James Rodway, *Guiana*, 1912, pp. 51-53, 61-62. Some discrepancies between these two descriptions do not affect my argument.

<sup>2</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the three-day trip mentioned in *Oroonoko*, p. 40, with the corresponding distance noted on p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> Rodway, p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> *Oroonoko*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>6</sup> Raleigh, Sir Walter, *The Discovery of Guiana*, ed. Schomburgk, 1848, p. 101 and note; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, XVI, 367, 370, 408.

description rose in the inhabited district of Surinam. On the other hand, we miss an interesting natural feature of the region which, it seems, should have impressed Mrs. Behn on her journey to a distant Indian village. Travel on the Surinam, soon after passing Sara Creek, about forty miles above Marshall's, becomes very difficult, if not impossible, owing to the falls, of which there are at least twenty-eight.<sup>1</sup> Yet though Mrs. Behn traveled by boat eight days to reach the village, she never mentions a waterfall.

It is noteworthy that some of the true characteristics of the country might have been serviceably employed by Mrs. Behn. Since Oroonoko was the leader in the expedition to the Indian village, the obstacles that falls would place in his way should have presented his admirer good opportunities for the further display of his intelligence and strength. She might likewise have intensified our sympathy for some of his hardships by making us realize the humid heat in which they were endured. And the hopelessness of Oroonoko's insurrection would have appeared more poignantly if she had shown him rising, not in a sparsely settled district, but against a well-established community and a respectable military force. Why should an author who had dwelt face to face with these circumstances, ignore and even contradict them?

But had the author of *Oroonoko* really been in Surinam? *The Life and Memoirs of Mrs. Behn*, her earliest biography of any length, says that she had been there; and no one has hitherto questioned the statement. How any one can read the *Life and Memoirs*, including its fantastic account of her meeting a marble platform floating on the English Channel, and place confidence in it, is to me incomprehensible; but this is not the place to expose its general worthlessness. What concerns us particularly is that it draws its account of Mrs. Behn's life from passages in her stories; and that its assertion of her visit to Surinam is not independent testimony but a repetition of the autobiographical statements in *Oroonoko* itself.<sup>2</sup> Of those statements, one—that her father was to have been "Lieutenant General of six-and-thirty islands, besides the continent of Surinam"—has been shown unreliable, Mr. Gosse having discovered that her father was a barber.<sup>3</sup> I may add that no hint of any appointment to replace Byam appears in the colonial papers of the period. Though this falsehood has been generally recognized, its full bearing on *Oroonoko* has apparently been overlooked; for it has not shaken belief in Mrs. Behn's journey. Yet if Mrs. Behn's father was not sent to Surinam, the only reason she gives for being there disappears. Furthermore, if she was not the daughter of the future governor, why was she assigned "the best house in the country"? (We recall that it stood on that remarkable "vast rock of white marble.") Those excursions which she and her friends

<sup>1</sup> Hartsinck, II, 574.

<sup>2</sup> *The Life and Memoirs of Mrs. Behn*, in her *Works*, London, 1871, V, 2; *Oroonoko*, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "Aphra Behn."



enjoyed in the royal slave's company, and which constitute so large a portion of the narrative, depended largely upon the confidence placed in her promises by Oroonoko, whom, she says, she "had assured of liberty as soon as the governor arrived";<sup>1</sup> and that confidence, in turn, depended upon her being related to the great. It seems as if, when the fundamental allegation is revealed false, the very structure of her "history" crumbles; and as if such a downright statement as Professor Canby's "the royal slave she unquestionably knew, and knew well"<sup>2</sup> were made without scrutinizing the evidence.

If we nevertheless find it difficult to believe that Mrs. Behn was not in Surinam, let us tentatively surmise that she was in some way connected with a colonist; and that in *Oroonoko* she pretended to a more distinguished relationship in order, perhaps, to place herself more plausibly in the center of the events narrated. But that is, of course, an assumption. What we know is that at least one important statement of hers is a falsehood. Her unsupported word that she was in Surinam is therefore untrustworthy unless in our further examination of *Oroonoko* it shall appear that she reports veraciously facts which only an eye-witness could have observed.

Mrs. Behn speaks of a considerable number of the animals of Surinam. The buffalo and deer she merely mentions; but she gives correct though brief descriptions of the armadillo, the "cusharee," the marmoset, and some strange flies.<sup>3</sup> Of the "tigers," that is, jaguars, which Oroonoko delights to hunt, her accounts are exaggerated; one of them "was about the height of a heifer"<sup>4</sup> — hardly a realistic description. Oroonoko's adventure with a "numb eel" is sensational. He is angling on the shore, when the eel takes his hook and sends its electric current through the line and rod to his hand. He bravely grasps the rod harder, faints from the shock, falls into the water, and is carried a league down the river. As he floats past, some Indians seize his body, and from it receive a strong shock. "By that they knew the rod was in his hand; which with a paddle they struck away, and snatched it into the boat, eel and all."<sup>5</sup> She adds that the eel was "a quarter of an ell about," — some eleven inches. The size of the eel, the duration of its electric charge, and above all the circumstance that it does not shock by direct contact but sends its current through the fish line, are more than questionable. Yet the truth remains that with the exception of the cayman, the most interesting animals of Surinam are in a manner known to the author. We should revive our faith in her credibility, were personal observation the only means by which she could have learned the fauna of Surinam.

In 1667, George Warren, who had lived three years in that colony, published a little pamphlet, now rare, entitled *An Impartial Description of Surinam*. Herein its fauna is likewise described, and here too the cayman is the only

<sup>1</sup> *Oroonoko*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>2</sup> Canby, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Oroonoko*, pp. 2, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.



important animal omitted. With the single exception of the marmoset,<sup>1</sup> every animal that Mrs. Behn describes is described by Warren. For example, the latter says of the armadilloes :

They are short legged, have three claws upon their feet, are headed like a hog, have no teeth and but very little mouths ; they are defended all over, save the head and belly, with an armor as it were plated, scarce penetrable by a lance, unless it happen in a joint. They burrow in the ground, and had they not quite so strong a smell of musk, would be no contemptible meat.<sup>2</sup>

Compare Mrs. Behn :

The very meat we eat, when set on the table, if it be native, I mean of the country, perfumes the whole room ; especially a little beast called an armadillo, a thing which I can liken to nothing so well as a rhinoceros. It is all in white armor, so jointed that it moves as well in it as if it had nothing on.<sup>3</sup>

The only animals in connection with which Mrs. Behn relates any incidents are the "tiger" and the electric eel ; the same is true of Warren. The latter's story about the eel is worth comparing with the above adventure of Oroonoko :

The torpedo or numb eel, which, being alive, and touching any other living creature, strikes such a deadness into all the parts as for a while renders them wholly useless and insensible, which, is believed, has occasioned the drowning of several persons who have been unhappily so taken as they were swimming in the river. It produces the like effect if but touched with the end of a long pole, or one man immediately laying hold of another so benumbed. The truth of this was experienced, one of them being taken and thrown upon the bank, where a dog spying it stir, catches it in his mouth, and presently falls down, which the master observing, and going to pull him off, becomes motionless himself ; another standing by, and endeavoring to remove him, follows the same fortune ; the eel getting loose, they return quickly to themselves.<sup>4</sup>

Much of the vividness of the background of *Oroonoko* arises from the specific descriptions of the exotic and indigenous flora. In this respect, too, the particulars that are true are to be found in Warren.<sup>5</sup> When differences appear, they show Mrs. Behn not independently observing but inaccurately amplifying, as in the passage which for its *anschaulichkeit* is quoted entire by Professor Siegel, and which describes a lovely grove of orange and lemon trees crowning the "rock of white marble."<sup>6</sup> "Vast trees" they are indeed, "as big as English oaks" ! The orchids of the forest, and the great palms that border the river banks, though conspicuous, are omitted by Warren — and by Mrs. Behn. Her landscape is uniformly flowery ; we read of "the trees appearing all like nosegays," and that "the opposite bank was adorned with such vast quantities of different flowers eternally blowing, and every day

<sup>1</sup> These appear to have been taken to Europe as pets. See *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, XVI, 313, 348, 379, 395.

<sup>2</sup> Warren, George, *An Impartial Description of Surinam*, London, 1667, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Warren, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Oroonoko*, p. 51, with Warren, pp. 5, 15-16.

<sup>6</sup> Siegel, pp. 88-89 ; *Oroonoko*, p. 52.

and hour new."<sup>1</sup> In this riot of color we see what has been called "the old tropical fallacy," which was exploded by A. R. Wallace in his *Tropical Nature*. The early European travelers reported especially the striking, gorgeous plants; and, though these are usually scattered amid great masses of green, gave the impression that everywhere the flowers grew in solid banks of bright color. "There is never there," says E. F. Im Thurn, "a growing carpet of flowers such as is made in England by primroses and anemones."<sup>2</sup> Here again Mrs. Behn's eye does not seem to have been upon the object.

It may be urged that accuracy in describing nature is hardly to be expected, even from a "realist," in Mrs. Behn's time, when the proper study of mankind was man. Do we find her powers of observation more reliable when directed on Oroonoko and his fellow slaves? That some important characteristics of the hero and the heroine are idealized, every one grants; but the description of slave life is in general assumed to be copied from grim reality. In Oroonoko's savage delight in slaughter, says Professor Siegel, Mrs. Behn followed truth; "the brutal murder of Imoinda, and the stoical endurance of torture," adds Miss Morgan, "is the conduct of a savage; and in those passages Mrs. Behn was depending upon her observations."<sup>3</sup> But turn to Warren's short chapter on the negroes, who, he notes,

are most brought out of Guiny in Africa to those parts, where they are sold like dogs, and no better esteemed but for their work sake, which they perform all the week with the severest usages for the slightest fault, till Saturday afternoon, when they are allowed to dress their own gardens. . . . Their lodging is a hard board, and their black skins their covering. These wretched miseries not seldom drive them to desperate attempts for the recovery of their liberty, endeavoring to escape, and if like to be retaken sometimes lay violent hands upon themselves. Or, if the hope of pardon bring them again alive into their masters' power, they'll manifest their fortitude, or rather obstinacy, in suffering the most exquisite tortures can be inflicted upon them, for a terror and example to others without shrinking. . . . Many of them over fondly woo their deaths, not otherwise hoping to be freed from that indeed unequalled slavery.<sup>4</sup>

Is it not significant that this little outline emphasizes the very traits that constitute the realistic elements on the larger canvas of Mrs. Behn?

Needless to say, she amplifies and adds; but, as we have already seen in the case of Oroonoko's horrible wounds, the elaborations do not of themselves inspire confidence. What a singularly lax plantation it is that permits the tasks of Imoinda to be daily done for her by "some sighing lover"!<sup>5</sup> "Cæsar," we are told, was the plantation name of the negro prince; his native name was Oroonoko.<sup>6</sup> Of course "Oroonoko" is not African; but "Orinoco" is Indian for "coiled serpent," and was suitably applied to the winding river whose name

<sup>1</sup> *Oroonoko*, pp. 51-52.    <sup>2</sup> Im Thurn, E. F., *Among the Indians of Guiana*, 1883, pp. 87-91.

<sup>3</sup> Siegel, p. 346; Morgan, Charlotte E., *The Rise of the Novel of Manners*, New York, 1911, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Warren, pp. 19-20.

<sup>5</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41. — Warren, p. 23, spells Orinoco "Oronoque."

Raleigh made famous. That such an obvious slip has not aroused remark seems singular, until we find the general inattention to such matters manifested in an even more fantastic confusion, namely in the suggestion that Oroonoko's home, Coramantien, may be the Coramandel Coast<sup>1</sup> (in East India!). Coramantien was a district of Guinea. It was well known to the English, who, about 1662, had a "castle" there, which was an important supply station for the African Company that monopolized the slave traffic of the British West Indies.<sup>2</sup> Though Mrs. Behn is therefore correct enough in assigning her royal slave to that country, she seems to ignore some particulars concerning it. The English ship which bore Oroonoko from Coramantien must, according to Mrs. Behn's narrative, have arrived in Surinam in May, 1665, at the very earliest.<sup>3</sup> But early in 1665 Coramantien was captured by the Dutch, under the famous De Ruyter, who thence sailed to attack Barbadoes.<sup>4</sup> It appears improbable that English slavers ventured from Coramantien to Surinam from the close of 1664 until the end of the Dutch war in 1667.

We may also question the description which Mrs. Behn gives of the Coramantien negro. Oroonoko, she says, was "carved with a little flower or bird at the sides of the temples," and Imoinda was "carved" "all over her body," "resembling our ancient Picts that are figured in the chronicles" (!). As a matter of fact, many tribes of negroes were thus "carved"; but those from Coramantien happened to be exceptional in this respect, and were noted for their "fine, smooth, black skin."<sup>5</sup> In short, the more one learns about Coramantien, the less true seem those strokes in her picture of negro life that are peculiarly her own.

About the Indians of Surinam, Mrs. Behn writes in tones of admiration, and with a vividness that has been especially commended.<sup>6</sup> The natives of that region were the Caribs, between whom and the English no serious trouble, such as is assumed in a part of *Oroonoko*, appears actually to have taken place in Surinam during the time in question.<sup>7</sup> They were more numerous than Mrs. Behn intimates, and their habitations were less remote.<sup>8</sup> They were not so handsome as she describes them, nor did they woo in so languishing a manner.<sup>9</sup> She recounts that her companions aroused their wonder by playing the flute, but the natives were quite familiar with that instrument.<sup>10</sup> They were so honorable, she declares, that they could not conceive of a "liar";

<sup>1</sup> Canby, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers*, pp. 113, 135, 146, 174, 194; C. P. Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, Oxford, 1905, II, 44, 64.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 422.

<sup>4</sup> *State Papers*, pp. 294-295.

<sup>5</sup> Hartsinck, II, 921-922; H. G. Dalton, *History of British Guiana*, London, 1855, I, 163.

<sup>6</sup> Siegel, p. 357 n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *State Papers*, p. 598; Warren, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Warren, p. 23; Rodway, *Guiana*, p. 44.

<sup>9</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 3; Im Thurn, pp. 188, 221; John Davies, *History of the Caribby Islands*, London, 1666, pp. 270, 334.

<sup>10</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 59; Im Thurn, p. 309; Davies, p. 307.



but the Jesuit missionary Pellepart, who in 1655 compiled a little dictionary of their language, gives no less than five Carib synonyms for "menteur."<sup>1</sup>

What Mrs. Behn tells us about Indian dress, adornments, weapons, and customs is often correct; but in no instance does she present a true fact that is not to be found in Warren's chapter on the Indians. Her omissions agree with his. Both authors, in discussing the "peaiman," omit the long fasts and solitary wanderings that were so interesting a part of the medicine man's training.<sup>2</sup> Both, in describing the appearance of the Caribs, omit the leg band which, tied above the ankle and below the knee of female infants and never thence removed, caused a gross distortion of the calf, which was most conspicuous.<sup>3</sup>

As we have seen to be the case in other parts of the story, circumstances accurately stated by Warren are by Mrs. Behn so elaborated as to become improbable or false. Warren deplors that the Indian girls are unacquainted with "that innocent and warm delight of kissing; but conversing so frequently with Christians, and being naturally docile and ingenious, we have reason to believe they will in time be taught it."<sup>4</sup> Instead of this speculative pleasantry, we have in Mrs. Behn an episode showing that it was her party that taught the Indians how to kiss. In her lively account of the occasion, we miss, however, an explanation of how the practice could have been so enjoyable to the Caribs, whose lips are pierced with holes, in which are inserted thorns or pins.<sup>5</sup> In describing the hospitality of the Indians, Mrs. Behn again provides some information like that in Warren; but with regard to the food and drink, the service, the "napery," etc., makes so many errors of omission and commission that they cannot be enumerated here.<sup>6</sup>

Her regular method may be illustrated by her transmutation of the following true statement by Warren concerning Indian captains,

whose courage they first prove, by sharply whipping them with rods, which if they endure bravely without crying, or any considerable motion, they are acknowledged gallant fellows and honored by the less hardy.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 4; Pierre Pellepart, *Introduction à la langue des Galibis*, Paris, 1655, p. 25.

I have compared the Indian words given by Mrs. Behn (*Oroonoko*, p. 58) with old word-lists and with modern, both Carib and Arowak, and believe them not authentic; but in the confusion of Indian tongues, I feel it unsafe to declare them certainly fraudulent. Cf. *The Voyage of Robert Dudley to the West Indies*, ed. G. F. Warner, London, 1899, pp. 65, 78-79; Davies's Caribbean vocabulary in his *History of the Caribby Islands*, 1666, pp. 353 ff.; D. G. Brinton, *The Arawack Language of Guiana*, 1870; J. Crevaux, P. Sagot, L. Adam, *Grammaires et Vocabulaires roucouyenne, arrouague, piapoco et d'autres langues*, Paris, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 59; Warren, pp. 26-27; Im Thurn, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> Im Thurn, p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Warren, pp. 23-24.

<sup>5</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 60; Im Thurn, p. 193.

<sup>6</sup> *Oroonoko*, pp. 58-59; Davies, chap. xviii ("Of the Entertainment which the Caribbians make those who come to visit them"); Im Thurn, chaps. xiii and xv ("Food" and "Feasts").

<sup>7</sup> Warren, pp. 24-25; Davies, pp. 314, 315.



Mrs. Behn, on the other hand, tells us that Oroonoko marvelled at the frightful scars of the chiefs, who explained that competitors for a captaincy mutilated themselves in the following manner :

Being brought before the old judges, now past labor, they are asked what they dare do to show they are worthy to lead an army. When he who is first asked, making no reply, cuts off his nose, and throws it contemptibly on the ground ; and the other does something to himself that he thinks surpasses him, and perhaps deprives himself of lips and an eye. So they slash on till one gives out, and many have died in this debate, — . . . a sort of courage too brutal to be applauded by our black hero.<sup>1</sup>

Yet despite such monstrous perversions, Mrs. Behn, according to some, presents Indian life "most anthropologically" !

It was not a vivid imagination alone that furnished Mrs. Behn with her enlargements upon Warren. In her idealization of the moral character of the savages (the "impartial" Warren found them "cowardly and treacherous"), she shows the influence of a sentimental tradition in the European literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which likewise manifests itself in the noble Indians of the heroic drama.<sup>2</sup> Some details in the appearance of Mrs. Behn's Indians are also traditional. She clothes them in "short habits" and "glorious wreaths" of feathers. "I had a set of these presented to me," she says, "and I gave them to the King's Theatre ; it was the dress of the Indian Queen, infinitely admired by persons of quality, and was inimitable."<sup>3</sup> To think of Nell Gwynn in the true costume of a Carib belle is indeed ludicrous. Besides the apron, the principal Carib adornments were strings of beads or shells ; the men might, on great occasions, wear some feathers on their heads and shoulders. In Surinam anything like the elaborate feather costume of Mrs. Behn's fancy was unknown.<sup>4</sup> But the first aborigines whom the Europeans learned about were the incomparably superior natives of Mexico, whose gorgeous featherwork garments were among the noble presents sent by Montezuma to Cortez, and by Cortez to the king of Spain. "No one of the American fabrics excited such admiration," says Prescott, who cites many passages of admiring description of them.<sup>5</sup> For literary purposes they thenceforth became the conventional garments of all Indians. Probably the quivers mentioned by Mrs. Behn are derived from the same tradition ; the Carib arrows were very long, and their quivers were small cases to hold only the poisoned points.<sup>6</sup>

From an English point of view perhaps the most interesting tradition that may be recognized in *Oroonoko* appears in the episode of the gold-bearing savages. In his preface, Warren cautiously remarks : "The Indians will tell

<sup>1</sup> *Oroonoko*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>2</sup> Charlotte E. Morgan, *The Novel of Manners*, pp. 81-82 ; Gilbert Chinard, *L'Exotisme américain*, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Im Thurn, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, Philadelphia, 1873, I, 147, 299, 356, 430 ; II, 68, 129.

<sup>6</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 60 ; Im Thurn, p. 243 ; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, XVI, 415.

you of mighty princes upwards, and golden cities, how true I know not." The colonists of 1665 were not seeking gold: they were raising sugar. But Oroonoko and Mrs. Behn meet "Indians of strange aspects," who come from the mountains, speak an unknown tongue, and carry bags of gold-dust, "which, as well as they could give us to understand, came streaming in little small channels down the high mountains, when the rains fell." These are, I think, the echoes of the hopeful words that the brave Elizabethans sent home across the seas, when they were seeking El Dorado, which lay ever "on the other side of those great hills," where ran "streams of gold about the breadth of a goosequill."<sup>1</sup>

If these observations are approved, we must at last abandon the interesting assumption that it was personal acquaintance with an unfortunate slave, and actual observation of Surinam, that furnished Mrs. Behn with the materials for *Oroonoko*. The Dutch wars, which drew attention to that colony, provided her with the few correct touches in the historical background of the picture. For the rest, whatever was real in the local color was given her by Warren's description of the natural environment, the slaves, and the Indians. In thus employing a true account, she was using the method of Defoe and his predecessors, whose fiction is rooted in the literature of fact. Those writers, however, when rearranging and elaborating journalistic reports, managed to carry their Captain Singletons from Mozambique to Guinea without seriously blundering into the unreal; for they made it their controlling aim not to deviate from the probable. No such bounds confined the romantic, sensational, and hero-worshipping Mrs. Behn. Whatever in Warren's account might serve to make the scene of Oroonoko's actions interesting, or might be utilized in an episode displaying his noble qualities, was thus employed; but whatever did not please her fancy, she at will suppressed or modified. She exalted the loveliness of the climate and landscape of Surinam, the marvels of its flora and fauna, and the innocence of its inhabitants. She enhanced its charm with touches taken from the picturesque traditions of Cortez and of Raleigh. What she says of Miranda in *The Fair Jilt* seems applicable to herself: "She had a great deal of wit, read much, and retained all that served her purpose." If she ever sincerely intended to write anything like a true story, she abandoned that intention as soon as she had stated it, and gave her fancy free rein. The second-hand materials that form the realistic foundation of *Oroonoko* are so inconspicuous in comparison with the romantic superstructure that to emphasize their presence is to obscure the purpose and character of her art.

<sup>1</sup> *Oroonoko*, p. 61; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, XVI, 306, 340, 346, 386, 387, 396, 407, 409. Traces of the tradition in Hall, Donne, and Milton are mentioned in *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America*, ed. E. J. Payne, Second Series, 2d ed., Oxford, 1900, p. xlvii.



# THE POETIC DICTION OF THE ENGLISH CLASSICISTS

RAYMOND DEXTER HAVENS

Although the English classicists were proud of having made their poetry "fitter for discourse and nearer prose" than that of their predecessors, they were in a way much more concerned than their predecessors had been that their verse should be poetical. The Elizabethans had been poetical enough without giving thought to the matter, but, as the vigorous exuberance of their imagination and the swellings of their style were tamed by later versifiers and subject matter, and style and language became prosaic, writers began to feel about, more or less unconsciously, for means of making their poetry more poetic, for distinguishing it from prose. As time passed, various methods developed, some prosodical, having to do with the development of the heroic couplet, some stylistic, and some relating to diction. It is with the last of these that this paper is concerned.

The characteristic of poetry which was to the Augustans the most essential was smoothness. For no other quality did they labor so incessantly, for none did they so relentlessly sacrifice the deeper qualities of their art. Variety, melody, verbal magic, vigor, — these were nothing as compared with freedom from anything rough. Their conception of smoothness, furthermore, was peculiar. They held that it began with Waller; "The tongue came into his hands, like a rough diamond; he polish'd it first," said Atterbury<sup>1</sup> in 1690. Johnson, who wrote of *Lycidas*, "the diction is harsh . . . and the numbers unpleasing,"<sup>2</sup> noted that since Dryden's time "English poetry has had no tendency to relapse to its former savageness."<sup>3</sup> Johnson also uses a figure which may help us to understand what the Augustans meant by smoothness; "Pope's [page]," he writes, "is a velvet lawn, shaven by the scythe, and levelled by the roller."<sup>4</sup> The tool of the pseudo-classicist is, indeed, not the file, but the heavy roller, which crushes every little elevation into a neighboring hollow and makes each poetic field a trim, level city lawn hardly to be distinguished from the lawns about it.

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *The Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems*.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I, 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 421.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 222.



The results of the rolling process are sadly evident if one compares Donne's third satire with Parnell's "versified" form of it. Donne wrote :

Darest thou aid mutinous Dutch ; and darest thou lay  
Thee in ships, wooden sepulchres, a prey  
To leaders' rage, to storms, to shot, to dearth ?  
Darest thou dive seas, and dungeons of the earth ?  
Hast thou courageous fire to thaw the ice  
Of frozen North discoveries. . . .

This became :

Dar'st thou provoke, when rebel souls aspire,  
Thy Maker's vengeance, and thy monarch's ire ;  
Or live entomb'd in ships, thy leader's prey,  
Spoil of the war, the famine, or the sea ;  
In search of pearl, in depth of ocean breathe,  
Or live, exil'd the sun, in mines beneath,  
Or, where in tempests icy mountains roll,  
Attempt a passage by the northern pole ?

The crabbed vigor of the Jacobean has been diluted into the tame propriety which pleased the fashionable in Anne's day. As most of Donne's harshness lay not in his diction but in his metre and style, the changes in diction are not marked. Yet it is significant that "mutinous Dutch," "wooden sepulchres," and "dive" disappear in vague periphrases, while "storms . . . shot . . . dearth" become "Spoil of the war, the famine, or the sea." In other parts of the poem, Donne's colloquial "eat thy poisonous words" is dropt ; "pity chokes" becomes "Compassion checks" ; "damn'd," "Art ever banish'd from the blest abode" ; "foul devil," "th' apostate angel" ; and "is In her decrepit wane," "fades." It is noteworthy that, though Parnell thus avoids words that may have seemed to him harsh, he does not substitute for them or introduce trite, conventional terms which would not be used in prose ; he does not, for example, speak of a spring as a "crystal font." That is, he does not use "poetic diction." This is characteristic of most of the early Augustan writers ; their style is smooth and flowing, and there is little in their diction to object to except the lack of those corners which give to poetry sincerity, directness, and vigor.

But this was only a first stage. As time passed and English numbers grew, as was complacently imagined, more elegant and refined, the principle of avoiding the rough was extended to include avoiding the unusual. Many words which occur in Spenser and Milton, beautiful both in sound and in sense, were constantly criticized in the eighteenth century because they were obsolete or strange. Writers realized that any phrase to which one is accustomed passes naturally, easily, and quickly through the mind and accordingly gives the effect of smoothness ; whereas, any unusual word or combination of words, or any

word employed in an unusual sense, stands out from the rest and is more slowly grasped, if not even resisted, by the mind. Thus in Keats's

So the two brothers and their murder'd man,

and Browning's

Stung with the splendor of a sudden thought,

the words "murder'd" and "stung" startle us and would certainly interfere with any limpid flow of the lines. We can accordingly understand why the pseudo-classic school, with its exaggerated emphasis on smoothness, came to like conventional words and phrases, and why it was so tolerant of tameness in verse. It seems, even, as if it preferred words that by constant use had been worn so smooth as to be in effect almost meaningless.

Yet it was not only the rough and unusual words that were to be avoided to make poetry more poetic, there were also the common and vulgar words. Pope and his contemporaries seem to have felt about their words as a gentleman does about his clothes — that they should be neither striking nor noticeable (that were bad taste), yet clearly different from the factory-made garments of the man in the street. In other words, they should be elegant. And elegant the pseudo-classic diction certainly is, with the elegance of a gentleman in silk stockings, lace ruffles, and powdered wig. To these gentlemen, many words which men of other times have found entirely unobjectionable, appeared vulgar and quite out of place in poetry. "If I should translate it *sweet marjoram*, as the word signifies," Dryden wrote of the Latin *mollis amaracus*, "the reader would think I had mistaken Virgil: for those village words, as I may call them, give us a mean idea of the thing."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Johnson wrote of Lady Macbeth's address to night: "The efficacy of this invocation is destroyed by the insertion of an epithet [*dun*] now seldom heard but in the stable," and the "sentiment is weakened by the name of an instrument used by butchers and cooks in the meanest employments; we do not immediately conceive that any crime of importance is to be committed with a *knife*."<sup>2</sup> Even Dryden was not elegant enough for his successors, as both Pope and Johnson criticized his use of such nautical terms as "oakum," "seam," and "mallet."<sup>3</sup> "It is a general rule in poetry," announced the great dictator, "that all appropriated terms of art should be sunk in general expressions, because poetry is to speak an universal language."<sup>4</sup> From the same authority we have a definite statement of the principles which settled whether a word was or was not suitable for verse. "There was therefore before the time of Dryden no poetical diction: no system of words at once refined from the grossness of domestick use and free from the harshness of terms appropriated to particular

<sup>1</sup> Dryden, Dedication of the *Aeneis*, *Cambridge Poets*, p. 518.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, *The Rambler*, no. 168.

<sup>3</sup> Pope's *Works*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, VI, 107; Johnson's *Lives*, I, 433-434.

<sup>4</sup> Johnson, *Lives*, I, 433.

arts. Words too familiar or too remote defeat the purpose of a poet. From those sounds which we hear on small or on coarse occasions, we do not easily receive strong impressions or delightful images; and words to which we are nearly strangers, whenever they occur, draw that attention on themselves which they should transmit to things. Those happy combinations of words which distinguish poetry from prose, had been rarely attempted" <sup>1</sup> before Dryden's time. With these principles Addison was thoroughly in accord. "The Italian poets, besides the celebrated smoothness of their tongue, have a particular advantage, above the writers of other nations, in the difference of their poetical and prose language . . . there are not only sentences, but a multitude of particular words that never enter into common discourse." <sup>2</sup> Even as late as 1785, the romantically inclined John Scott wrote of some of Thomson's expressions, "'To tempt the trout,' is prosaick," "'stealing from the barn a straw,' . . . is a wretched prosaism. 'Clean and complete' also is . . . the diction of a house-maid or a char-woman." <sup>3</sup> What Scott thought Thomson should have written is clear from his words "the birds moistening their plumage with an oleaginous matter, or in our author's words, 'streaking their wings with oil.'" <sup>4</sup>

The result of this avoidance of what seemed to the Augustans prosaic, harsh, and vulgar words was that vicious "poetic diction" which blighted English poetry for a century, worming its way into the work even of the best and most natural poets of the time, and giving to many excellent productions an affected and artificial tone. Addison, for example, turns "He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters," into:

When in the sultry Glebe I faint,  
Or on the thirsty Mountain pant:  
To fertile Vales and dewy Meads  
My weary wand'ring Steps he leads;  
Where peaceful Rivers, soft and slow,  
Amid the verdant Landskip flow.<sup>5</sup>

We read in Garth's *Dispensary*:

Eternal Spring with smiling Verdure here  
Warms the mild Air, and crowns the youthful year.  
From Crystal Rocks, transparent Riv'lets flow,  
The tub'rose ever breathes, and Violets blow . . .  
Cool Grotto's, Silver Brooks, and flow'ry Vales.<sup>6</sup>

Pope's *Pastorals* are adorned with lines like,

As in the crystal spring I view my face,  
Fresh rising blushes paint the wat'ry glass.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, *Lives*, I, 420.    <sup>2</sup> Addison, *Remarks on Italy*, in his *Works*, N. Y., 1854, II, 188.

<sup>3</sup> Scott, *Critical Essays*, pp. 309, 316.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 301.    <sup>5</sup> Addison, *The Spectator*, no. 441.

<sup>6</sup> Garth, *Dispensary*, seventh ed., iv, 300-303, 319.

<sup>7</sup> Pope, *Summer*, I, 27-28.



A picture of Mars and Venus is thus mentioned by Tickell :

So in the painter's animated frame,  
Where Mars embraces the soft Paphian dame.<sup>1</sup>

To Johnson has been attributed the honor of composing these lines :

Not the soft sighs of vernal gales,  
The fragrance of the flowery vales,  
The murmurs of the crystal rill,  
The vocal grove, the verdant hill.<sup>2</sup>

It will be noticed that all but one of the extracts given above deal with nature. This was not intentional on my part, but was due simply to the difficulty of finding effective illustrations of "poetic diction" in verse dealing with other subjects. It does occur, and frequently, in love songs and serious pieces such as elegies, addresses to persons, and other occasional poems, but in these it is usually limited to a word or two. In certain classes of poetry, satires, fables, humorous or conversational pieces — it is practically unknown. The reason for this is obvious ; as poems of this kind are in subject matter, style, and treatment much nearer prose than is an account of spring or an address to one's ladylove, the language in which they are written need not be so far removed from that of prose. In other words, we find that in proportion as the subjects of poems draw nearer to those of ordinary conversation, the language and style grow conversational, and that "poetic diction" is employed only in passages which it is desirable to have as different as possible from prose.<sup>3</sup>

In this connection it should be noted that many of the descriptions of nature in eighteenth-century poetry are not there because the author wished to express his love for the out-of-doors, but were added much as the ornaments used to be to cheap furniture. The simple article was first manufactured and then true-love knots of wood were fastened to the corners, and a number of feet of machine-made garlands were glued on the bare spots. The nature passages were the wooden garlands and bows of ribbon which were added to relieve the bareness and monotony of the verses. "Poetic diction" was in these cases the gilt with which the roses and oranges were touched up — simply for further ornament. Of course these touches were not true ; neither roses nor oranges shine like gold, but they were thought pretty and that was enough.<sup>4</sup> To be sure, there were men such as Thomson, Collins, and Gray,

<sup>1</sup> Ticknell, *On the Prospect of Peace, Works, British Poets*, Boston, 1854, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, *To Stella*, ll. 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> It was also felt that pastorals and love poems should be smoother than other kinds of poetry.

<sup>4</sup> Many descriptive passages in Augustan poetry are scarcely more deserving of criticism for unreality than are Japanese prints or conventional floral designs. They do not attempt to reproduce nature, but are decorative bits, the motives of which are drawn from nature. Pope must have been shrewd enough to see that the pictures in his *Pastorals* gave no feeling of reality. They were no more intended to do so than were the sketches of Aubrey Beardsley. Pope did not want to describe the woods and fields any more than Beardsley wanted to draw them.



who loved nature and tried to describe it. Most of these had, like Gray, but indifferent success; "poetic diction" had become a habit fixed in the language and men did not realize how much they used it or how false it was. This was to be expected, for there are few things so conventional as language; most men give the matter no thought, but express themselves as the rest of the world does.

There were, to be sure, other causes which led to the development of "poetic diction." The classical emphasis on universality, the preference for the abstract, the general, and the typical, — seed which bore much bad fruit in pseudo-classic soil, — undoubtedly helped to make the language of poetry vague, trite, and conventional. "The business of a poet," Johnson tells us, "... is to examine, not the individual, but the species; to remark general properties and large appearances. He does not number the streaks of the tulip, or describe the different shades in the verdure of the forest."<sup>1</sup> If the descriptive poetry of the time had not been devoted so exclusively to "general properties and large appearances," we should have fewer lines like

Here blushing Flora paints th' enamel'd ground.<sup>2</sup>

The meaningless conventionality of such lines as this is also due to a lack of imagination, to a lack of close observation of nature, and somewhat to the repressive nature of the couplet. Yet "poetic diction" is not limited to descriptions of nature, nor to other subjects which require imagination, nor to the couplet; and we have seen from the general character of the poetry of the period and from the statements of Johnson, Addison, and others how strong was the dislike of harsh, common, or strange words in verse. That the desire to make poetry more poetical and elegant was the principal cause of the vicious eighteenth-century diction also appears from the development of a different form of it in poetry which was slightly, if at all, affected by the other considerations which have been mentioned.

We have thus far considered only rimed poems. This is not because "poetic diction" is limited to rime, but because the siren strains to which we have been listening never sounded particularly sweet in the ears of those who sailed the argosies of blank verse. The allurements of elegance, it is true, often enticed them upon the shoals, but those of smoothness they in the main sailed bravely past. Blank verse was at the time generally regarded as rough verse, so that only those employed it who preferred the free vigor and the sonorous sweep of its roughness to the tame propriety of the couplet. And as such writers set no great store by smoothness, they naturally neglected the means by which it was obtained. What they did do has been excellently set forth by a forgotten essayist, John Aikin. "The writers of blank verse have been so sensible of their near approach to prose in the versification, that they

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, *Rasselas*, chap. x.

<sup>2</sup> Pope, *Windsor Forest*, l. 38.

have been solicitous to give their language a character as different as possible from that of common speech. This purpose, while it has favored loftiness and splendour of diction, has also too much promoted a turgid and artificial style, stiffened by quaint phrases, obsolete words, and perversions of the natural order of sentences. "When the subject is something appertaining to common life, this affected stateliness is apt to produce a ludicrous effect."<sup>1</sup> The blank-verse writers, in other words, had to face exactly the same problem as that which troubled Pope and his school — how to make their poetry more poetic. The problem was, indeed, more serious in proportion as blank verse is nearer to prose. But while the Augustans were carried in one direction by their desire for smoothness and their dislike for the unusual, the opponents of rime were borne in the opposite direction by an entirely dissimilar force — their worship of Milton. Now in *Paradise Lost*, grandeur, sublimity, and remoteness from everyday things were indispensable, and definite description impossible. Milton, accordingly, preferred unusual to common words, used sonorous Latin terms and compound epithets, and conveyed his ideas through figures of speech and the "noble diapason" of his lines. His admirers tried to do the same, but as they employed his devices mechanically, without taste or good sense, and in the treatment of subjects entirely unsuited to them, the effect was, as Aikin said, often "ludicrous." John Philips, for example, in a poem on cider thus described a drought:

Aquarius had not shed  
His wonted showers, and Sirius parch'd with heat  
Solstitial the green herb: hence 'gan relax  
The ground's contexture, hence Tartarian dregs,  
Sulphur, and nitrous spume, enkindling fierce,  
Bellow'd within their darksome caves, by far  
More dismal than the loud displod'd roar  
Of brazen enginry.<sup>2</sup>

Yet Milton's admirers did not follow him blindly. In a considerable degree their turgid diction was due not simply to their admiration for Milton but, as Aikin suggests, to their desire to make their poetry more dignified and sonorous, and to distinguish it more sharply from prose. The force of these latter motives is shown in the development, in part by men who did not imitate Milton, of a phase of "poetic diction" of which there is only a hint in *Paradise Lost*.<sup>3</sup> This is the use of unnatural and inflated circumlocutions for simple and perhaps homely words. Men, for example, do not take cold baths but "frequent The gelid cistern,"<sup>4</sup> a woman draws off not a stocking but "the inverted silk,"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aikin, *Letters to a Young Lady on a Course of English Poetry*, 2d ed., 1807, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Philips, *Cyder*, in Anderson's *British Poets*, VI, 548.

<sup>3</sup> Really two phases, for the compound epithets, which became almost a mannerism in eighteenth-century blank verse, occur comparatively rarely in Milton.

<sup>4</sup> Armstrong, *The Art of Preserving Health*, in Anderson, X, 976.

<sup>5</sup> Thomson, *Summer*, l. 1309.

and a volcano in the words of Thomson — who has at least twelve different periphrases for "birds" <sup>1</sup> — is "The infuriate hill that shoots the pillared flame." <sup>2</sup> These terms are never effective, generally objectionable, and frequently absurd, yet they were used more or less by the English poets for a hundred years. To be sure, there is nothing inherently bad in periphrases; we praise them under the name of kennings in Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon verse, and we use them to-day when we speak of "the father of his country" instead of Washington, or "the Puritan bard" instead of Milton. The difference is that the eighteenth-century periphrases are vague, unnatural, and mechanical, that they add nothing, but are simply attempts to be elegant and poetical in an artificial way.

Such periphrases are less confined to any one kind of poetry than are the other varieties of "poetic diction." They help to make Pope's *Pastorals* and *Messiah* unreadable, they injure his *House of Fame* and *Homer* (but, as was to be expected, are absent from the satires), they abound in Gay's *Rural Sports*, and appear occasionally in the couplets of Tickell, Addison, Garth, and even Wordsworth. They are much more frequent, however, in blank verse, rioting in the work of John Philips and Thomson, and being painfully evident in that of Dyer, Grainger, Mason, Cowper, and the rest. To attempt to trace the beginning of these circumlocutions in English poetry would be folly; in their less objectionable forms they have always been used occasionally and probably will never entirely disappear. A hasty examination of seventeenth-century verse shows a few cases in Waller, several in *Paradise Lost*, a number in Addison, and at least one in Dryden, who is singularly free from any objectionable diction. <sup>3</sup> There is a marked increase in the number of these in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and they seem to have reached their height in *rimed* verse in Gay's *Rural Sports* (1713). This increase is in all probability due to the higher value placed by the poets of the time upon elegance, and upon circumlocution as a means of obtaining it. The history of conventional terms peculiar to poetry, such as "enamel'd meads," is much the same, save that these occurred more frequently in Elizabethan verse and had a proportionately wider and longer sway in the eighteenth century. <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Plumy people," "gay troops," "tuneful nations," "glossy kind," "soft tribes," "feathered youth," "plumy burden," "aërial tribes," "weak tribes," "wanderers of heaven," "plumy race," "tenants of the sky" (*Spring*, ll. 165, 584, 594, 617, 711, 729, 747; *Summer*, l. 1121; *Autumn*, l. 986; *Winter*, ll. 80, 137, 138).

<sup>2</sup> *Summer*, l. 1096.

<sup>3</sup> This is seen very clearly if one compares Dryden's translation of Virgil's *Fourth Georgic* with the earlier one made by Addison.

<sup>4</sup> The rapid spread of "poetic diction" at the beginning of the century is shown in the history of Garth's *Dispensary*. In the first five editions of the poem (1699-1703) there is practically no "poetic diction" even in the descriptions of nature; in the sixth edition (1706) "several descriptions and episodes" were added in which vicious diction riots. (See p. 438 above, and compare VI, 223-239, in the sixth edition with the same passage in the first.)



In blank verse the case is somewhat different. Walter Raleigh has suggested that the circumlocutions used in *Paradise Lost* may well have given rise to those which occur in the poems which copy the style, diction, and versification of Milton's poem.<sup>1</sup> This is certainly plausible, yet Milton employed so few of these periphrases that by themselves they could hardly have made much of an impression. It seems probable that a much stronger force was exerted by the grandeur and magnificence of Milton's poem, its remoteness from common things, which have previously been mentioned. The influence of *Paradise Lost* was unquestionably away from simple directness and towards high-sounding, elaborate terms. And this influence was very great. There can be no question but that John Philips, the first writer of blank verse after Milton to employ these circumlocutions to any extent, took them from the stately epic which he so much admired and so closely imitated. Thomson was led to adopt them by his enthusiasm for both Milton and Philips, and in employing them in *The Seasons* he fixed them securely in eighteenth-century blank verse.

We have seen that "poetic diction" first began to be objectionable towards the close of the seventeenth century, and that it reached its highest development between 1713 and 1730, after which it slowly and with irregular advances and retreats sank into disuse. The extent and the length of its sway we can scarcely realize. Although much verse had been written in simple and natural language before the close of the century, Coleridge was swept off his feet in 1789 by the sonnets of Bowles, chiefly, as he tells us, because "of the then living poets" Bowles was the first he had encountered "who combined natural thoughts with natural diction."<sup>2</sup> And as late as 1800, in the famous preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth wrote, "There will also be found in these pieces little of what is usually called poetic diction; as much pains has been taken to avoid it as is ordinarily taken to produce it."<sup>3</sup> The disease was, indeed, slow in curing, for it was not a local disturbance, but a manifestation of poisons which were in the blood and came from the very heart of poetry. The diction of the pseudo-classic versifiers, and therein lies its interest and importance, was in a large part the outcome of their conception of poetry and was bound to live until that conception of poetry passed away.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Raleigh, *Milton*, pp. 245-255.

<sup>2</sup> Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, in his *Works*, 7 vols., New York, 1853, III, 160-161.

<sup>3</sup> Wordsworth, *Prose Works*, I, 53.

<sup>4</sup> Miss M. S. Leather, in an article on *Pope as a Student of Milton* (*Eng. Studien*, XXV, 406), attributes the origin of this false "poetic diction" to Pope's *Homer*, and quotes Southey and Coleridge in support of her opinion. Walter Raleigh (*Milton*, p. 251) apparently has the same idea. Yet it cannot be right. In the first place, plenty of "poetic diction" of the most vicious kind can be found in English poetry before 1715, when the *Homer* appeared,—in Waller (c. 1665), in Addison's translation of Virgil's *Fourth Georgic* (1694), in Pope's *Pastorals* and *Windsor-Forest* (1709-1713), in Garth's *Dispensary* (7th ed., 1714), and in Philips's *Splendid Shilling*, *Blenheim*, *Cerealia*, *Cyder* (1701-1708). Again, what Southey and Coleridge objected to in the *Homer*



was, if I am not mistaken, not so much the diction as the style. When, for example, Pope translates "But to the other . . . laughter-looking Venus is ever present, and averts fate from him" by

Not thus fair *Venus* helps her favour'd knight,  
The Queen of Pleasures shares the toils of fight (iv, ll. 13-14),

and "nor refusing fight" by

His beating bosom claim'd the rising fight (iv, l. 259),

it is not the words to which one objects, but the relation of the words to each other in a pompous, diffuse, artificial expression of a simple idea. When, however, he writes,

As down thy snowy thigh distill'd the streaming flood (iv, l. 177),

employing the purely conventional epithet "snowy," giving "distill'd" a meaning it would not have in prose, and saying "the streaming flood" instead of "blood," it is his diction that is at fault. Pope also calls a bow "the shining spoil," turns Homer's "pours the wine" into "crowns the goblets," and has a preference for "fiery coursers," "refulgent," etc. Yet it is to the style rather than to the diction of the translation that objection is to be taken. Miss Leather herself seems to mean by "poetic diction" simply "such words as refulgent, regal, adamantine," which do occur in the *Homer*, but are much more common in the blank verse of the day.

## THE DEBATE ELEMENT IN THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

JAMES HOLLY HANFORD

In Elizabethan England, as elsewhere throughout Europe during the sixteenth century, the literary debate, that characteristic mediæval *genre* in which abstract or typical figures engage in a more or less formal word contest, flourished in practically full vigor. The degree to which the debate idea was familiar to Elizabethan writers has thus far had but little recognition. It is a phase of that curiously mediæval aspect of the period, which we are apt to lose sight of until it is brought forcibly to our attention by such facts as that of the long-continued popularity of the religious drama or the persistence in the universities of the antiquated style of scholastic disputation.<sup>1</sup>

The popularity of the literary debate in England began to decline rapidly toward the end of the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, however, the form had left its mark on the stage, where it continued to be an interesting, if minor, factor until late in the reign of James. Before examining the nature of this influence upon the drama we may glance at the background of non-dramatic debates.

These disputes vary widely in origin and character. Their material, however, is largely mediæval. Thus the very old debate between the Body and the Soul, which had received one of its most powerful embodiments in Middle English, appears in a lyric version in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*,<sup>2</sup> and again, as late as 1616, in a translation of the Latin *Visio Philiberti*, done by William Crashaw.<sup>3</sup> The well-known and charming *Altercatio Phillidis et Florae* was translated into English by George Chapman in 1595.<sup>4</sup> Another

<sup>1</sup> Some of the questions of debate are given in Nichols's *Progresses*. During the Royal visit to Cambridge in 1564, Queen Elizabeth was entertained by learned discussions on such propositions as *simplex cibus praeferendus multiplici* and *coenandum liberalius quam prandendum*, which unfortunately her Majesty made not much of, "because their voices were small and not audible."

<sup>2</sup> Edited by J. P. Collier, p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> *The Complaint or Dialogue betwixt the Soule and the Bodie of a Damned Man, each Laying the Fault upon the Other. Supposed to be written by S. Bernard from a nightly vision of his, and now published out of an ancient manuscript copy by William Crashaw.* London, 1616. Both the Latin and English texts are given.

<sup>4</sup> The poem, entitled *The Amorous Contention of Phillis and Flora*, followed by the Latin text, appeared in the first edition of *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*; reprinted in *The Works of Geo. Chapman, Poems and Minor Translations*, 1875, p. 43. See also Thomas Wright, *Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*, 1841, Appendix H. The "Ballade intituled *A Disputation of two faythefull Lovers in prayse of Taylors and comendation of Glovers*," entered in the *Stationers' Register*, May 1, 1584, must surely have been an adaption of the same theme.

love motive, the quarrel between Heart and Eye as to their relative responsibility for the pains of the lover, survived as a conceit in the Elizabethan lyric and furnished the model for several amorous-physiological dialogues in the miscellanies.<sup>1</sup>

More widely popular, however, than any of these debate subjects were the closely related contentions between Life and Death, or Youth and Old Age, didactic themes, designed to enforce the transitoriness of life and youth, the terrors of death, and the need of a speedy turning from sin. Poems of this class exist in Middle English<sup>2</sup> and are very common on the continent. The numerous Elizabethan treatments of the subject are generally in ballad form.<sup>3</sup> The contrasting points of view of the young man and the old are represented by Cuddie and Thenot in Spenser's February Eclogue, and the same debate, with inverted moral, finds a distant echo in the Shakespearian lyric, *Crabbed Age and Youth*. Another thoroughly mediæval debate topic which achieved popularity in England was the controversy of the sexes, with the related question of the good *versus* the bad qualities in women.<sup>4</sup> There was a whole literature on this subject in France,<sup>5</sup> and it is from there that the Elizabethan tradition was undoubtedly derived.

A large number of the serious and didactic mediæval disputations are conflicts of good and evil principles and as such may be referred to the general conception of the battle of virtues and vices, which recurs throughout the mediæval period in so many forms. The echoes of this mighty contest for the soul of man had not yet died away in the sixteenth century, and, besides the moral plays to which I shall refer later, Elizabethan literature showed not a few examples of formal disputes between abstract virtues and their opposites. To this class belong the elaborate *Debate between Pride and*

<sup>1</sup> See my article, "The Debate of Heart and Eye," in *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI, 161-165 (June, 1911).

<sup>2</sup> Robert Henryson, *The Reasoning betwixt Aige and Youth* and *The Reasoning betwixt Deth and Man*, Poems, edited by Gregory Smith (Scottish Text Society, 1908), III, 113 and 134. The alliterative *Life and Death* in the Percy Folio MS., and *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, edited by I. Gollancz (Roxburghe Club, 1897) may also be referred to.

<sup>3</sup> Titles of Life and Death dialogues appear in the *Stationers' Register* for 1560-1561, 1566, 1577, and 1593. *A Ballette betwene Death and Youghe*, and *A Disputation betwene Olde Age and Youghte* are entered in 1563-1564. For reprints see J. P. Collier, *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company* (Shakespeare Society, 1848-1849), I, 83; and II, 43. Cf. also *A Brief Dialogue between Sicknesse and Worldly Desire* in *A Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, 1578, where the theme is the same as that of the above-named pieces.

<sup>4</sup> For satires and defenses of women, mostly not in debate form, see Warton-Hazlitt, *History of English Poetry*, 1871, IV, 236; cf. also Turberville's *Epitaphes*, etc., 1567, reprinted by J. P. Collier, p. 130. *The Praise and Dispraise of Women*, a translation from the French, by John Allday, was published in 1579 (entered June 17, 1577). *An Interlocucycon with an Argument betwixt Man and Woman the whiche could prove to be more Excellent* was printed by Wynkin de Worde, and *A Dyscription betwene Man and Woman* is entered for 1567-1568.

<sup>5</sup> See A. Piaget, *Martin Le Franc*, 1888, chap. ii, §§ 3 and 5; also Steinschneider, *Rangstreit-Literatur*, *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, Phil.-Hist. Classe, CLV, 37.

*Lowliness*,<sup>1</sup> the verse original of Greene's frequently reprinted prose dialogue, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier, or a Quaint Dispute between Velvet Breeches and Cloth Breeches*,<sup>2</sup> and Richard Larnfield's allegory, *The Combat between Conscience and Covetousness in the Mind of Man*,<sup>3</sup> not to mention numerous humbler pieces.

In connection with the debates of this type it is necessary to take account of an influence other than mediæval which deeply affected the character of the debate in the Elizabethan period, that, namely, of the revival of learning. Classical mythology and allegory, as interpreted by the Renaissance, afforded a considerable amount of new debate material and modified the treatment of some of the mediæval themes. Thus it is not always possible to say, in the case of such disputes as those just mentioned, whether we have a version of the mediæval contention of virtues and vices or of the very similar classical allegory invented by Prodicus, repeated again and again in ancient literature and even borrowed by the fathers of the church, with whom it became indistinguishable from Christian allegory derived from other sources.<sup>4</sup> The dialogues of Lucian, with their constant opposing of personified qualities or of Olympian divinities attenuated to mere abstractions, doubtless had a considerable share in giving classical coloring to the Elizabethan debate. Indirectly through France and Italy their influence was certainly felt, as in Robert Greene's<sup>5</sup> translation of Louise Labé's *Débat de Folie et d'Amor*, 1555, a piece which is clearly in Lucian's manner. Notwithstanding the permeating influence of classical imagery, however, the substance of Elizabethan debate literature remained mediæval. The numerous miscellaneous disputes, mostly of the trifling and humorous order, while they are often original in theme, conform in spirit and manner to the debate tradition.<sup>6</sup>

In view of the dramatic tendencies inherent in the debate type and the continued production of this class of literature in England, it is natural that the form should have left traces in the Elizabethan drama. It did so in two ways. In some cases debates were put on the stage as mere dialogues, with very little attempt at dramatic complication; in others, debate material was

<sup>1</sup> Edited by J. P. Collier (Shakespeare Society, 1841). Collier's ascription of the poem to Francis Thynne is denied on excellent grounds by Furnivall, *Animadversions*, etc. (Chaucer Society, 1875), p. cxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Entered July 20, 1592, and published in the same year. A. B. Grosart's edition of Greene's *Works*, XI, 205 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in 1598. Arber, *English Scholars' Library*, No. 14, 107 ff.; and A. H. Bullen, *Some Longer Elizabethan Poems*, 1903, pp. 254 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See G. A. Cubæus, *Xenophontis Hercules Prodicti et Silii Italici Scipio* etc., Lipsiae, 1797; also Otto Hense, *Die Synkrisis in der antiken Litteratur*, Prorektoratsrede, Freiburg i. Br., 1893.

<sup>5</sup> Grosart's edition of Greene's *Works*, IV, 195.

<sup>6</sup> For example, *A Defense of a Bald Head* (entered September 22, 1579), in which Baldness and Hair discuss their respective conveniences. The piece is reprinted by Collier, *Extracts*, II, 97.



adapted to more strictly dramatic uses and the element of formal disputation was partly replaced by that of action. For both these modes of using debate motives on the stage there was abundant precedent: in the Italian *contrasti*,<sup>1</sup> in certain of the German *Fastnachtspiele*<sup>2</sup> and French *farces*,<sup>3</sup> and above all in the earlier English drama.

The morality and the moral interlude are in the majority of cases, as has frequently been pointed out, essentially conflicts of virtues and vices, and this conflict, while often implicit, not infrequently crystallizes as a formal contention between the forces of good and evil or between particular virtues and particular vices. Such material is fairly common in plays written during the Elizabethan period, as well in the survivals of the old-style moral interlude<sup>4</sup> as in the masques and occasionally in the regular drama.<sup>5</sup> The Tudor farce, in so far as it was mere debate,<sup>6</sup> appears to have left a slighter trace on the later drama. One or two pieces somewhat similar to John Heywood's debate farces exist,<sup>7</sup> but there was no continuous tradition of this kind of writing, as there was of the moral contests. Of course the Tudor pieces helped to keep the debate alive in England.

It remains to examine the specific Elizabethan plays and entertainments which were, in one way or another, affected by the debate idea. The following list must be taken as representative rather than complete.

A common use of debate material in the Elizabethan drama is in inductions. We have an early and important example of this in the romantic

<sup>1</sup> See D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, 1891, I, 547 ff. Most of the *contrasti* mentioned by D'Ancona have the narrative setting; some, however, were designed for representation in character.

<sup>2</sup> Many of Hans Sachs's plays are debates; for example, his *Comedia, darin die Göttin Pallas die Tugend und die Götten Venus die Wollust Verficht*, *Werke*, III, 3.

<sup>3</sup> For example, *Tout, Rien, et Chacun*, Viollet-le-Duc, *Ancien Théâtre François*, III, 199; *Dialogue du Fou et du Sage*, Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire du Théâtre Comique*, 1886, p. 139; *Le Bien e le Mal des Dames*, *ibid.*, p. 261.

<sup>4</sup> Thus the extant fragment of *Albion Knight*, registered 1565-1566, contains a contention between Injury and Justice; in *The Conflict of Conscience* by Nathaniell Woodes, printed 1581, Conscience and Suggestion alternately warn and tempt Philologus. *The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality*, printed 1602, contains several more or less formal disputations between Prodigality and Tenacity, and a contrast, though not verbal, between Fortune and Virtue. Cf. also Thomas Nabbes's masque, *Microcosmus*, and *Pathomachia*, described below. A moral play apparently based upon Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier* was acted by the Lord Chamberlain's Men (*Stationers' Register*, May 27, 1600).

<sup>5</sup> *The Bonus and Malus Angelus*, which appear in Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* and elsewhere, are probably an inheritance from the morality.

<sup>6</sup> Three of Heywood's interludes are debates: *The Dialogue of Wit and Folly*, *The Play of Love*, and *The Play of the Weather*. See K. Young, *Modern Philology*, II, 97 ff.; and Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, p. 372. Hall's *Chronicle*, anno 1527, mentions a similar debate entertainment given before the king, in which "two persones played a dialog theeffect whereof was whether riches were better than love." Cf. *A Disputation betwene Love and Monye*, *Stationers' Register*, 1564.

<sup>7</sup> I refer to the Cambridge dialogues discussed below, pp. 453 ff.

comedy, *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*,<sup>1</sup> printed in 1589 and probably identical with *A Historie of Love and Fortune* performed before the Queen at Windsor in 1582.<sup>2</sup> The scene is the court of Jove. Tisiphone, a fury sent by Pluto, stirs strife among the gods by complaining that Venus has usurped the entire sovereignty of the world to the injury of Lady Fortune's rights. The two goddesses debate their claims. In order to prove their relative might by test Jupiter bids them try their powers on a pair of earthly lovers, Fortune endeavoring to make them wretched, Venus to increase their joy. The debate thus becomes the prologue to the play itself, which is the story of the lovers. At the close of each act there is a noisy triumph of the goddess who appears to have been the more successful. In Act V Jove declares that the might of both have been abundantly confirmed and decrees that Love and Fortune hereafter act in harmony. They then release the lovers from their difficulties and the play ends happily.

In its mythological setting this debate obviously reflects the influence of the Renaissance, suggesting particularly Louise Labé's dialogue mentioned above. The core of the dispute, however, is mediæval. The opposition of Love to various forms of worldly prosperity is a very old debate theme;<sup>3</sup> and the contrast of Love and Riches had already been put on the stage in England.<sup>4</sup> Again, contests between Fortune and Virtue or Wisdom over their respective influence in the world's affairs were familiar in the court entertainments of Italy.<sup>5</sup> The closest parallel, however, to the present debate is a poem of Turberville's<sup>6</sup> in which Fortune and Venus dispute the question of their relative shares in the conquest of a rich maiden by a poor fisherman.

The induction machinery of *The Rare Triumphs* is used again in the Senecan tragedy of *Soliman and Perseda*,<sup>7</sup> entered in 1592, commonly ascribed to Thomas Kyd, where to the figures of Love and Fortune is added

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's edition of Dodsley's *Old English Plays*, 1874, Vol. VI.

<sup>2</sup> A "Play of Fortune" was performed as early as 1573 [*Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels* (Shakespeare Society, 1842), edited by Cunningham, p. 36].

<sup>3</sup> The relative worth of love and friendship, fame at arms, honor, etc. are discussed in the old French *jeux partis*. See Fr. Fizez, *Das altfranzösische Jeu-Parti, Romanische Forschungen*, XIX, 437 and 438. *Nummus and Amor* debate in a Latin Court of Love allegory of the twelfth century or earlier. *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, Phil.-Hist. Classe*, III, 685 and 704.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 448, note 6.

<sup>5</sup> See D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro*, II, 74, 128 note, and 129. Cf. the enormous and popular *Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu* of Martin Le Franc, A. Piaget, *Martin Le Franc*. In this poem the question proposed by the author in the second prologue is this: "Is Fortune or Virtue mistress of all things?" Fortune does not wait for the decision of Reason, but goes forth to show her power in church and state. In Lydgate's *Mumming of Fortune* (reprinted, Brotanek, *Englische Maskenspiele*, 309 ff.) Fortune is contrasted with Prudence, Righteousness, and Fortitude, but there is no explicit debate.

<sup>6</sup> *A Controversie of a Conquest in Love twixt Fortune and Venus, Epitaphes*, etc., 1567, edited by J. P. Collier, p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, edited by F. S. Boas, 1901.

that of Death. Here, as in Turberville's poem, the dispute is regarded as having taken place after the events to which it refers.<sup>1</sup> Consequently the contending divinities stand apart from the action and play a merely interpretative part. Each of the Powers claims to have been mainly responsible for what happened and therefore to be entitled to act as chorus. At the close of each act the contention is renewed; finally Death triumphs over all.

By wasting all I conquer all the world.  
And now, to end our difference at last,  
In this last act note but the deedes of Death.

I, now will Death, in his most haughtie pride,  
Fetch his imperial Carre from deepest hell,  
And ride in triumph through the wicked world.

This mythological contention must certainly have been suggested by that in *The Rare Triumphs*.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of Death may be due to the influence of the typical prologue of the Senecan tragedy, or it may have been suggested by the lines in the source of *Soliman and Perseda*:

By Fortune, Envie, and by Death,  
This couple caught their bane.<sup>3</sup>

The goddess Fortune appears again in a somewhat similar capacity in Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*,<sup>4</sup> published 1600, the whole story being an instance of her power. The original tale and the earlier version of the drama contained no debate. In revising the play for a court performance,<sup>5</sup> however, Dekker added, rather irrelevantly, the figures of Virtue and Vice, who plant rival trees, and, when Andelocia eats first of the fruit of one and then of that of the other, triumph in a manner suggestive of the preceding plays.

*Virtue.* Vice, who shall now be crowned with victory?  
*Vice.* She that triumphs last, and that am I.

At the close of the play Fortune and Vice are allied against Virtue, and a formal dispute takes place. Virtue turns to the Queen for judgment, and the other two submit of their own accord.

<sup>1</sup> This is the situation also in a subordinate incident in the prologue to *The Rare Triumphs*, where Mercury summons up the shades of Hero and Leander, and the divinities quarrel over their relative influence in the history of the lovers.

<sup>2</sup> For another example of the Fortune machinery, clearly to be associated with these prologues, see Drayton's *Legend of Robert Duke of Normandy*, where Fortune and Fame alternately exhibit their relative powers as illustrated in Robert's life. Fame is proved victor and Fortune goes away in rage.

<sup>3</sup> Sarrazin, *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, 1892, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Dramatic Works*, London, 1873, Vol. I.

<sup>5</sup> See C. H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, 1886, pp. 203 ff.



Less explicitly debates are the inductions to *Mucedorus*,<sup>1</sup> printed in 1598, and *A Warning for Faire Women*,<sup>2</sup> 1599. In the former the allegorical figure of Comedy announces his intention to make the audience laugh, while Envy, who really stands for Tragedy, threatens to turn mirth to dole. Comedy bids him do his worst, and at the close of the play Comedy exults in his victory. The dispute of History, Comedy, and Tragedy, which opens *A Warning*, was possibly suggested by the induction to *Mucedorus*. After a quarrel with the others over their respective rights and merits, Tragedy drives her opponents off the stage and reappears throughout the play as chorus. Both of these inductions clearly belong to the same type as *The Rare Triumphs* and *Soliman*, in which the contention determines the character of the ensuing play.<sup>3</sup> The change from goddesses to figures representing the forms of drama was a natural one. It was already suggested in *Soliman*, where Death says :

Packer, Love and Fortune, play in Commedies ;  
For powerfull Death best fitteth Tragedies.

A final instance of the contention prologue is to be found in Thomas Heywood's masque, *Love's Mistress*, printed in 1636.<sup>4</sup> In this case the persons bear individual names, but we are expressly told that they stand for the abstract and opposite qualities of taste and ignorance. The play — the story of Cupid and Psyche — is presented by Apuleius as a proof of the power of poetry. Cupid finally arbitrates the strife, deciding that Midas shall wear the asses' ears and Apuleius the laurel.

Those dramatic performances in which debate elements constitute the main theme belong in general rather to the masque and pageant type than to the regular drama. Public pageants, like the Lord Mayor's shows, in spite of their prevailingly moral and allegorical character, rarely contain debates.<sup>5</sup> In the allegorical entertainments presented to the Queen at private houses, where the dialogue could be heard and appreciated, formal disputations appear to have been more frequent. Such a one is the purely verbal contention between a wife, a widow, and a maid, presented before the Queen at the house of Sir Robert Cecil in the Strand, December 6, 1602, and later printed with the initials I. D. (*i.e.* Sir John Davies) in the 1608 edition of Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*.<sup>6</sup> The piece is a courtly adaptation of a

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted, *The Tudor Facsimile Texts*, edited by J. S. Farmer, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted, Richard Simpson, *The School of Shakspeare*, 1878, Vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> Somewhat similar material is found in the inductions to various Latin university dramas. See the accounts of *Roxana* and *Fatum Vortigerni* by Churchill and Keller, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXIV, 253 and 260, and of *Φυσικομαχία* by Louise Morgan, *ibid.*, XLVII, 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Dramatic Works*, London, 1874, Vol. V.

<sup>5</sup> In Middleton's *Triumph of Truth*, a Lord Mayor's pageant presented in 1613, Truth, with her champion Zeal, are opposed by Error and Envy. The two groups contend in word and act ; finally Error's chariot is consumed with fire shot forth by Zeal.

<sup>6</sup> For authorship see A. B. Grosart, *The Complete Poems of Sir John Davies*, I, 272 ff. The poem was ascribed to Davies by John Chamberlain, writing in 1602.



theme met with elsewhere in Elizabethan literature.<sup>1</sup> The wife and the widow, on their way to Astræa's Holy Day, fall in with a maid, bound to the same festival, and the three quarrel over the question of precedence. Then comes the usual formal offer to contend :

But, wife and widow, if your wits can make  
Your state and persons of more worth than mine,  
Advantage to this place I will not take;  
I will both place and privilege resign.

The argument which follows is lyrical and figurative, with much of the wire-drawn cleverness so characteristic of the mediæval disputation. The maid has the last word on most of the points at issue and the others finally acknowledge her superiority, with obvious reference to the Queen. A similar prose dialogue between Constancy and Inconstancy was given before her majesty at Sir Henry Leigh's house, and later printed in the *Phoenix' Nest*.<sup>2</sup> The piece is somewhat unintelligible apart from the connection in which it must originally have stood. Constancy thanks the Queen for releasing "us lately distressed ladies," and prays that they may all be punished with more than inconstancy if they fail to love constantly. Her rival also expresses gratitude, but "rather for my libertie . . . than for any mind I have to be more constant than I was." At this she is duly challenged and the debate proceeds. When the disputants find that neither can convince the other, they both come forward to the Queen bearing gifts. Then Inconstancy suddenly feels a power within her greater than reason which draweth her from the circle of her fancy to the center of constant love. The dialogue is composed in the elaborately artificial style of Sidney's *Arcadia*.

The question between the married and the single life is again at issue in Ben Jonson's masque, *The Barriers*,<sup>3</sup> performed at the marriage of Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, in 1606. Truth and her double, Opinion, in order to determine which is genuine, debate in a manner suggestive of Catullus's hymenæal ode (62), on the proposition,

That the most honored state of man and wife  
Doth far exceed the insociate virgin life.

At length they have recourse to arms, and two companies of knights appear as champions. While the latter are fighting, an angel invests Truth with her full glory; the counterfeit Opinion is banished; and the piece ends with an emphatic pronouncement in favor of marriage.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rowland's *'Tis Merry when Gossips meete*, a dialogue but not a contention between a wife, a widow, and a maid, printed in 1602, *Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands* (Hunterian Club), Vol. I; also "a compendious abstracte, contayninge a moste delectable conference betwene the wedded lyf and the syngle," by Harry Hake, *Stationers' Register*, 1556, and the ballads entered September 4, 1564.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by J. P. Collier, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Masques and Entertainments by Ben Jonson*, edited by Henry Morley, 1890, pp. 80 ff.

A much more elaborate debate allegory than any thus far mentioned is Nashe's masque-like comedy, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, privately acted at Croydon as early as the summer of 1592.<sup>1</sup> Formally this piece, as its title indicates, is not a debate but a literary testament. The subject matter, however, is that of a very ancient class of debates, and the play contains clear traces of the debate idea. Like the German folk drama of winter and summer, and the Italian *contrastì* between Lent and Carnival,<sup>2</sup> the play is symbolic of the changing year. Summer, sick unto death, makes disposition of his worldly goods to Autumn, Winter, and Spring. These three bicker jealously, and at length Winter and Autumn contend in the manner of the literary debate as to which is best fitted to inherit the goods of Spring. A further contrast comes when Backwinter, a miserly churl, is introduced in opposition to old Christmas, with his spirit of liberality.

The question of origins in the case of Nashe's play is an interesting and perplexing one, which I cannot consider here. The contest of the seasons is widely diffused in both literary and popular sources.<sup>3</sup> Dramatic treatments of the material were familiar in Germany, Italy, and elsewhere. In England we have the numerous holly and ivy debates, as evidence of the existence of a popular symbolic rite somehow connected with the German folk-drama, and, what is of particular interest in connection with Nashe's play, the appearance of Ver and Hiems at the close of *Love's Labour's Lost*. A non-dramatic version of the debate had been translated into English from French in the early years of the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The influence of Nashe's play may probably be traced in several later masques, in which figures representing the seasons, festivals, etc., appear. This is almost certainly the case with Thomas Middleton's *Inner Temple Masque*<sup>5</sup> (performed New Year's Day, 1618-1619), where the central theme is the death of the old year and the disposition of the times and seasons of the new, and in which a "last will and testament" of Christmas is read. There is no trace of debate here except a quarrel between Plum Porridge and Fasting Day, slightly suggestive of the opposition of Christmas and Backwinter.

The practice of using debate materials and motives in the drama appears to have taken deepest root in the universities. The predominating intellectual

<sup>1</sup> R. B. McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe*, III, 227 ff.

<sup>2</sup> D'Ancona, *Origini*, I, 538 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The classic treatment of the subject is Uhland's admirable *Sommer und Winter, Schriften zur Geschichte der Dichtung und Sage*, 1866, III, 17 ff. L. Biadene has published a most impressive bibliography of the contrasts of seasons and months in all languages: "Carmina de Mensibus di Bonvesin da la Riva, Appendice Bibliografica, Le Rappresentazioni e i Contrasti delle Stagioni e dei Mesi nella Letteratura Europea," *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, IX, 81 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *The Debate and Stryfe between Somer and Wynter, with the Estate Present of Man*, printed by Lawrence Andrew; reprinted, Edmund Ashbee, *Occasional Facsimile Reprints*, 1868-1872. The French poem may be found in *Poésies des xv<sup>e</sup> et xvi<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1830.

<sup>5</sup> *Works*, edited by A. H. Bullen, 1886, VII, 195 ff.

and scholastic character of the form and the facility with which it could be made the vehicle of college lore must have appealed strongly to the academic wits. So the "Grammar War," an allegorical contention between Noun and Verb, with the parts of speech as retainers on either side, adapted from Andrea Guarna's amazing application of the rules and problems of grammar, was long popular on the academic stage. A lost dramatic version had been written by Ralph Radcliffe, schoolmaster at Hitchin from 1546 to 1559, and a Latin play was performed in Oxford before 1591, revised for the visit of Elizabeth in 1592, and printed in 1635.<sup>1</sup> In a similar spirit the "Marriage of the Arts," a sort of inverted debate, familiar from the mediæval times, was treated in English in Barten Holiday's *Technogamia*, acted by the students of Christ Church on February 13, 1682.<sup>2</sup>

A debate play of considerably greater interest is *Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses for Superiority*, published in 1607 and many times reprinted.<sup>3</sup> The subject matter, involving, as it does, a detailed knowledge of the psychology of the time, no less than the numerous academic references contained in it, proves the play beyond question to have been designed for a university audience. The scene is "microcosmus," the kingdom of man's mind and body. *Lingua*, who represents the faculty of speech and is the unruly member of this community, plots with her servant, *Mendacio*, to stir up a dissension among the five senses, through which she may prosecute her own claim to be enrolled among their number. To this end she allows them to find a robe and a crown inscribed like Paris's apple of discord. The senses at once fall to quarrelling and prepare to do battle, *Visus* and *Auditus* on the one side, *Tactus* and *Gustus* on the other, with *Olfactus* (like *Participium* in the *Bellum Grammaticale*) standing ready to join the victor. *Communis Sensus*, however, interferes, and acts as arbiter of their dispute. Each sense appears before him with a pageant illustrating the joys which it can give. The judge decides in favor of *Visus* but consoles the others by awarding them various privileges. *Lingua* is adjudged to be "no sense simply," but

<sup>1</sup> Other versions were composed during the eighteenth century. See Johannes Bolte, *Andrea Guarnas Bellum Grammaticale und seine Nachahmungen, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, XLIII (1908), where the Elizabethan play is reprinted.

<sup>2</sup> Second edition, London, 1830.

<sup>3</sup> Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, 1874, Vol. IX. The author of this play is unknown, and Fleay's identification of him with John Tomkins of Cambridge, author of *Albumazar*, although it has been tentatively accepted by A. W. Ward, rests on insufficient evidence. I am unable to find the basis for Fleay's statement that Dr. Furnivall in April, 1890, found definite evidence of Tomkins's authorship. See Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, 1891, II, 261; and *Shakespeariana*, March, 1885. The date of the play is equally uncertain. The assumption that Elizabeth is alluded to in the expression "our gracious sovereign Psyche" ignores the obvious fact that this phrase is quite appropriate in the literal application of the words to the soul, the queen of the little world of man. Moreover Fleay's remark that a play the very upshot of which was a satire on woman would have been distasteful to Elizabeth seems to me absolutely sound.



exception is made in the case of women, who shall hereafter be said to enjoy a sixth sense, that of speech.

Mr. Fleay, in his discussion of this clever and well-written production, remarks that it was "clearly founded on an Italian model," but fails to give any definite indication of such an original. A very probable ulterior source, which seems to have escaped the notice of those who have discussed the English play, is to be found in Giorgio Alione's *Comedia de L'Omo e de' soi Cinque Sentimenti*, written in the dialect of Asti and first printed in 1521.<sup>1</sup> The plot, which is extremely coarse, is much less elaborate, but the central idea is the same. There is even a kind of dispute of the senses among themselves, which corresponds to the combat for superiority in *Lingua*.<sup>2</sup> Alione's play is modelled on a French farce,<sup>3</sup> still simpler in structure,<sup>4</sup> which is itself a variant of the old fable of the belly and the members.

A similar but more thoroughgoing account of the psychological and moral make-up of man is given in the prose drama, *Pathomachia, or the Battle of the Affections shadowed by a feigned Siege of the City of Pathopolis*, printed in 1630.<sup>5</sup> The plot is in part made up of the old contest of virtues and vices, the *Psychomachia*, which appears to have suggested its title; in part, of a civil war of the affections closely paralleling that of the senses in *Lingua*. There are also allusions to the earlier play.<sup>6</sup>

The last three debate plays which I have to discuss are little more than prose dialogues with a semblance of action. Two of them, published separately in 1615, *A Merrie Dialogue betwene Band, Cuffe, and Ruffe*, and *Worke for Cutlers, or a Merry Dialogue betwene Sword, Rapier, and Dagger*,<sup>7</sup> are evidently companion pieces. Both are stated on their title pages to have been "acted in a shew at the famous University of Cambridge." In the first, Band and Ruffe quarrel and are on the point of fighting when Cuffe arbitrates their contention, apportioning to each its fitting honors; in the other, Sword and Rapier are the contestants and Dagger the moderator. The two

<sup>1</sup> *Commediae Farse Carnovalesche*, etc. da Giorgio Alione, *Biblioteca Rara*, Milano, 1865. A new edition of Alione's works was published in 1601.

<sup>2</sup> In Alione's play the part of *Lingua* is taken by *Il Cul*, whose aspirations to rise to the position of a sixth sense are here crowned with complete success. *L'Omo* corresponds to *Microcosmus* in the English play and *Judex* to *Communis Sensus*. The senses are the Eyes, the Nose, the Hands, the Mouth, and the Feet! The numerous other characters in *Lingua* are absent.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Cinq Sens de l'Homme*, Viollet-le-Duc, *Ancien Théâtre François*, III, 303 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The *Judex* does not appear in the French version. This fact makes it clear that the Italian play is the more probable source for *Lingua*.

<sup>5</sup> Reprinted, Edinburgh, 1887, (*Collectanea Adamantaea*, XXII). The piece is clearly a university drama. "This is as fresh a question indeed, as if one should aske how many Colleges, or Halles there be in the University."

<sup>6</sup> "Methinkes it were fit now to renew the claime to our old title of Affections which we have lost, as sometimes *Lingua* did to the title of a Sence, for it is good fishing in troubled waters." Cf. also Act III, scene v.

<sup>7</sup> Reprinted, Charles Hindley, *The Old Book Collector's Miscellany*, 1871-1873, Vol. II.



pieces are identical in style and plan, the parallelism extending even to minutiae. The dialogue of Band, Cuffe, and Ruffe was perhaps an adaptation of matériel already treated in non-dramatic form, for we have an entry in the *Stationers' Register* for 1560-1561 of "a ballett called of Ruffe, Sleeves and Hose."<sup>1</sup>

The third piece, entitled in the edition of 1630 *Wine, Beere, Ale, and Tobacco, contending for Superiority*,<sup>2</sup> is somewhat more elaborate; the *dramatis personae* includes not only the characters in the title but also Sugar, Nutmeg, and Tost, servants of the three liquors, and Water, a Parson! There is the usual squabble over honors among the alcoholic beverages and their servants until they are reconciled by Water. Then the peace is again disturbed by the entrance of Tobacco. This new and alien stimulant disgusts them all by his odor, his swaggering manners, and the tedious affectation of his speech. They try to ridicule him but are at length convinced that they had best admit him to their fellowship, lest in his great popularity, which is beginning to spread even to the ladies, he induce all men to forsake them. An antic dance, "in which Wine falling downe, one takith Sugar by the heeles and seemith to shake him upon Wine," etc., concludes this ludicrous performance.

The dispute between various drinks, which is the theme of this dialogue, is an almost universal debate motive. Generally the contestants are Wine and Water, but Wine and Beer, Wine and Chocolate, and Wine and Milk disputes are also to be found.<sup>3</sup> Such dialogues may have existed in England, but, so far as I know, no such piece has survived.<sup>4</sup>

In spirit and style the present dialogue is markedly similar to the two Cambridge debates discussed above. All three are in prose; all abound in contemporary allusion; and the dialogue in each is a continuous crackle of word play. The many scraps of Latin quotation in *Wine, Beer*, etc., and other bits of humorous pedantry, like the derivation of Ale from *alo*, are indicative of academic origin. Presumably the three dialogues are the work of the same excellent Cambridge wit. At any rate they give us a most interesting glimpse of the less formal type of university entertainment, with which the dons and their charges sometimes relieved the gravity of their scholarly pursuits.

<sup>1</sup> A second entry of "a Ballad of Ruffes and Long Sleeves," in 1563-1564, probably refers to the same debate.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted, J. O. Halliwell, *The Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 1851; the title of the first edition reads as follows: *Wine, Beere, and Ale, together by the eares, a dialogue written first in Dutch by Gallobelgicus, and faithfully translated out of the original Copie, by Mercurius Brittanicus, for the benefite of his Nation*, 1629. In this original form of the dialogue the character of Tobacco does not appear. The Dutch original is surely a college joke.

<sup>3</sup> I have dealt with this subject in a forthcoming article on *The Debate of Wine and Water*.

<sup>4</sup> A suggestion for the debate may have come from *Lingua*, where Bacchus and Small Beer appear in the pageant of Gustus (Act IV, scene v), and Tobacco, as Olfactus's prize witness, extols his own merits in a jargon supposed to be Indian (Act IV, scene iv).

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